Boston Public Library
3 9999 10589 544 3

PER RM
No. AP2.N7
V.146
1888
THE TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY
OMNIVM
LVX
CIVIVM
OF THE CITY OF
BOSTON
1852 1878

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

VOL. CXLVI.

1461-1
v.146

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

NEW YORK:
No. 3 EAST FOURTEENTH STREET.
1888.

NOV 10 1964
961.2/2

Per. Dept.
*AP2
.N7
Vol 146

Apl. 1901.1
3/21/12

X6460

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1888.

Dor.
421.470
Nov. 3, 1888

PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLXXIV.

JANUARY, 1888.

TWO MESSAGES.

PULSES beat more quickly, the joy of battle lights up manly faces, and it is a dramatic moment, when the vessel chased as a merchantman opens hatches for her devilish crew to swarm on deck, drops the seeming stripe and discloses shotted guns, and runs up the black flag. Free booter and free trader have much in common. There has been enough of piratical concealment, enough of false pretence. With joy men see that President Cleveland, brave as men often are who do not comprehend what they are doing, strips off Democratic disguises, loads his annual message with free trade theories and propositions of startling breadth and meaning, and compels his party to fight against protection or to seek another candidate.

Like lightning the answer comes from Paris. The President's thought that internal war taxes should be continued, in order to deprive home industry of that measure of defense which a tariff only for revenue would naturally give, is exposed without mercy. His abandonment of coast defense, in order to make the reduction of duties greater, and thus to make the blow fall more heavily on industry, is contrasted with Mr. Tilden's eloquent letter. His proposal to open free of charge the greatest and most profitable market in the world to foreigners, who are to bear no part of the cost of maintaining free institutions here, his bigoted prejudice

against American manufacturers and their workingmen, his desire to take away the scanty profit of American wool growers, whose blundering trust in Democratic promises made his election possible, meet a rebuke at the hands of Mr. Blaine which gladdens the hearts of true Americans. Never has hurled spear been more deftly caught, or sent back with more startling swiftness and surer aim. The land laughs with applause. Thousands who "could not vote for Mr. Blaine" in 1884 wish they had not then mistaken sham for real reform, the babble of slanderers for "proofs of Holy writ," or their own inflamed vanity for tenderness of conscience. So apt and conclusive is the reply, so strong and impressive the defense of American interests, that the Republican party seems in some danger of supposing its work all done, its foes dispersed by a single shot, and its victory already secured.

The question now is whether the Republican party is fit to govern. The first and largest part of the work of self government is to convince and educate. In the long run, no party can live by man worship. The men who banished Aristides, because they were tired of hearing him called "The Just," have their lineal descendants. Leaders who truly lead in the primary task of educating and convincing, will be heard and followed though their words come 3,000 miles under water; but no one man, however great, can do all the working and the teaching, and especially all the being brave and faithful, for a great national party. Republicans have the opportunity for which they have prayed twenty years. The question is whether they have waited so long, and left economic weapons to rust so far, and accustomed themselves to rely upon other agencies so completely, that they are not equal to the opportunity now that it has come. Have members who have counted upon adroit use of Democratic divisions, and shrewd management of appropriations, and offices, and local issues, men who have coquetted with free trade theories or with importers' interests, men who have made silver or land or railroads their hobby and sole support, enough of courage and fidelity to face the great issue, at some risk, in their own localities, to take upon themselves the unwonted labor of educating ignorance and conquering prejudice, to sink distracting local misconceptions in a resolute championship of protective principles, and to move forward in sure touch of the elbow with their comrades? It is for them to say, and to show.

It is easy to underrate the force of the attack which President Cleveland leads. That attack has specious and plausible features. It courts the favor of woolen manufacturers who wish to use foreign wool, and of iron manufacturers who want to use the ores of Cuba, the steel ingots of England, and the wire rods of Germany. It fits with the free trade theories which Mr. George has been preaching to workingmen, and with the "tariff reform" conception which men have adopted whose only idea of wisdom is to be on neither side very much, and to meet every Irrepressible Conflict with a Peace Conference or a Compromise bill. Especially it kindles the enthusiasm of Southern politicians and planters, and opens the exhaustless money chests of foreign bankers, importers, and manufacturers' agents, whose help in a city where 15,000 votes were bought in November is not to be despised. Millions of money will be spent to prevent the defeat of the first American President to propose that Americans shall perpetually tax their pipes and their glasses in order to get their clothing from Germany, their ore from Cuba and Spain, and their steel rails from England. Millions of money can be defeated only by millions of well-informed and unpurchasable votes in the shops and on the farms. There are only ten months in which to educate the millions.

This attack cannot be met by shouting "free trade" as one cries "mad dog" in hot weather, with assured confidence that nobody will stop to inspect the dog until he is dead. Of the Americans who once knew well the sharp dividing line between free trade and protective policies, two-thirds sleep in the churchyards. Seven millions of emigrants since 1860 do not know why freedom, free speech, free land, and free trade should not go together. Six millions of colored persons, where they are permitted to vote at all, think only of protection as something they have always lacked. One generation has grown up in the belief that more money, or white money, or sound money, would cure all ills. Another generation has come upon the stage whose eyes never saw the dependent and industrially subjugated nation which tariff-for-revenue-only was meant to produce and did produce, and who imagine that 40,000,000 sheep, a woolen manufacture consuming 400,000,000 pounds of wool, mines yielding 10,000,000 tons of iron ore, and mills making more than a third of the steel in the world, are as natural and necessarily permanent parts of

the nation's growth as its pine forests and its demagogues. Half a million organized Knights of Labor and Trades Unionists listen to leaders who, in order to persuade them to independent political action, affirm that Republican protection has done nothing for labor. Meanwhile, a considerable number of intelligent men, who know how protective tariffs have blessed the country, consider it their present duty to let the tariff be overthrown, while they reiterate at every election their conscientious conviction that alchohol is a curse.

Into this whirling maelstrom of misconception and ignorance, selfishness, knavery, and bribery, the Republican party must enter with a primer of political economy in hand, to teach one of the hardest of all lessons to learn—that patient sacrifice for the development and diversification of industry is the only way to gain cheap goods, the only way to create an adequate market for farm products, the only way to keep an intelligent and independent body of working people with fitness for self-government. Comprehending nothing of the meaning or merits of a protective system, the President openly appeals to selfish interests; but, if he fully understood, there is little reason to suppose that he would accept an altruistic policy. Clearly, he has learned in the school of Democrats "befo' de wah," to whom politics was a game of grab. The conception of a national policy for the uplifting, defense, and development of every citizen of the nation, the weakest even more than the strongest, was not theirs and is not his. Precisely because the Republican policy is grand, noble, and for the benefit of every citizen, it is least understood by those who need it most, just as the labors of sanitary teachers are most angrily opposed by those English tenants whose homes are the filthiest.

Discouraging? Yes, if it is forgotten that one with God is a majority. But the eternal years are His, and if men fail to do their part, and so to earn the victory of right, He can always wait. Whether Republicans will do their part, and in time to achieve a triumph for humanity and for justice, for those who are too ignorant even to vote for it themselves, for the unity, harmonious development, and industrial independence of the greatest nation on earth, rests with them. If they prove not yet fit to govern, the nation will have to learn by suffering what they might teach it, as it painfully learned the anti-slavery lesson which Whig politicians were afraid to utter.

Thanks to the President, the issue against protection is made in the weakest way. In comprehension, as in courage, he resembles the school-boy. Dogmatic and positive where a competent free-trader would be most vague and cautious, he discharges obsolete and long-abandoned theories which resemble economic arms of precision no more than a Queen Anne blunderbuss resembles a modern Lebel rifle. He supposes, as theorists supposed half a century ago, that protected domestic products must be raised in cost to the full extent of the protecting duty; that cheap materials can be secured by relying on foreign supplies; that protected manufacturers are amassing vast profits, and protected workers are receiving wages much above the general level of wages; that only the persons engaged in any industry are helped in wages or in profits by its maintenance, and that most of the wool growers wear as much wool as they produce. No doubt the President himself and his friends will shrink from the translation of his crude phrases into economic language, but it will be the first duty of Republicans in Congress to show that he has betrayed a melancholy and hopeless ignorance.

The President reasons that the enhanced cost of woolen clothing to the small wool-growers, who are the great majority, and who have from 25 to 50 sheep each, exceeds the benefit they get from an increase in the price of wool, which he estimates at 10 to 12 cents per pound, the amount of duty, as a maximum, or 60 to 72 cents per sheep. If so, the small wool-grower must wear from 150 to 300 pounds of wool on his back. The fact is that the consumption for all purposes averages not 7 pounds *per capita*, and the difference in cost, if the price were enhanced to the full extent of the duty, would be less than 70 cents for each inhabitant, because much of the wool produced is of lower than the 10 cent grade. But the value of the products of all the various branches of the woolen manufacture in 1880, including woolen, worsted, mixed textile, felt, wool hat, carpet, and hosiery establishments, with the cost of all imported woolens and the duty thereon, was about $7 yearly for every inhabitant. The President's idea that goods costing $7 for each person have somehow been enhanced in cost $18 or $36 per person, by means of duties on wool which at the maximum could not increase its cost by 70 cents per person, is naturally pronounced exceedingly able and profound by Democratic statesmen, possibly because they cannot understand it.

If one turns from works of fiction to facts, he finds that American fleece are actually worth in Boston five cents per pound more than English fleece are worth in London, so that, reckoning the cost of shipment from London to this country, the utmost difference which can possibly be attributed to the duty is less than half the duty. As it is less than thirty-five cents per person, on the quantity of wool consumed, or five cents on the dollar of woolen products consumed, the difficulty of attributing to this duty a vast enhancement on the cost of clothing increases. And finally, whoever compares the cost of woolen clothing here and in London, of the qualities used by the great majority of the consumers, discovers that the American are nearly, if not quite, as cheap as the English goods of equal durability and excellence, so that Mr. Cleveland's "tax which with relentless grasp is fastened upon the clothing of every man, woman, and child in the land," vanishes into nothing.

Indeed, both protectionists and the more intelligent free traders are perfectly aware that the President's supposition, that prices of protected products are as a rule enhanced to the full extent of the protective duties, is entirely untrue. New duties, when first imposed, may raise prices to their full extent, but almost immediately something changes; either foreign prices go down or domestic production puts down home prices, and in time the duty often comes to have no effect on prices whatever. The vulgar notion, which the President shares, would have been buried and crushed under a mountain of proofs long ago had Republicans done their duty. Yet the entire argument of the President is built on this single false assumption, abandoned years ago by every moderately informed free trader. His supporters, cruelly handicapped by his ignorance, will now have to explain how glassware came to be bought in Pittsburgh for Cunard steamers; how American bridge-builders secured the contract to put thousands of tons of American steel into an Australian bridge; how Pennsylvania rails went to Mexico, or New Jersey locomotives to Europe, or American mining machinery to British mines in South Africa, and by what miracle it comes to pass that American cottons are sold in Manchester and American cuttlery in Sheffield. Linked with these are the other fallacies, that foreign prices would be what they now are if American production were to cease, and that cheaper materials can be had by depending upon foreign supplies.

In 1879 an increased demand for iron from this country, amounting to 550,000 tons, actually raised the prices of pig-iron in Great Britain 67 per cent., of bar iron 66 per cent., and of some other manufactured kinds 100 per cent., and yet Mr. Cleveland imagines that a demand five or ten times greater, consequent upon a removal of duties, would not lift the foreign price as much as the existing duty of 43 per cent. Similar examples by the hundred could be presented of sudden and fatal rise in the cost of materials, when this country has suffered itself to become dependent upon foreign supplies. He is no longer a free trader decently competent to engage in modern discussion, who assumes that home industry can flourish if dependent upon sources of supply within easy commercial control of foreign rivals.

Neither do competent men appeal any longer to vulgar prejudice by suggesting, as President Cleveland does, that protected manufacturers are dividing mountainous dividends, or that protected workers are getting unfairly large wages. There is no excuse for ignorance. Tables showing the dividends actually paid by a large number of the oldest and most successful cotton and woolen establishments are published, and even these have not averaged on the capital represented in the market price of their stocks as much as six per cent. in any year for the past five years. It would cost the President no trouble to ascertain that even now at least half the iron furnaces in the United States are earning nothing for capital, and that of the more fortunate, a great many owners would be glad, as Messrs. Hewitt and Cooper actually proposed to their men, to lease their works on the basis of six per cent. for the capital invested. It is not long since a free trade inquirer gloated over his discovery that protection was futile, because workers in protected industries averaged lower wages than hands in other employments, and he was much pained when it was shown that the difference was only that which would naturally arise from the employment of a larger number of women and children in some branches than in others.

It is not creditable to Mr. Cleveland that he seeks to set other farmers against the wool growers. It happens that wool is grown in every State, and excluding counties on the borders of civilization, which are but names without population, out of 2,400 counties in all the States, wool is grown in every county except 36, though there were also 37 others in 1880 where it was not grown

to a substantial extent. Perhaps there is no other crop or product which so large a part of the people have a share in producing. But, that aside, the farmers should not need at this late day to learn that it means serfdom for them, direct and degrading competition with the ryot of India, if the nation fails to develop other industries to furnish a home market for its farm products, and especially for that variety of products which cannot be transported to distant points, but, when required by nearby manufacturing or mining consumers, returns the largest profit to the farmer. It is the development of manufactures and mining which has made the farm lands of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, 71,000,000 acres, worth $3,350,000,000, over $47.18 per acre, while the farm lands of Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Tennessee, 84,000,000 acres, are worth only $858,000,000, or $10.17 per acre. Knowing what protection does for them, farming counties in the North vote for it strongly. Knowing nothing about it, farming counties at the South imagine that it plunders them. And as water settles in low places, the notions of those who know least gravitate into the President's message.

To these shallow mistakes, the President adds one into which men of far greater information have fallen. If only 2,600,000 persons get wages in protected industries, he wonders how 15,000,000 others can be benefited. Any novice in trades unionism could tell him that where six men are at work and one is idle and looking for work, his competition will in turn depress the wages of all the rest, and they can better afford to pay for his living out of their own pockets than to have him used as a pile-driver to put down their wages. Put 2,000,000 more men into wheat raising, and what would wheat be worth? Put half of them into mechanics' trades or railroad work, and how long could wages in those occupations be maintained? With 50 men idle in a town, 500 are working at starvation wages. A contractor wants 100 men for a new job in that same town, and straightway every one of the 500 demands and gets better wages. That an intelligent people need to be told such rudimentary things may seem incredible to Republican Congressmen. But when the President, chosen by the intelligent people aforesaid, demonstrates in his annual message that he needs to be taught the same things, it is a solemn warning that primary schools cannot be neglected with safety.

The message will indeed serve well as a chart of the over-

grown jungles and dense thickets of popular ignorance. It shows where the sunlight must be admitted without delay; what errors most need to be cleared away. The President makes it obvious that he did not mean to commit himself to extreme free trade notions, and he was doubtless amazed to find that British papers went wild with joy because his commitment was so absolute, so daring, and so unequivocal. He did not know the full meaning of the things he said. He had picked up the sophistries and the pet phrases of plantation Bourbons, who have learned nothing about modern industries since Robert J. Walker's time, and he put them into his message with a wadding of smooth words for labor. He "did not know it was loaded." With a little more knowledge he would not have indorsed his Secretary of the Treasury in recommending: "Add to the free list as many articles as possible. Reduce duties upon every dutiable article to the lowest point possible." As this is the only definite proposition, in a message and report otherwise singularly barren of practical suggestions though professedly aiming at reduction of revenue, and as all the ultra-free-trade theorizing points to the same end, or else is meaningless, it must be supposed that the President thought a lowering of partially protective duties would diminish customs receipts. Yet it is not a very recondite truth that any moderate reduction of a protecting duty must increase importations and consequently revenues. Either the President deliberately calls for an extreme and sweeping reduction of duties, as in terms the Secretary does, or he manifests an ignorance of the effect of tariff changes which is eminently in harmony with his party's proved incapacity to govern.

Less than $20,000,000 at the utmost can be taken from the revenue by putting on the free list all raw materials of industry, according to the annual report of the Bureau of Statistics just published, and in that report such advanced products as steel ingots are classed as crude materials. Reckoning no increase in revenue for the remaining seven months of the fiscal year, though the increase in the five months ending with November has been $11,200,000,—in itself a most extraordinary estimate for the financial Secretary of a great government,—Mr. Fairchild counts upon a surplus during the present year of $66,000,000. In order to take off $45,000,000 or $50,000,000 from the revenue, after all additions to the free list, and to take that sum from the revenues derived

from duties on manufactured products, which yielded during the last fiscal year $82,291,859, what change would be requisite ? Has the President or the Secretary the least idea how great a reduction in the rates of duty would be necessary to diminish the receipts by 55 to 60 per cent ? Do they imagine that removal of half or two-thirds of the duties would have that effect ? There is not a practical merchant or manufacturer who does not know that such a change would enormously increase importations—unless, indeed, immediate panic and prostration should deprive the people of consuming power—and that the lower rates on double or treble the present importations would yield a larger revenue than is now obtained. Every step in the reduction of rates from one per cent. to sixty per cent. would open the door to some additional articles or classes of articles of foreign make which would be imported to undersell and take the place of American products. Each little item becomes enormous when the consumption of a nation of sixty millions is to be supplied. It takes $17,000,000 yearly to provide the nation with the mere material for its tin cups, pans, and pails. With every reduction on articles we now produce, additional American factories, mills, or mines must close. Prostration andcollapse must come, sooner or later, but meanwhile importations and revenue must increase. If the reduction of duty be made large enough to secure a decrease of one-half in the revenue derived from manufactured imports, the road to prostration must be mercifully short.

President Cleveland has been told that cheap materials would enable home manufacturers to produce at so much less cost that they would not be undersold or forced to close by the reduction of duties on products. Of the dutiable articles classed by the Bureau of Statistics as crude materials, 60 per cent. in value last year were the following : Iron ore, pig, scrap, and steel ingots or bars, raw wool, rags, shoddy, and waste. Would either of these classes be cheaper if production here were no longer encouraged, and manufacturers were left to rely upon foreign sources of supply ? At the outset, beyond a doubt. Already many mines in States nearer the seaboard than Pittsburgh have been abandoned, and others still farther inland have lately been placed in receivers' hands, because foreign imports have been large in spite of the present duty. There is not an intelligent iron worker who does not know that other mines in great number would be closed if

the duty were removed. Would foreign ore be cheaper if the American demand should call for two or three times the present product of Bilbao or Cuba mines? Out of 585 iron furnaces, 232 are idle now; one Thomas furnace has just gone out of blast, while many others are working without profit for capital. When pig-iron was selling at $18 per ton, at the end of 1877, there were 427 furnaces standing idle. How many would close if iron free of duty should be offered here at $12.28 to $13.78 per ton, the present price, *ex duty*, of English and Scotch iron at New York? But when they had closed, and foreign makers were called upon to supply only the 4,000,000 tons now produced here, but not produced here in 1877, does anybody suppose the price abroad would not be rapidly and largely advanced? That quantity is more than the entire product of Germany, and more than half the production of Great Britain. With what ease foreign manufacturers could combine to engage the output of all available furnaces, and then to put up the price in order to close our manufactories of iron and steel, and force us to buy their manufactured products instead of their pig-iron. Against such a process this country would be entirely defenseless, for neither mills nor furnaces can afford to start operations without some assurance of continued demand at paying prices. Mr. Cleveland doubtless thinks these fears chimerical. Yet the mere utterance of his mistaken notions led one large producer the next day to sell steel rails at less than $32, and Bessemer iron at $18.50.

There are 44,759,000 sheep in the country. Three years ago there were over 50,626,000. No decline whatever in prices, but only a continuance of prices deemed too low, has caused this reduction of nearly 6,000,000, or 12 per cent. Against 302,000,000 pounds two years ago, the country produced in 1860, when Mr. Cleveland's party went out of power, not one-third as much, and the number of sheep had increased less than 800,000 in ten years under a revenue tariff, though even under that tariff there was a revenue of 24 per cent. on wool worth 20 cents per pound or over. Is there reason to believe that, with no duty whatever, the country would produce as much wool as it did then? Once slaughtered, 25,000,000 sheep would not be replaced without assurance of fair returns for wool. But how long would manufacturers get foreign wool at low prices if this country should need from abroad 200,000,000 pounds more than it now imports,

a quantity greater than the entire production of Great Britain and Germany together? Certainly there is not a manufacturer who could not inform Mr. Cleveland that cheap material on that condition would prove exceedingly dear material. Nor would English and German manufacturers find it difficult to corner the supply, already controlled largely in London, and thus to force this country to buy woolens instead of wool.

The selfish policy is always short sighted. "He who finds his life shall lose it." While this nation defends all its industries, nobody caring less for the welfare and steady and sure employment and honest independence of the men and women who work than for the possible pennies that might be saved by buying from Australia or Bilbao, well-deserved prosperity blesses 12,000,000 American homes. When each man of the nation begins trying to get a little more money by leaving his neighbor without work, or bread, or honest manhood, then prosperity vanishes, and self-seeking brings its curse. It is a great and grand nation to-day because for a quarter of a century it has cared for men and women more than for dollars. The dollars have come because they have not been sought at the sacrifice of manhood. The nation has added more to its wealth during that period than any other nation is now worth. Its 60,000,000 of people add more to their wealth every year than the 120,000,000 of Germany, France, and England, and yet consume more in the satisfaction of human desires than any 120,000,000 inhabitants on the globe. These are the glorious fruits of a policy, wise because Christian, sagacious because not selfish, enriching because deliberately planned to secure for the weakest and the least fortunate his chance in life, his place in honest industry, and his self-respecting and independent manhood. Whoever strikes a blow at a system which has brought such grand results will belong in human history with the freebooters and buccaneers who blocked the path of civilization, who made self their aim, theft their industry, and crime their only heroism.

For nearly three years the freebooters of this century have been saying, "It was a lie that Democratic victory would endanger the nation's prosperity." Enter President Cleveland, to prove that it was true. In his message men may learn that the nation has not been prostrated in its industries and robbed of its prosperity, only because the President's party has not had the power. At every session of Congress it has tried to break down

the defense of home industry, and has been defeated by a solid phalanx of Republican votes. Stronger for every proof that only its votes have saved the country from disaster, the Republican party now has the prestige of success in States enough to elect a President, with seventeen votes to spare. But it cannot afford to forget that its fidelity alone has made it strong. It cannot afford to neglect the task of confronting error with enlightened facts, and of educating the people to a policy both national and noble. If it falters or hesitates, if it flinches or forgets the nation's trust in a selfish scramble for place or local success, not the memory of Appomattox nor the genius of a matchless leader can save it.

A REPUBLICAN.

JOHN BULL ABROAD.

I.—RESIDENT.

On the maps published in Great Britain you may notice large slices of the Earth's surface marked in red. These represent the British possessions. But there are a good many other British possessions which are not marked in red. Some of them are in France, where numbers of our most delightful and picturesque towns, such as Avranches, in Normandy ; Dinan, Dinard, and St. Servan, in Brittany; Pau, in the Pyrennees, etc., are inhabited by a regular English colony.

On entering these places, the signs of English colonization will strike you ; the Anglican church, the lawn tennis ground, and the cricket field, will announce to you that John Bull has taken up his abode there. The Union Jack does not float over the town hall, it is true, but you are pretty sure, before you have gone very far, to see it flying from the summit of a house inhabited by some titled member of the community. You will not have been many days in the town before you are presented with Evangelical tracts, either handed to you in the street, or quietly slipped under your front door : John never forgets that he has received a mission to convert his benighted fellow-creatures, and, in return for the pleasure of the blessed sunlight on a foreign shore, he does his best to give the poor foreigner the light of the Gospel from the pure fount in foggy England.

The British colonies are chiefly recruited from the upper middle class of their mother country : Irish landlords whose rent rolls have shrunk, officers on half-pay, unlucky speculators, and victims of the turf or *écarté*. They are all people who cannot keep their wonted position in a society where they are judged by the length of their purse, and where poverty is a crime. "To dig they are ashamed ;" all kinds of work are derogatory in their

eyes, and the only thing to be done is to make the most of what is left to them. So, quietly, they slip across the British Channel and pitch their tents in our fair land, where, thanks be, it is still possible to live well and cheaply.

To any inquisitive friends it is easy enough to explain why they are in France. "Our English climate is atrocious, don't you know, my lungs were getting affected—and, besides, I want the children to speak French, and the only way to get the accent at all is to come and live over here." That is not all: "Life in London is awfully wearing, don't you know. Everybody has his hobby. Well, mine is to rusticate philosophically, *à la* Rousseau. Ah, my dear fellow, Jean Jacques was right—the simple pleasures of life, that kind of thing, you know." John Bull will tell you, as he enlarges on the subject of a country life and a diet of dairy produce and vegetables: "I haven't felt a touch of dyspepsia since we came over." It would be a wonder if he had. "And the shooting and fishing are really capital, to say nothing of the primitive habits of the Breton, who is really quite an interesting subject of study."

The good man tells the story so often that in the process of humbugging his friends he finishes by humbugging himself, and by and by believes it is all true.

The advantages of the move are manifold. In London the society man must dress three times a day. In these places he does as he pleases, and that is one of the great charms of life in a little French town. The inhabitants do not know him: no need to dress for them. His compatriots, voluntary exiles like himself, do know him: no need to dress for them.

Wherefore, behold, John's get up is a compromise between former grandeur and present poverty. He affects corduroy and flannel. The knickerbockers and jacket of the former look sportsmanlike and are everlasting wear; the flannel shirt is comfortable and shortens the washing bill. The said knickerbockers may be patched, but they have a shooting pocket, and though he has one meal a day less than he could easily manage, he has a shooting license.

These Britishers are clannish; they associate only among themselves, unless, indeed, it be among the French aristocracy of the town. The chief qualification to be a member of their set is to do nothing. I know one case of an Englishman having been

discovered to have accepted an agency from some English firm in order to allow his family to live a little better. He was pitilessly "boycotted" as a black sheep. Yet these worthy folks are kind-hearted. The poorest of them are often charitable. Not to be able to give to the poor would have been the hardest privation resulting from their reduced state. At Christmas, at any rate, they must permit themselves the luxury of regaling some of the poor old folks of the neighborhood. Dear, funny, lovable snobs! They may have their whims and fads, but, at the core, there is much that is sweet and wholesome in them, and few of their acts need be repudiated by the nicest gentleman. I remember once going to church with one of these self-banished Britons. When the collection bag came round he dropped in a *sou* which he had pulled out of his pocket in mistake for a franc. There were probably very few coins in that pocket of his. At all events, before it was time to leave he had discovered his mistake, and before we left he had rectified it, taking the trouble to go round the church to find the person who had carried the bag.

These people, plenty of whom have had luxurious homes in England, are fain to content themselves with a little furnished house, for which they pay forty or fifty francs a month. Are there no carpets on the floors, they console themselves with the thought of the dust those luxuries are apt to harbor. Is there little furniture in the *salon?* They think of the overcrowded drawing-rooms in South Kensington, and are almost ready to look upon the possibility of free movement as a blessing cheap at the price.

Thanks to the inborn talent Englishwomen have for making their homes pretty, the plain furniture is soon supplemented by a hundred knick-knacks, and the aspect of the place is far from being uninviting. I have seen some of these houses, with poverty plainly staring out from garret to ground floor, yet look pretty; thanks to the women who lived in them. Their drawings and a few good photographs, elegantly framed, brightened the walls, and drapery, cheap but gracefully embroidered and looped about the windows, doors, and fire-place, gave an appearance of elegance to rooms that had been bare and ugly without them. Cheerful cretonne coverings hid the faded chairs, and plump pillows made the hard, straight sofa more inviting than it had ever looked before. It was not luxury; it was not, alas! comfort; but it was good taste: one felt among people of refinement.

If, in the room dignified by the name of library, there are only one or two bookcases, and they have their glass doors discreetly lined to hide the scarcity of books, and the presence of a cigar-box and a whisky bottle, the little fraud is a harmless one, pathetic rather than amusing. Let us not begrudge this poor shabby gentleman who keeps up such a brave face to the world and pretends he enjoys his enforced cheese paring, let us not begrudge him that hour with his cigar and his "toddy:" it is his one little solace in an existence as bare as the bookshelves.

Ay, the whole thing is pathetic; the dining table, with its wealth of hedge flowers and scarcity of beef and mutton. Perhaps it is lunch time, and there is fruit and cheese for all fare; or it may be the family are at dinner and the master is carefully helping the trout he caught this morning, or dissecting a hare with a due regard to to-morrow's *croquettes*. There, behind his chair, stands the good old Breton woman who waits on them, doing her best to keep from smiling at the solemnity with which *ces Anglais* eat.

Bye-and-bye, in the drawing-room, friends will drop in and all will play at life in Belgravia and Mayfair. Conversation turns on the little scandals of the day in London, to a running accompaniment of "You don't say so!" "Who would have thought it!" The latest boudoir secrets and London club gossip are told with many a "This is *entre nous*, you know," or, "I shouldn't like it to be repeated, no, not for the world, you understand." To hear them, you would fancy they were all intimate friends of every member of the Guelph family resident in England. They speak of the Prince and Princess of Wales as they would of their next door neighbor, and nobody is worth mentioning who is not at least a baronet.

Now and then there is a little farewell gathering. Some one has died over there in England, and some one here is the better off for it. And then there are sad little partings, and wistful eyes watch the departure of the lucky fellow who is going back to resume his place in the delightful whirl of London life, while the rest must rusticate and rust until a similar piece of luck befalls them.

Poor, reduced John Bull! the sun never sets on his dominions, it is true, but his own particular star is not in the ascendant yet. So he goes on playing his little comedy, though everybody sees

through it; gets what consolation he may out of the society of his companions in exile, and the local nobility who are kind enough to open their houses to him and "put him up" at their club. The *bourgeois* calls him "goddam," but has a lurking respect for him. The shopkeeper overcharges him, but *ces Anglais* have the reputation of flitting with as little ceremony as the rooks, and those of them who pay must pay for those who do not. *Que voulez-vous?* "On the whole it is not such a bad life," John says to himself, "and the children are picking up the accent wonderfully."

II.—TOURIST.

It has been asked by M. Labiche, in *Le Voyage de M. Perrichon* (a play worthy of Molière), why the French, who are so witty at home, are so stupid abroad. Perhaps I am only furnishing an example of this peculiar effect of frontier crossing in asking the following questions: how is it that the English, who are so kind, amiable, considerate, and unaffected at home, are so rude, overbearing, and inconsiderate abroad? It is a question that I have often asked myself as I looked at certain Britons taking their holiday rambles on my native shore.

I am fain to come to the conclusion that a man out of his country is for a time not his natural self. To be seen at his best, he must have the setting of his natural surroundings. First along, he is like a fish out of water making great efforts to go on swimming naturally, but unable to use its tail gracefully and becomingly for want of its natural element. The English, residing on the Continent, have found their feet, as it were; they have learned the language of their adopted country, and, having made themselves a new home, have an object in being pleased with it.

But the wandering Briton is like the rest of us; he sets out from home with the firm conviction that he is leaving the most wonderful country in the world. *Cela va sans dire.* He has probably not gone very far on his travels before he sees that he may have reason to modify that opinion. But he does not enjoy the idea much; it would be wounding to his national vanity, to say the least of it. Why not put on a little bluster and pretend to see nothing very remarkably fine? It is much more comforting to say: "Ah, yes, that scenery's not half bad; but, do you

know, I think these things have been awfully overpraised. These old churches, no doubt, are very fine, most of them, but it's wonderful how sick one gets of them when one has seen a dozen or so." Having taken up this course, he is prepared to stand quite unmoved in presence of the grandest Alpine sunrise, or Vesuvius lighting up the midnight sky.

There is another thing that goes sadly against his grain, and rubs him up the wrong way. He finds that his French, that used to sound so nice at home when he occasionally aired a little quotation, is apt to raise a smile to the lips of the natives. You must not imagine that he blames himself, or that it ever occurs to him that he is the worst linguist in Europe. Oh, no. He simply wonders why those confounded foreigners can't learn English, puts on a disgusted look, and takes to giving his orders in a tone of bored contempt particularly exasperating to the recipients of them. His hat seems to grow to his head, he lounges in the best seats at the theatre in his Tweed suit, and succeeds in making himself generally disagreeable as well as conspicuous. One of his most objectionable tricks is that of going sniffing about, as if everything smelt ill. At home, he has carried his sanitation hobby to a very mania, and he seems terribly afraid there is typhoid fever lurking in the corners of every building he enters. All these little matters, added to his calm way of making himself at home, as if all the world belonged to him, are necessarily trying to the foreigner.

Up to a few years ago, John Bull's little peculiarities were lumped under the head of "insular eccentricities." Only the better class people of England traveled in those days; they were rich and spent their money freely, seldom taking the trouble to look at their bills. If they hurt the susceptibilities of the natives, the latter found their gold a tolerable balm for the wounds, and further solaced themselves with caricaturing John Bull to their heart's content. But the times have changed: John is no longer the good guinea pig that he was. The enterprising Mr. Cook has arisen with his "personally conducted" tours, and been followed by many imitators, all anxious to give you the maximum of sight-seeing at a minimum of cost. At first these firms were only patronized by the city clerk class. Unable to speak foreign languages, but anxious to make the most of his annual fortnight's holiday, the clerk put himself under the care of one of those light-

ning conductors who, for a consideration of about fifty dollars, lodged him, fed him, spoke for him, and whirled him through Europe in less time than it takes to see London properly. But now, people who would not think of going with this flock of gapers, purchase Cook's coupons and obtain hotel accommodation in any foreign town for about two-thirds of the usual cost. The Continent is overrun with tourists, whose object is "to do the thing cheaply." The French hotel keeper of to-day keeps his best bow for the Americans and the Russians, and shows his disapproval of the Cookists by sending them to his top floors, scarcely an enjoyable elevation in a land where the elevator is as yet a rare luxury.

Poor fellow! is it any wonder if, finding that he is not wanted, he takes his little revenge by shutting his eyes to all that is admirable, and doing his best to confirm in his mind all the absurd prejudices he set out with? How he has managed this you may find out, if you care to question him on his return as to what he has seen. Has he passed a day or two among the treasures of Cluny? Has he done more than walk through the Louvre? Has he made acquaintance with our Sorbonne and the College of France and what goes on here? Has he been, on a Sunday, in some of our churches and seen with his own eyes that the French are as much churchgoing as the English? Oh, dear no! Catch John in a church on the Continent! Then where has he passed his time?

Look over his shoulder the first time he writes a letter to an intimate friend on arriving at home: "Dear Boy—I have just returned from France. Good heavens, what a country it is! I have seen pretty sights over there, I can assure you. I will tell you all about it when we meet in private. All I can say now is that I thank God I was born an Englishman."

MAX O'RELL.

AN UNPUNISHED CONSTITUTIONAL CRIME.

If a student of the science of government while examining the organic law of a State, with whose politics, manners, and customs he was unfamiliar, should find a single crime, defined and denounced in its Constitution, what would be his natural conclusion as to the light in which the crime was regarded by the people themselves, and as to its prevalence in their political society? He would conclude, of course, that such a crime was considered fatal to the life of the State and dangerous to the liberties and rights of the people; and that on that account the People themselves, unwilling to trust their legislature to define it and to provide for its punishment, had incorporated it in the fundamental law, by virtue of which the State itself existed and was held together. He would then conclude that a crime so dangerous as to be thought worthy of constitutional denunciation, must necessarily be infrequently committed. He would naturally say to himself: "Here is one crime at least which, among this virtuous people, can hardly exist. The people themselves have made it odious and detestable by condemning it in the very charter of the State. None but the most abandoned citizen will ever venture to commit it, for no one, known or even suspected to have been guilty of it, will surely be tolerated in a political society which has so condemned it. Among such a people such a man must be nothing but a moral leper, from whom all decent citizens turn in disgust."

What, then, would be our student's surprise, how great his bewilderment, if, turning from the study of their Constitution and laws to an examination of the actual political and social condition of the same people, he should discover that this particular crime, so defined, so denounced, so made odious and detestable, was not of infrequent, but of constant commission, that men suspected of it were not thrust aside, but very often re-elected to high official position; that some citizens plied it as a trade; that others lived and grew rich by it; and that although it was the *one crime* de-

nounced in the Constitution, it was also the *one crime* most prevalent and the *one crime* most rarely prosecuted or punished.

Yet that is exactly what our student would find if, after reading the Constitution of the State of New York, he busied himself to examine the condition of our political society and the records of our criminal courts.

The Constitution of the State of New York contains one entire article devoted to a definition of the crime of bribery, and to the means of punishing it. The Constitution will be read in vain to find any other crime either defined or denounced.

The article, which is short but comprehensive, reads as follows :

ARTICLE XV.

"1. Any person holding office under the laws of this State, who, except in payment of his legal salary, fees, or perquisites, shall receive or consent to receive, directly or indirectly, anything of value or of personal advantage, or the promise thereof, for performing or omitting to perform any official act, or with the express or implied understanding that his official action or omission to act is to be in any degree influenced thereby, shall be deemed guilty of a felony. This section shall not affect the validity of any existing statute in relation to the offense of bribery.

"2. Any person who shall offer or promise a bribe to an officer if it shall be received shall be deemed guilty of a felony and liable to punishment except as herein provided. No person offering a bribe shall upon any prosecution of the officer for receiving such bribe be privileged from testifying in relation thereto, and he shall not be liable to civil or criminal prosecution therefor, if he shall testify to the giving or offering of such a bribe. Any person who shall offer or promise a bribe, if it shall be rejected by the officer to whom it is tendered, shall be deemed guilty of an attempt to bribe, which is hereby declared to be a felony.

"3. Any person charged with receiving a bribe or with offering a bribe shall be permitted to testify in his own behalf, in any civil or criminal prosecution therefor.

"4. Any district-attorney who shall fail faithfully to prosecute a person charged with the violation in his county of any provision of this article which may come to his knowledge shall be removed from office by the Governor after due notice and an opportunity of being heard in his defense. The expenses which shall be incurred by any county in investigating and prosecuting any charges of bribery or attempting to bribe any person holding office under the laws of this State, within such county, or of receiving bribes by any such person in said county, shall be a charge against the State, and their payment by the State provided for by law."

Provisions relating to particular crimes are seldom met with in the Constitutions of any of the States which form the Federal Union.

The Constitution of the United States, it is true, defines the crime of treason. In the Constitution of Mississippi, Iowa, and

other of the Southern and Western States are articles denouncing dueling. The Constitutions of Texas, Tennessee, Nevada, Florida, and Vermont, and of one or two others, contain provisions condemning the bribery of electors. But in the organic law of but six States is there any reference to the crimes of giving bribes to public officers, or of receiving bribes by them.

The Constitution of California has an article relating to bribery of members of the Legislature only. (Article V., Section 35.) That of Colorado defines the crime of receiving bribes by public officers, but makes no provision for the punishment of bribe-giving. (Article XII., Section 6.) The Constitution of Alabama defines bribery by members of the Legislature, makes penal the giving or offering a bribe to any officer, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, and condemns as a felony the practice known as lobbying. (Article IV., Sections 40, 41, 42.) By Section 5,022 of the Constitution of Georgia lobbying is declared to be a crime, and the General Assembly is instructed to enforce the provision by suitable penalties. In the Constitution of Maryland may be found one article imposing upon the Legislature the duty of passing adequate laws for the punishment of bribery, and another compelling persons implicated in the crime to testify against each other. (Rule V., Article III., Section 50.) And in the Constitution of Pennsylvania are several sections resembling in many respects the Fifteenth Article of the New York Constitution, but by no means as sweeping and explicit. (Article III., Sections 29–32.)

In the Constitution of no other State in the Union can there be found any such comprehensive and specific provisions, not only in respect to the acts constituting the crime, the persons who may commit it, or the means devised for bringing offenders to justice, as are contained in the Constitution of the State of New York.

The first effort to incorporate an article directed against bribery in the Constitution of New York was made by the Constitutional Convention of 1867.

Soon after the Convention assembled at Albany, on the 4th of June, 1867, a Committee on official corruption was appointed. The Committee having been authorized to take testimony, summoned before it witnesses who furnished it with a partial view only of the widespread corruption, which every one at all

familiar with public affairs knew to exist. Soon after, the Committee reported to the Convention an amendment to the Constitution, which, with some changes, was adopted by the Convention, and became a part of the proposed new Constitution of the State.

The first section of the amendment defined the crime of bribery in the same terms as those in which it is defined in the present article. But the second section was indeed a remarkable one. It ran as follows :

"Any person offering a bribe, if it shall be accepted, shall not be liable to civil or criminal prosecution therefor. But any person who offers or promises a bribe, if it shall be rejected by the officer to whom it was tendered, shall be deemed guilty of an attempt to bribe, which is hereby declared to be a felony, and a conviction shall be punished as provided in the first section of this article."

In a word, the offering of a bribe to a public officer was a felony, provided only it was not accepted. If it was accepted, the giver was free from all criminality.

This was indeed a startling innovation ! But, startling as it was, the Convention was persuaded to recommend its adoption by the people.

The reasons given by the committee for the adoption of any constitutional provision at all did not attribute any lack of efficacy to the existing laws, except in one particular. In some respects, notably as to punishments, they were more stringent than those proposed by the committee. But, stringent as they were, they were conceded to be dead letters. The committee, therefore, argued that if this particular crime was taken out of the great body of the statutes, and defined and denounced in the fundamental law, its appearance there would be a constant reminder to the People of the dangerous character of the crime, and would increase their just detestation of all who dared to commit it. It was further argued that once in the Constitution it would forever be beyond the reach of the Legislature to modify or repeal.

The fault found with the existing law, under which no one had ever been convicted, inspired the committee to recommend immunity to the givers of accepted bribes. "Experience teaches us," said, in effect, the sponsors of the measure in the Convention, "that it is impossible to punish both bribe taker and bribe giver. We cannot punish both. Let us, therefore, make sure of one. And inasmuch as the bribe taker, being a public officer, not only commits a crime, but betrays his trust

and violates his oath of office, let us single him out for punishment. The bribe giver, who has committed no crime, may then be used as a witness against him, and, being free from guilt himself, will not hesitate to testify. And he will be an unspotted witness, upon whose testimony the State may justly rely. On the other hand, the virtue of our officials shall be protected. For an offer of a bribe to one of them shall be criminal, provided he has the honesty to refuse it."

Those who opposed the adoption of this provision insisted that the existing laws which made bribe giving and bribe taking alike criminal, and compelled one offender to testify against the other were, if vigorously enforced by district attorneys, much more likely to lead to the suppression of the crime than the rules proposed by the Committee; that it was unjustifiable, at a period in our history when great corporations were making a business of trafficking in the votes of dishonest legislators, to make the acts of their officers blameless, and those of the official only, criminal; that the character of an official was quickly investigated by those whose occupation it was to buy and sell men; that corrupt proposals were not likely to be made to men of ascertained integrity, and that a provision making the giving of an accepted bribe innocent before the law, was calculated not to suppress the crime, but to increase it, because one of the parties at least to the corrupt transaction might practice his wickedness with perfect impunity.

As might have been expected, when this article, which was adopted by the Convention, was submitted to the People at the general election of 1869, it was rejected by a considerable majority. The People of this State were unwilling to license the paying of bribes to their dishonest officials.

Yet, curiously enough, and as if to illustrate the necessity of putting the laws against bribery forever beyond the power of the Legislature to alter or amend them, the Tweed Legislature of 1869, a few months before this article was rejected by the people, passed a law (Chapter 742 of the Laws or 1869) which embodied that feature of the proposed amendment which granted immunity to all bribe givers, and added a provision which made it simply impossible to convict the bribe taker.

The act was ironically entitled, "An act for the more effectual suppression of bribery." It might with greater propriety have

been entitled, "An act for the license of bribery." It reduced the then existing punishment from not exceeding ten to not exceeding five years. It improved on the amendment proposed by the constitutional convention, which, of course, was designed to cover only future cases, by giving a clean bill of health to all past bribe givers, as well as to all future givers of accepted bribes. Their immunity was not conditioned upon the giving of testimony against the bribed official; it was without any condition or consideration of any sort.

Having thus pardoned all past bribe givers, and made bribe giving in the future innocent, the act proceeded to take care of the bribe taker by making a conviction for receiving a bribe almost impossible.

The only excuse for making bribe giving not criminal, the only reason ever urged upon the Constitutional Convention by the mistaken advocates of so preposterous a measure, was that the State might obtain clean and reliable testimony upon which to prosecute the corrupt official,—testimony which, uncorroborated, would satisfy a jury.

But the law of 1869, in its last section, provided that the bribe giver, although free from all guilt by the very terms of the act, should, nevertheless, be regarded as an accomplice of the bribe taker in a legal sense, and it prohibited the conviction of the latter unless the testimony of the bribe giver was corroborated in its material parts by other evidence. A moment's reflection will convince any one that such a rule, when applied to a prosecution for a secret crime in which usually but two persons are concerned, is an inevitable bar to any conviction.

This scandalous statute was the law of this State from 1869 to 1875, a period of about six years. It was the golden age of bribery. The crime flourished. The paying of bribes was absolutely innocent, and the taking of bribes absolutely safe.

From this unfortunate condition of affairs we were rescued by the Constitutional Commission of 1872, a body appointed by the Governor under an act of the Legislature of that year. To that body is due the credit of devising the article of our present Constitution, which was adopted by a vote of the people at the general election in November, 1874, and went into effect on the 1st day of January, 1875.

So that from the year 1875 down to the present day, we have

had in our fundamental law clear, ample, and stringent provisions against bribe giving and bribe taking, which only the People themselves may ever repeal, alter, or modify.

It is worth while, in passing, to notice some of the features of these unique provisions, for the purpose of observing how nicely they are calculated, if only vigorously enforced, to deal with the crime of bribery in all its aspects.

They affect all public officers, from the chief magistrate down to the humblest official.

They make the agreement to receive or the agreement to give, as criminal as the actual receipt or the actual giving. Unimportant as this may seem at first glance, the value of this feature may not be overlooked. In the first place, it makes the first step towards the completed crime, a crime itself. In the second, it renders conviction more probable; since it is easier to prove an agreement to receive than the actual receipt of the money. Usually no one can prove the latter but the giver, but the existence of a corrupt agreement to receive may be proved to the satisfaction of a jury by a variety of circumstances, which, taken together, point irresistibly to the guilt of the accused.

The article also makes the giver of bribes as guilty as the taker of bribes, but it permits *him* to purge himself of his offense *in one way and in no other*. He may go free if on the prosecution of the corrupt official he shall testify to the giving or offering of the bribe. And he is compelled to testify, whether he wishes to or not, against the bribe taker, upon the promise that revelation of the official's guilt shall work his own salvation.

The article also commands the District-Attorney in every county to prosecute all charges of bribery faithfully. He may not temporize or trifle, but *must* pursue those charged with the crime to the end. And if he does not, the Governor *must* remove him from office, after he has had an opportunity to be heard in his defense. In a secret crime, like bribery, there is usually no complainant. Both bribe giver and bribe taker are interested in suppressing the crime. To meet this difficulty, the District Attorney himself is made a complainant, upon pain of removal if he does not faithfully push his complaint.

Thus from the year 1853 to the year 1869 we find stringent statutes in the State of New York against bribery embodying

most of the features of the present article of the Constitution; and from the year 1875 down to the present day we find the sweeping Constitutional rules, supplemented, since the adoption of the Penal Code, by statutory provisions with the gravest penalties.

Indeed, it may justly be said that the laws against bribery in this State for more than thirty years (the interval from 1869–1875 excepted) have been almost Draconian in their severity.

With what result ?

In the debates in the Constitutional Convention of 1867 upon the proposed amendment to which I have made reference, it was conceded that the law against bribery was a dead letter. No one of the delegates to that Convention, although they came from every part of the State, could recollect a single conviction for either bribe taking or bribe giving, except one case in Ontario County, where, in the year 1867, some official pleaded guilty of taking a bribe and was fined one thousand dollars.

The digests of Brightly, Abbott, Barbour, and Cowan, containing the adjudications in all the courts upon every legal principle, and upon almost every statutory provision, may be read without finding, until the year 1886, a single case where a person was convicted of bribery, whether in taking or giving.

In almost every other State, cases are to be found in the volumes recording the decisions of its higher courts. There are many cases reported in Massachusetts, Texas, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and California. But until 1886, in the State of New York alone, where the laws denouncing bribery have been the most stringent, and where for thirteen years an entire article of the Constitution has been devoted to the means of punishing the crime, no reported case of a conviction for bribery can be found.

Henry W. Jaehne, Arthur J. McQuade, and John O'Neil were the first persons in the history of this State who were incarcerated in any of its prisons for the offense of receiving bribes while public officials. The case of the People *vs.* Jaehne was the first case upon bribe taking ever decided by the Court of Appeals. And it is quite certain that no person before Jacob Sharp was ever convicted or tried in this State for the crime of giving a bribe to a public officer.

What a beggarly result for thirty years of statute framing and constitution making!

And the worst of it all is, that, so far as appears upon the surface, the crime is scarcely less prevalent, the criminals scarcely less audacious, than before these solemn warnings were recorded. On one occasion during the past year I asked a distinguished citizen, residing in one of the cities of the State, whether these convictions had not had a salutary effect in repressing the crime. He answered that a friend of his who had recently had some dealings with the Common Council of his city, had told him that shortly after the Aldermanic trials he had made some application to that body, and was surprised at the increase in price for votes which was demanded. Venturing to remonstrate, he was told that since the convictions the price had been put up, because of the increased risk of the business.

This was the only information he could impart, as to the effect of the prosecutions in that particular city.

But although it may not be perceptible nor capable of exact measurement, it may not be doubted that the effect of these trials upon those who make office-holding a trade, and upon politicians of the baser sort in general, has been very wholesome. For years must roll by, before even the seemingly flippant or audacious can forget the terrible lessons of 1886 and 1887. Their faith in the inefficacy of laws to deal with the crime has been rudely shattered. The record of half a century barren of prosecutions has been broken. The lesson has been learned that "dead letters" may, some time, become living laws.

There seems also to have been some little recognition in the politics of the State, one notable instance excepted, of the aroused public sentiment against bribery. Here and there re-nomination or re-election has been denied to those who so openly plied their unhallowed trade as to bring disgrace upon their party associations.

But hopeful as these signs are, we may not blind our eyes to the shameful fact that the crime flourishes, and will flourish none the less because a few unfortunates have been overtaken by the strong arm of the law. At the very moment when the Aldermanic prosecutions were being most vigorously pushed, when public indignation was at its highest pitch over the startling disclosures of official corruption, does any one doubt that legislation, yes, and justice, was being bought and sold—not so openly perhaps as before, but with greater security, because with greater secrecy? Is not the knowledge current among politicians and all acquainted

with public affairs in the State, that many men in official station who have made large sums of money by the sale of their votes and influence, are again and again re-elected to office? Will not the shameless trade in votes which year after year goes on in the halls of the Legislature of the State be resumed as soon as the business of the session commences?

Already many a legislator is looking forward to the rich harvest of the winter. Already he is figuring up the profits of the season. If he is a free lance, he is calculating what interest he had better "strike" first. If he is the representative of some corporation or trust, he is studying how he may serve his master with the largest profit to himself. He is dreaming already of "lifting the mortgage on the barn" or the house, of acquiring some interest-bearing shares, of "getting together" enough to open a saloon, to start a business, perhaps to organize a bank.

Already the kings and princes of the lobby have engaged their spacious apartments for the winter's campaign. Already they have classified the members of both houses, have calculated to a nicety the price of every venal man, either per bill or for the season, have estimated the value of statesmen whose reputation, or influence, or powers of speech, entitle them to higher rewards than their cheaper associates, and have begun the more difficult study of capturing those who cannot be approached directly with vulgar bribes, but may be reached in other safer and more convenient ways.

Already great corporations are beginning to set aside the annual fund for legislative purposes, which, when expended, will be entered as "sundries" or "legal expenses" in their books of accounts. And greedy speculators, anxious to lay their hands upon some of the great franchises of the State yet unsold, stand ready to submit to the extortions of the corrupt, to overcome the scruples of the hesitating, and to undermine the moral constitution of those who have not yet fallen victims to the disease.

In a few short weeks, when the legislatures of our State and cities convene, despite the solemn lessons of the past, the Constitution will again be defied and spat upon by the very people who helped to make it, and whose official lives serve to illustrate how vain and impotent after all are even its strong sections to stem the tide of corruption, which, unchecked, must ultimately submerge our free institutions.

DE LANCEY NICOLL.

LETTER TO DR. FIELD.

My Dear Mr. Field:

With great pleasure I have read your second Letter, in which you seem to admit that men may differ even about religion without being responsible for that difference; that every man has the right to read the bible for himself, state freely the conclusion at which he arrives, and that it is not only his privilege, but his duty to speak the truth; that Christians can hardly be happy in heaven, while those they loved on earth are suffering with the lost; that it is not a crime to investigate, to think, to reason, to observe, and to be governed by evidence; that credulity is not a virtue, and that the open mouth of ignorant wonder is not the only entrance to Paradise; that belief is not necessary to salvation, and that no man can justly be made to suffer eternal pain for having expressed an intellectual conviction.

You seem to admit that no man can justly be held responsible for his thoughts; that the brain thinks without asking our consent, and that we believe or disbelieve without an effort of the will.

I congratulate you upon the advance that you have made. You not only admit that we have the right to think, but that we have the right to express our honest thoughts. You admit that the Christian world no longer believes in the faggot, the dungeon, and the thumb-screw. Has the Christian world outgrown its God? Has man become more merciful than his maker? If man will not torture his fellow-man on account of a difference of opinion, will a God of infinite love torture one of his children for what is called the sin of unbelief? Has man outgrown the Inquisition, and will God forever be the warden of a penitentiary? The walls of the old dungeons have fallen, and light now visits the cell where brave men perished in darkness. Is Jehovah to keep the cells of perdition in repair forever, and are his children to be the eternal prisoners?

It seems hard for you to appreciate the mental condition of

one who regards all Gods as substantially the same; that is to say, who thinks of them all as myths and phantoms born of the imagination, characters in the religious fictions of the race. To you it probably seems strange that a man should think far more of Jupiter than of Jehovah. Regarding them both as creations of the mind, I choose between them, and I prefer the God of the Greeks, on the same principle that I prefer Portia to Iago; and yet I regard them, one and all, as children of the imagination, as phantoms born of human fears and human hopes.

Surely nothing was further from my mind than to hurt the feelings of any one by speaking of the Presbyterian God. I simply intended to speak of the God of the Presbyterians. Certainly the God of the Presbyterian is not the God of the Catholic, nor is he the God of the Mohammedan or Hindoo. He is a special creation suited only to certain minds. These minds have naturally come together, and they form what we call the Presbyterian church. As a matter of fact, no two churches can by any possibility have precisely the same God; neither can any two human beings conceive of precisely the same Deity. In every man's God there is, to say the least, a part of that man. The lower the man, the lower his conception of God. The higher the man, the grander his Deity must be. The savage who adorns his body with a belt from which hang the scalps of enemies slain in battle, has no conception of a loving, of a forgiving God; his God, of necessity, must be as revengeful, as heartless, as infamous as the God of John Calvin.

You do not exactly appreciate my feeling. I do not hate Presbyterians; I hate Presbyterianism. I hate with all my heart the creed of that church, and I most heartily despise the God described in the Confession of Faith. But some of the best friends I have in the world are afflicted with the mental malady known as Presbyterianism. They are the victims of the consolation growing out of the belief that a vast majority of their fellowmen are doomed to suffer eternal torment, to the end that their Creator may be eternally glorified. I have said many times, and I say again, that I do not despise a man because he has the rheumatism; I despise the rheumatism because it has a man.

But I do insist that the Presbyterians have assumed to appropriate to themselves their Supreme Being, and that they have claimed, and that they do claim, to be the "special objects of

his favor." They do claim to be the very elect, and they do insist that God looks upon them as the objects of his special care. They do claim that the light of Nature, without the torch of the Presbyterian creed, is insufficient to guide any soul to the gate of heaven. They do insist that even those who never heard of Christ, or never heard of the God of the Presbyterians, will be eternally lost; and they not only claim this, but that their fate will illustrate not only the justice but the mercy of God. Not only so, but they insist that the morality of an unbeliever is displeasing to God, and that the love of an unconverted mother for her helpless child is nothing less than sin.

When I meet a man who really believes the Presbyterian creed, I think of the Laocoon. I feel as though looking upon a human being helpless in the coils of an immense and poisonous serpent. But I congratulate you with all my heart that you have repudiated this infamous, this savage creed; that you now admit that reason was given us to be exercised; that God will not torture any man for entertaining an honest doubt, and that in the world to come "every man will be judged according to the deeds done in the body."

Let me quote your exact language: "I believe that in the future world every man will be judged according to the deeds done in the body." Do you not see that you have bidden farewell to the Presbyterian church? In that sentence, you have thrown away the atonement, you have denied the efficacy of the blood of Jesus Christ, and you have denied the necessity of belief. If we are to be judged by the deeds done in the body, that is the end of the Presbyterian scheme of salvation. I sincerely congratulate you for having repudiated the savagery of Calvinism.

It also gave me great pleasure to find that you have thrown away, with a kind of glad shudder, that infamy of infamies, the dogma of eternal pain. I have denounced that inhuman belief; I have denounced every creed that had coiled within it that viper; I have denounced every man who preached it, the book that contains it, and with all my heart the God who threatens it; and at last I have the happiness of seeing the editor of the New York *Evangelist* admit that devout Christians do not believe that lie, and quote with approbation the words of a minister of the Church of England to the effect that all men will be finally recovered and made happy.

Do you find this doctrine of hope in the Presbyterian creed? Is this star, that sheds light on every grave, found in your bible? Did Christ have in his mind the shining truth that all the children of men will at last be filled with joy, when he uttered these comforting words: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels"? Do you find in this flame the bud of hope, or the flower of promise?

You suggest that it is possible that "the incurably bad will be annihilated," and you say that such a fate can have no terrors for me, as I look upon annihilation as the common lot of all. Let us examine this position. Why should a God of infinite wisdom create men and women whom he knew would be "incurably bad"? What would you say of a mechanic who was forced to destroy his own productions on the ground that they were "incurably bad"? Would you say that he was an infinitely wise mechanic? Does infinite justice annihilate the work of infinite wisdom? Does God, like an ignorant doctor, bury his mistakes?

Besides, what right have you to say that "I look upon annihilation as the common lot of all"? Was there any such thought in my Reply? Do you find it in any published words of mine? Do you find anything in what I have written tending to show that I believe in annihilation? Is it not true that I say now, and that I have always said, that I do not know? Does a lack of knowledge as to the fate of the human soul imply a belief in annihilation? Does it not equally imply a belief in immortality?

You have been—at least until recently—a believer in the inspiration of the bible and in the truth of its every word. What do you say to the following: "For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast." You will see that the inspired writer is not satisfied with admitting that he does not know. "As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away; so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more." Was it not cruel for an inspired man to attack a sacred belief?

You seem surprised that I should speak of the doctrine of eternal pain as "the black thunder-cloud that darkens all the horizon, casting its mighty shadows over the life that now is and that which is to come." If that doctrine be true, what else is there worthy of engaging the attention of the human mind? It

is the blackness that extinguishes every star. It is the abyss in which every hope must perish. It leaves a universe without justice and without mercy—a future without one ray of light, and a present with nothing but fear. It makes heaven an impossibility, God an infinite monster, and man an eternal victim. Nothing can redeem a religion in which this dogma is found. Clustered about it are all the snakes of the Furies.

But you have abandoned this infamy, and you have admitted that we are to be judged according to the deeds done in the body. Nothing can be nearer self-evident than the fact that a finite being cannot commit an infinite sin; neither can a finite being do an infinitely good deed. That is to say, no one can deserve for any act eternal pain, and no one for any deed can deserve eternal joy. If we are to be judged by the deeds done in the body, the old orthodox hell and heaven both become impossible.

So too, you have recognized the great and splendid truth that sin cannot be predicated of an intellectual conviction. This is the first great step toward the liberty of soul. You admit that there is no morality and no immorality in belief—that is to say, in the simple operation of the mind in weighing evidence, in observing facts, and in drawing conclusions. You admit that these things are without sin and without guilt. Had all men so believed there never could have been religious persecution—the Inquisition could not have been built, and the idea of eternal pain never could have polluted the human heart.

You have been driven to the passions for the purpose of finding what you are pleased to call "sin" and "responsibility"; and you say, speaking of a human being, "but if he is warped by passion so that he cannot see things truly, then is he responsible." One would suppose that the use of the word "cannot" is inconsistent with the idea of responsibility. What is passion? There are certain desires, swift, thrilling, that quicken the action of the heart—desires that fill the brain with blood, with fire and flame—desires that bear the same relation to judgment that storms and waves bear to the compass on a ship. Is passion necessarily produced? Is there an adequate cause for every effect? Can you by any possibility think of an effect without a cause, and can you by any possibility think of an effect that is not a cause, or can you think of a cause that is not an effect? Is not the history of real civilization the slow and gradual emancipation of the in-

tellect, of the judgment, from the mastery of passion? Is not that man civilized whose reason sits the crowned monarch of his brain—whose passions are his servants?

Who knows the strength of the temptation to another? Who knows how little has been resisted by those who stand, how much has been resisted by those who fall? Who knows whether the victor or the victim made the bravest and the most gallant fight? In judging of our fellow-men we must take into consideration the circumstances of ancestry, of race, of nationality, of employment, of opportunity, of education, and of the thousand influences that tend to mold or mar the character of man. Such a view is the mother of charity, and makes the God of the Presbyterians impossible.

At last you have seen the impossibility of forgiveness. That is to say, you perceive that after forgiveness the crime remains, and its children, called consequences, still live. You recognize the lack of philosophy in that doctrine. You still believe in what you call "the forgiveness of sins," but you admit that forgiveness cannot reverse the course of nature, and cannot prevent the operation of natural law. You also admit that if a man lives after death, he preserves his personal identity, his memory, and that the consequences of his actions will follow him through all the eternal years. You admit that consequences are immortal. After making this admission, of what use is the old idea of the forgiveness of sins? How can the criminal be washed clean and pure in the blood of another? In spite of this forgiveness, in spite of this blood, you have taken the ground that consequences, like the dogs of Actæon, follow even a Presbyterian, even one of the elect, within the heavenly gates. If you wish to be logical, you must also admit that the consequences of good deeds, like winged angels, follow even the atheist within the gates of hell.

You have had the courage of your convictions, and you have said that we are to be judged according to the deeds done in the body. By that judgment I am willing to abide. But, whether willing or not, I must abide, because there is no power, no God that can step between me and the consequences of my acts. I wish no heaven that I have not earned, no happiness to which I am not entitled. I do not wish to become an immortal pauper; neither am I willing to extend unworthy hands for alms.

My dear Mr. Field, you have outgrown your creed—as every

Presbyterian must who grows at all. You are far better than the spirit of the Old Testament; far better, in my judgment, even than the spirit of the New. The creed that you have left behind, that you have repudiated, teaches that a man may be guilty of every crime—that he may have driven his wife to insanity, that his example may have led his children to the penitentiary, or to the gallows, and that yet, at the eleventh hour, he may, by what is called "repentance," be washed absolutely pure by the blood of another and receive and wear upon his brow the laurels of eternal peace. Not only so, but that creed has taught that this wretch in heaven could look back on the poor earth and see the wife, whom he swore to love and cherish, in the mad-house, surrounded by imaginary serpents, struggling in the darkness of night, made insane by his heartlessness—that creed has taught and teaches that he could look back and see his children in prison cells, or on the scaffold with the noose about their necks, and that these visions would not bring a shade of sadness to his redeemed and happy face. It is this doctrine, it is this dogma—so bestial, so savage as to beggar all the languages of men—that I have denounced. All the words of hatred, loathing, and contempt, found in all the dialects and tongues of men, are not sufficient to express my hatred, my contempt, and my loathing of this creed.

You say that it is impossible for you not to believe in the existence of God. With this statement I find no fault. Your mind is so that a belief in the existence of a Supreme Being gives satisfaction and content. Of course, you are entitled to no credit for this belief, as you ought not to be rewarded for believing that which you cannot help believing; neither should I be punished for failing to believe that which I cannot believe.

You believe because you see in the world around you such an adaptation of means to ends that you are satisfied there is design. I admit that when Robinson Crusoe saw in the sand the print of a human foot, like and yet unlike his own, he was justified in drawing the conclusion that a human being had been there. The inference was drawn from his own experience, and was within the scope of his own mind. But I do not agree with you that he "knew" a human being had been there; he had only sufficient evidence upon which to found a belief. He did not know the footsteps of all animals; he could not have known that no animal except man could have made that footprint. In order to have

known that it was the foot of man, he must have known that no other animal was capable of making it, and he must have known that no other being had produced in the sand the likeness of this human foot.

You see what you call evidences of intelligence in the universe, and you draw the conclusion that there must be an infinite intelligence. Your conclusion is far wider than your premise. Let us suppose, as Mr. Hume supposed, that there is a pair of scales, one end of which is in darkness, and you find that a pound weight, or a ten-pound weight, placed upon that end of the scale in the light is raised ; have you the right to say that there is an infinite weight on the end in darkness, or are you compelled to say only that there is weight enough on the end in darkness to raise the weight on the end in light ?

It is illogical to say, because of the existence of this earth and of what you can see in and about it, that there must be an infinite intelligence. You do not know that even the creation of this world, and of all planets discovered, required an infinite power, or infinite wisdom. I admit that it is impossible for me to look at a watch and draw the inference that there was no design in its construction, or that it only happened. I could not regard it as a product of some freak of nature, neither could I imagine that its various parts were brought together and set in motion by chance. I am not a believer in chance. But there is a vast difference between what man has made and the materials of which he has constructed the things he has made. You find a watch, and you say that it exhibits, or shows design. You insist that it is so wonderful it must have had a designer—in other words, that it is too wonderful not to have been constructed. You then find the watchmaker, and you say with regard to him that he too must have had a designer, for he is more wonderful than the watch. In imagination you go from the watchmaker to the being you call God, and you say he designed the watchmaker, but he himself was not designed because he is too wonderful to have been designed. And yet in the case of the watch and of the watchmaker, it was the wonder that suggested design, while in the case of the maker of the watchmaker the wonder denied a designer. Do you not see that this argument devours itself ? If wonder suggests a designer, can it go on increasing until it denies that which it suggested ?

You must remember, too, that the argument of design is applicable to all. You are not at liberty to stop at sunrise and sunset and growing corn and all that adds to the happiness of man; you must go further. You must admit that an infinitely wise and merciful God designed the fangs of serpents, the machinery by which the poison is distilled, the ducts by which it is carried to the fang, and that the same intelligence impressed this serpent with a desire to deposit this deadly virus in the flesh of man. You must believe that an infinitely wise God so constructed this world, that in the process of cooling, earthquakes would be caused—earthquakes that devour and overwhelm cities and states. Do you see any design in the volcano that sends its rivers of lava over the fields and the homes of men? Do you really think that a perfectly good being designed the invisible parasites that infest the air, that inhabit the water, and that finally attack and destroy the health and life of man? Do you see the same design in cancers that you do in wheat and corn? Did God invent tumors for the brain? Was it his ingenuity that so designed the human race that millions of people should be born deaf and dumb, that millions should be idiotic. Did he knowingly plant in the blood or brain the seeds of insanity? Did he cultivate those seeds? Do you see any design in this?

Man calls that good which increases his happiness, and that evil which gives him pain. In the olden time, back of the good he placed a God; back of the evil a devil; but now the orthodox world is driven to admit that the God is the author of all.

For my part, I see no goodness in the pestilence—no mercy in the bolt that leaps from the cloud and leaves the mark of death on the breast of a loving mother. I see no generosity in famine, no goodness in disease, no mercy in want and agony. And yet you say that the being who created parasites that live only by inflicting pain—the being responsible for all the sufferings of mankind—you say that he has "a tenderness compared to which all human love is faint and cold." Yet according to the doctrine of the orthodox world, this being of infinite love and tenderness so created nature that its light misleads, and left a vast majority of the human race to blindly grope their way to endless pain.

You insist that a knowledge of God—a belief in God—is the foundation of social order; and yet this God of infinite tenderness has left for thousands and thousands of years nearly all of

his children without a revelation. Why should infinite goodness leave the existence of God in doubt? Why should he see millions in savagery destroying the lives of each other, eating the flesh of each other, and keep his existence a secret from man? Why did he allow the savages to depend on sunrise and sunset and clouds? Why did he leave this great truth to a few half-crazed prophets, or to a cruel, heartless, and ignorant church? The sentence "There is a God" could have been imprinted on every blade of grass, on every leaf, on every star. An infinite God has no excuse for leaving his children in doubt and darkness.

There is still another point. You know that for thousands of ages men worshiped wild beasts as God. You know that for countless generations they knelt by coiled serpents, believing those serpents to be Gods. Why did the real God secrete himself and allow his poor, ignorant, savage children to imagine that he was a beast, a serpent? Why did this God allow mothers to sacrifice their babes? Why did he not emerge from the darkness? Why did he not say to the poor mother, "Do not sacrifice your babe; keep it in your arms; press it to your bosom; let it be the solace of your declining years. I take no delight in the death of children; I am not what you suppose me to be; I am not a beast; I am not a serpent; I am full of love and kindness and mercy, and I want my children to be happy in this world"? Did the God who allowed a mother to sacrifice her babe through the mistaken idea that he, the God, demanded the sacrifice, feel a tenderness toward that mother "compared to which all human love is faint and cold"? Would a good father allow some of his children to kill others of his children to please him?

There is still another question. Why should God, a being of infinite tenderness, leave the question of immortality in doubt? How is it that there is nothing in the Old Testament on this subject? Why is it that he who made all the constellations did not put in his heaven the star of hope? How do you account for the fact that you do not find in the Old Testament, from the first mistake in Genesis to the last curse in Malachi, a funeral service? Is it not strange that some one in the Old Testament did not stand by an open grave of father or mother and say: "We shall meet again?" Was it because the divinely inspired men did not know?

You taunt me by saying that I know no more of the immortality of the soul than Cicero knew. I admit it. I know no more

than the lowest savage, no more than a doctor of divinity—that is to say, nothing.

Is it not, however, a curious fact that there is less belief in the immortality of the soul in Christian countries than in heathen lands—that the belief in immortality in an orthodox church is faint, and cold, and speculative, compared with that belief in India, in China, or in the Pacific Isles ? Compare the belief in immortality in America, of Christians, with that of the followers of Mohammed. Do not Christians weep above their dead ? Does a belief in immortality keep back their tears ? After all, the promises are so far away, and the dead are so near—the echoes of words said to have been spoken more than eighteen centuries ago are lost in the sounds of the clods that fall on the coffin. And yet, compared with the orthodox hell, compared with the prison-house of God, how ecstatic is the grave—the grave without a sigh, without a tear, without a dream, without a fear. Compared with the immortality promised by the Presbyterian creed, how beautiful annihilation seems. To be nothing—how much better than to be a convict forever. To be unconscious dust—how much better than to be a heartless angel.

There is not, there never has been, there never will be, any consolation in orthodox Christianity. It offers no consolation to any good and loving man. I prefer the consolation of Nature, the consolation of hope, the consolation springing from human affection. I prefer the simple desire to live and love forever.

Of course, it would be a consolation to know that we have an "Almighty Friend" in heaven; but an Almighty Friend who cares nothing for us, who allows us to be stricken by his lightning, frozen by his winter, starved by his famine, and at last imprisoned in his hell, is a friend I do not care to have.

I remember "the poor slave mother who sat alone in her cabin, having been robbed of her children;" and, my dear Mr. Field, I also remember that the people who robbed her justified the robbery by reading passages from the sacred scriptures. I remember that while the mother wept, the robbers, some of whom were Christians, read this: "Buy of the heathen round about, and they shall be your bondmen and bondwomen forever." I remember, too, that the robbers read: "Servants be obedient unto your masters"; and they said this passage is the only message from the heart of God to the scarred back of the slave. I re-

member this, and I remember, also, that the poor slave mother upon her knees in wild and wailing accents called on the "Almighty Friend," and I remember that her prayer was never heard, and that her sobs died in the negligent air.

You ask me whether I would "rob this poor woman of such a friend?" My answer is this: I would give her liberty; I would break her chains. But let me ask you, did an "Almighty Friend" see the woman he loved "with a tenderness compared to which all human love is faint and cold," and the woman who loved him, robbed of her children? What was the "Almighty Friend" worth to her? She preferred her babe.

How could the "Almighty Friend" see his poor children pursued by hounds—his children whose only crime was the love of liberty—how could he see that, and take sides with the hounds? Do you believe that the "Almighty Friend" then governed the world? Do you really think that he

> "Bade the slave-ship speed from coast to coast,
> Fanned by the wings of the Holy Ghost?"

Do you believe that the "Almighty Friend" saw all of the tragedies that were enacted in the jungles of Africa—that he watched the wretched slave-ships, saw the miseries of the middle passage, heard the blows of all the whips, saw all the streams of blood, all the agonized faces of women, all the tears that were shed? Do you believe that he saw and knew all these things, and that he, the "Almighty Friend," looked coldly down and stretched no hand to save?

You persist, however, in endeavoring to account for the miseries of the world by taking the ground that happiness is not the end of life. You say that "the real end of life is character, and that no discipline can be too severe which leads us to suffer and be strong." Upon this subject you use the following language: "If you could have your way you would make everybody happy; there would be no more poverty, and no more sickness or pain." And this, you say, is "a child's picture, hardly worthy of a stalwart man." Let me read you another "child's picture," which you will find in the twenty-first chapter of Revelation, supposed to have been written by St. John, the Divine: "And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, behold the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his

people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God ; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain."

If you visited some woman living in a tenement, supporting by her poor labor a little family—a poor woman on the edge of famine, sewing, it may be, her eyes blinded by tears—would you tell her that "the world is not a play-ground in which men are to be petted and indulged like children ?" Would you tell her that to think of a world without poverty, without tears, without pain, is a "child's picture ?" If she asked you for a little assistance, would you refuse it on the ground that by being helped she might lose character ? Would you tell her : "God does not wish to have you happy ; happiness is a very foolish end ; character is what you want, and God has put you here with these helpless, starving babes, and he has put this burden on your young life simply that you may suffer and be strong. I would help you gladly, but I do not wish to defeat the plans of your Almighty Friend ?" You can reason one way, but you would act the other.

I agree with you that work is good, that struggle is essential ; that men are made manly by contending with each other and with the forces of nature ; but there is a point beyond which struggle does not make character ; there is a point at which struggle becomes failure.

Can you conceive of an "Almighty Friend" deforming his children because he loves them ? Did he allow the innocent to languish in dungeons because he was their friend ? Did he allow the noble to perish upon the scaffold, the great and the self-denying to be burned at the stake, because he had the power to save ? Was he restrained by love ? Did this "Almighty Friend" allow millions of his children to be enslaved to the end that "the splendor of virtue might have a dark background" ? You insist that "suffering patiently borne is a means of the greatest elevation of character and in the end of the highest enjoyment." Do you not then see that your "Almighty Friend" has been unjust to the happy—that he is cruel to those whom we call the fortunate—that he is indifferent to the men who do not suffer—that he leaves all the happy and prosperous and joyous without character, and that in the end, according to your doctrine, they are the losers ?

But, after all, there is no need of arguing this question

further. There is one fact that destroys forever your theory—and that is the fact that millions upon millions die in infancy. Where do they get "elevation of character?" What opportunity is given to them to "suffer and be strong?" Let us admit that we do not know. Let us say that the mysteries of life, of good and evil, of joy and pain, have never been explained. Is character of no importance in heaven? How is it possible for angels, living in "a child's picture," to "suffer and be strong?" Do you not see that, according to your philosophy, only the damned can grow great—only the lost can become sublime?

You do not seem to understand what I say with regard to what I call the higher philosophy. When that philosophy is accepted, of course there will be good in the world, there will be evil, there will still be right and wrong. What is good? That which tends to the happiness of sentient beings. What is evil? That which tends to the misery, or tends to lessen the happiness of sentient beings. What is right? The best thing to be done under the circumstances—that is to say, the thing that will increase or preserve the happiness of man. What is wrong? That which tends to the misery of man.

What you call liberty, choice, morality, responsibility, have nothing whatever to do with this. There is no difference between necessity and liberty. He who is free, acts from choice. What is the foundation of his choice? What we really mean by liberty is freedom from personal dictation—we do not wish to be controlled by the will of others. To us the nature of things does not seem to be a master—Nature has no will.

Society has the right to protect itself by imprisoning those who prey upon its interests; but it has no right to punish. It may have the right to destroy the life of one dangerous to the community; but what has freedom to do with this? Do you kill the poisonous serpent because he knew better than to bite? Do you chain a wild beast because he is morally responsible? Do you not think that the criminal deserves the pity of the virtuous?

I was looking forward to the time when the individual might feel justified—when the convict who had worn the garment of disgrace might know and feel that he had acted as he must.

There is an old Hindoo prayer to which I call your attention: "Have mercy, God, upon the vicious; Thou hast already had mercy upon the just by making them just."

Is it not possible that we may find that everything has been necessarily produced ? This, of course, would end in the justification of men. Is not that a desirable thing ? Is it not possible that intelligence may at last raise the human race to that sublime and philosophic height ?

You insist, however, that this is Calvinism. I take it for granted that you understand Calvinism—but let me tell you what it is. Calvinism asserts that man does as he must, and that, notwithstanding this fact, he is responsible for what he does—that is to say, for what he is compelled to do—that is to say, for what God does with him ; and that, for doing that which he must, an infinite God, who compelled him to do it, is justified in punishing the man in eternal fire ; this, not because the man ought to be damned, but simply for the glory of God.

Starting from the same declaration, that man does as he must, I reach the conclusion that we shall finally perceive in this fact justification for every individual. And yet you see no difference between my doctrine and Calvinism. You insist that damnation and justification are substantially the same ; and yet the difference is as great as human language can express. You call the justification of all the world "the Gospel of Despair," and the damnation of nearly all the human race the "Consolation of Religion."

After all, my dear friend, do you not see that when you come to speak of that which is really good, you are compelled to describe your ideal human being ? It is the human in Christ, and only the human, that you by any possibility can understand. You speak of one who was born among the poor, who went about doing good, who sympathized with those who suffered. You have described, not only one, but many millions of the human race. Millions of others have carried light to those sitting in darkness ; millions and millions have taken children in their arms ; millions have wept that those they loved might smile. No language can express the goodness, the heroism, the patience and self-denial of the many millions, dead and living, who have preserved in the family of man the jewels of the heart. You have clad one being in all the virtues of the race, in all the attributes of gentleness, patience, goodness, and love, and yet that being, according to the New Testament, had to his character another side. True, he said, "Come unto me and I will give you rest;" but what did he say to those who failed to come ? You pour out

your whole heart in thankfulness to this one man who suffered for the right, while I thank not only this one, but all the rest. My heart goes out to all the great, the self-denying and the good,—to the founders of nations, singers of songs, builders of homes; to the inventors, to the artists who have filled the world with beauty, to the composers of music, to the soldiers of the right, to the makers of mirth, to honest men, and to all the loving mothers of the race.

Compare, for one moment, all that the Saviour did, all the pain and suffering that he relieved,—compare all this with the discovery of anæsthetics. Compare your prophets with the inventors, your Apostles with the Keplers, the Humboldts and the Darwins.

I belong to the great church that holds the world within its starlit aisles; that claims the great and good of every race and clime; that finds with joy the grain of gold in every creed, and floods with light and love the germs of good in every soul.

Most men are provincial, narrow, one sided, only partially developed. In a new country we often see a little patch of land, a clearing in which the pioneer has built his cabin. This little clearing is just large enough to support a family, and the remainder of the farm is still forest, in which snakes crawl and wild beasts occasionally crouch. It is thus with the brain of the average man. There is a little clearing, a little patch, just large enough to practice medicine with, or sell goods, or practice law, or preach with, or to do some kind of business, sufficient to obtain bread and food and shelter for a family, while all the rest of the brain is covered with primeval forest, in which lie coiled the serpents of superstition and from which spring the wild beasts of orthodox religion.

Neither in the interest of truth, nor for the benefit of man, is it necessary to assert what we do not know. No cause is great enough to demand a sacrifice of candor. The mysteries of life and death, of good and evil, have never yet been solved.

I combat those only who, knowing nothing of the future, prophesy an eternity of pain—those only who sow the seeds of fear in the hearts of men—those only who poison all the springs of life, and seat a skeleton at every feast.

Let us banish the shriveled hags of superstition; let us welcome the beautiful daughters of truth and joy.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

RECENT MOVEMENTS OF THE STOCK MARKET.

It is a mooted point whether the liquidation which followed the collapse of the bull speculation culminating in 1881 was ever thoroughly completed. Some of the most successful operators in Wall street believe that the process of contraction would have run through 1885, and the country been the healthier for it, had it not been artificially arrested by the famous West Shore deal early in that year. No fixed time can be set for the readjustment of values which always follows an era of extravagant expansion. The ten year hypothesis does not bear examination. One year in ten is disastrous, it is said; but the idea that the disastrous years follow each other exactly a decade apart is contradicted by the facts of history.

Eighty-seven years is but a brief space in the life of a nation, but this brief period with us covers the growth of the country from youth to manhood; from a population of less than six millions to one of sixty millions. We began the century in quiet prosperity, which, in 1807, was arrested by Jefferson's embargo policy, and the distresses and embarrassments of that were only exchanged for the worse ones of the war of 1812. When the war closed there started, in 1815, the first of the great "booms," many of which we have had since. It ran wild through 1816–17–18, and culminated in 1819, when a terrible crash in trade and speculation of all kinds spread ruin throughout the land. It was not till 1823 that the country began to pick up again. It worked along upward with comparative steadiness until 1835, when a series of financial and commercial events started the country into another and more extravagant "boom," which collapsed in 1837. There was some recovery in 1839 and 1840, but it was short-lived, and gave way to depression, the lowest point being reached in 1843. From this period the movement was upward, running at last into the extravagance which produced the smash of 1857.

The recovery from this break was comparatively rapid, as business was in good shape when the war came upon us. The era of expansion following the war collapsed in 1873, and the liquidation was not completed till 1877. Prices were then at their lowest, and from that time they went on rising till the summer of 1881, when the assassination of President Garfield made a turning point. A decline, then begun, continued until the panic of May, 1884. In the July following there was a powerful upward movement in the stock market, but, in October, prices broke, and the market was heavy until in the spring of 1885, when the enormous purchases of securities preparatory to the West Shore deal caused the market to start on an upward movement, which had but temporary interruption until the decline began in June last.

As just stated, some prominent stock operators consider that the upward impulse in 1885 came before its time, and that the liquidation was incomplete, or, at least, there was an unnatural stimulus given to the movement of recovery. The combination of capitalists who united the trunk lines in what was practically one control had to purchase securities on a grander scale than had ever before been known in Wall street. The result was that the whole railroad and financial world felt the upward impulse, and in a few months the managers of nearly every great railroad system in the country were planning extensions and expansions in various forms, and bringing out new issues of bonds bearing only four per cent. interest.

Wall street was made to see the future in a bright and novel light. Not only had the era of depression been passed, but in future money would never be worth more than four per cent., and, of course, all the old stocks and bonds which paid more must inevitably go up. All new bonds of companies in fair credit would be issued at four per cent., and be worth over par; and it is a fact that the Illinois Central refunded some old seven per cent. bonds then falling due at three per cent., and got par for the new issue. It was the cheapness and abundance of money due to trade stagnation, but available at a time when an artificial impulse towards expansion and speculation had been given, which started railroad building forward with a leap and a bound in 1886 and 1887. Large issues of bonds were contracted for; syndicates took them eagerly at high prices, and, in many cases, they have never been able to sell them since at a profit.

For it inevitably came to pass that as trade was everywhere stimulated by the immense railroad construction, which rose from 3,609 miles in 1885 to over 9,000 in 1886, and will reach almost 12,000 in 1887, the money was drained away from the great central reservoir in which it had stagnated, and as this drain continued, and the demand for the use of money increased, the interest rates based on a congested bank surplus of $50,000,000 or more disappeared with its disappearance. Four per cent. bonds on new roads were no longer sought after by investors, and it finally began to dawn upon Wall street that it had been too hasty in assuming that money in this country would only be worth four cent.

But this discovery did not come in a day, and before it did come the market was carried up through the year 1866, until the bull speculation ran into extravagance in December of that year, which gave that grizzled veteran, Mr. Cammack, a splendid opportunity to attack it. He and his associates waited till the bank reserve surplus had run down to $4,000,000, suddenly tightened money in the customary way, and started a tremendous selling movement just when the market was in a wild ferment of bull activity. There was a great smash. Never was there a greater surprise, for the smash came without sign of warning. Usually, bear operations are started after it has been discovered that some large operators or combination of operators have sold out their stocks under cover of the excitement they have fomented, but in this case there was no waiting. The army of buyers on margin were loaded with all they could carry, and when the first blow was given it found the bull operators with their buying power strained to the utmost. They could buy no more, and the bears had things their own way. They sold the market down with merciless energy. In three days it was all over, and the subsequent rally was made by the very men who had done the breaking. It was a successful movement, and true scientific stock speculation, for they never lost control of the market for a moment, either in breaking or rallying, until the whole operation was complete. The then pending Inter-State Commerce Bill was the bogey used to scare the Street, but the real work was done by the pinch in money.

It was lucky that the smash came in December. Had it been in April or May there would probably have been no recovery

worth mentioning until after the next crops had been harvested. As it was, there was time to get things together again before the disturbing uncertainties of the crop question should come up. The market gathered strength as the traders and owners plucked up courage. They argued that the December episode was merely a bear raid, temporarily interrupting the natural upward movement of prices. There was truth in this. The railroads were making large earnings, business was active, and speculation in real estate, where the railroad companies had been doing most building, was giving an appearance of rapidly increasing wealth to the sections where it was liveliest. The bull movement increased in force. When May came the market was high. Fond anticipations were indulged in that it was going higher, because the railroads earnings kept up so well. But somehow the market stuck. There were no bears in sight, every one was bullish, no cloud appeared on the financial horizon, and all the financial writers were writing one way, that prices must certainly go up.

Nevertheless, the market would not go up. It fell into dullness and seemed stuck in a rut. The truth was, prices of stocks had been carried as high as they could go, compared with the dividends they paid, or were likely to pay during the year. Money was no longer a drug in the market, and rates of interest showed a tendency to rise, while dividends were still low. Then it was that the Street began to suspect that money would not always remain at four per cent.

Whatever were his real ideas at this time, Mr. Gould's public utterances were strongly bullish, and the Street felt much encouraged as he talked about the big railroad earnings, and hinted that while there had been some extravagant speculation in real estate in the West, yet it was local and would do no harm. This was the first time the Street had had its attention directed to this phase of speculation. Even an operator so inclined to bearish views as Mr. Cammack did not anticipate what was coming later. He rather expected higher prices. Discussing the situation in June, he said he did not think the market had much chance to rise during that month, but about the 10th of August the bank deposits begin to run up, "and then," said he, striking his hands with energy, "then go in and bull them for all they're worth." Within ten days after this conversation the famous corner in June wheat at Chicago broke with disastrous effects. The stock mar-

ket stood the shock with apparent ease, but its strength was deceptive. The crash had ruined the Fidelity Bank of Cincinnati; the banks throughout the country took alarm and began calling loans; Mr. Cyrus W. Field was caught in the squall with all sail spread, and his Manhattan stock went down with a great smash. Something like panic reigned in the market on Friday, the 24th of the month. The Gould stocks fell violently, and dragged the whole list with them. It was rumored that Mr. Gould was dead; but the Street subsequently got an idea that he was sufficiently alive that day to engineer the whole movement.

From this time until October the market continued to decline, not regularly, but with the usual series of breaks and rallies. The strongest of the rallies was made on the occasion of the Reading syndicate coming to the rescue of the embarrassed Baltimore & Ohio Company with its $5,000,000 loan; but the rally disappointed the Street by the speedy way it exhausted its strength, and when, sometime later, the B. & O. telegraph property was transferred to the Western Union, the consummation of this long-expected trade, upon which such extravagant bull expectations had been founded, produced no rally at all, but a decline instead. The main trouble was with the money market. The banks had received no return flow of money from the West during the summer, and when the usual drain came upon them for the fall crop movement, it found them with depleted reserves. Fearful of what might happen, they weeded out the loans, but more severely curtailed their discounts, preferring to lend their money only on call, and therefore in Wall street, from which alone there is a demand for call loans.

This created a slowly tightening money stringency in commercial circles, and from that direction arose a loud cry for help from the Treasury Department. The Treasury, it was said, had locked up all the money. The Treasury had, in fact, a good many millions less in its vaults than at the corresponding time the previous year; the money had really gone West and South, where the real estate speculations, the great railroad construction, and consequent activity of trade, had absorbed it, or, more correctly, diffused it. However, the Treasury Department came to the assistance of the merchants by buying bonds, at first in a small way, and later by buying $14,000,000 of bonds in a lump. This, and the subsequent increase of government funds in the

depositary banks, gave the needed relief, and beyond question averted a panic. It tided over the period of most severe stringency, and in the latter part of October the money market became easy. The stock market had just had its last and worst spasm, stocks having averaged on the 15th of the month their lowest prices of the year.

As soon as money became easy, and people carrying stocks were no longer forced to lend them in the market as the readiest way of obtaining it, the whole speculative situation changed. The true policy of the successful bear operators, who were known to be Messrs. Cammack, Bateman, and Jones, should then have been to wind up their bear campaign; and even if they did not care to buy stocks and rally the market, at least to draw of and let others do it. So successful had this combination been in their operations, that if they had chosen to start a bull movement, there is no doubt they could, inside of thirty days, have sent the market upward as rapidly as ever they had put it down. Their success had brought them a large and confident following, and if it had been announced that the great bear combination had agreed the time had come for a reaction, the reaction which soon did come would have been stronger than it was, and the movement would have been under their control as the downward movements had been. Self-control, however, is not so easy after such a period of success as they had had. They pressed too far on the bear side; a powerful combination was made with the bull party in Reading at its head, the market was turned against them and sent rapidly upward on its November bull movement.

The interesting feature of this summer bear campaign is that at no time did the railroads, with only one or two exceptions, report anything but increased gross earnings, and general trade never for a moment seemed to slacken its activity; yet the price of steel rails declined; so did iron, and new bonds became unsalable. So long as railroad earnings increased, and trade showed no falling off, it would have been natural to expect that stocks would rise, and they would have gone on rising had not the original basis of the bull movement been a fallacious one. It was a false theory of the future value of money, or, if it be preferred in that form, of the rates of interest. It was assumed that hereafter 4 per cent. was the maximum that could be expected from investments; therefore any stock reasonably certain of paying 4 per cent. divi-

dends would be worth par, and good bonds bearing that rate would go up to a 3 or 3½ per cent. basis. The market had been carried up to this limit in May last, when it appeared that while stocks paying 4 per cent were at par, or thereabouts, money could be lent at better rates with these same stocks as collateral on a safe margin, and the prospect was that in the fall there would be a scarcity of money and corresponding high rates for it.

This is what happened, and had not the Treasury given its help when it did, Wall street would have seen money at ½ and 1 per cent. per day before October had passed. It has often been said since that the summer scare about tight money was a delusion; but the proof that it was not, is the fact that the twenty-seven millions or so let out by the Treasury were all absorbed, with the effect of putting the money market in a condition of comparative ease for a time ; but as early as November time loans were again at 6 per cent. for thirty days or six months. If this was the condition of the market after the Treasury had given its help, what would it have been had no help been given ?

Considering the outlook for the year before us, certain prominent facts have to be borne in mind. Politically, the year is unfavorable to bull speculation, because of the disturbance which comes from a Presidential election, and furthermore, a re-adjustment of the tariff is imperative. The effect of a wise revision must, of course, be favorable to prices, but in the period of transition the uncertainty has a depressing tendency. The corn crop has been the worst since the disastrous year 1881, and the cotton crop has fallen much below expectations. It is the shortage in corn which will hurt the most, for that is the best crop the railroads have to move, and instead of a crop for this season of 2,100 million bushels, we have only one of 1,400 million bushels. The effect on the earnings of the railroads which depend much upon corn for freight cannot fail to be bad. The loss which comes directly from the less quantity of grain carried is the least loss ; it is the loss which comes indirectly from the depressing influence of the crop damage on trade in the sections which have been hurt.

In addition to the above, there must be counted against the bull side the certain shrinkage in railroad construction during 1888 as compared with 1887. It is probable there will not be built in the year before us more than one-half the mileage that was built in

the year past; that is, instead of 12,000 miles of new road, only about 6,000 miles will be built. This, in itself, represents a very great shrinkage in general trade. The total tonnage moved by all the railroads in 1887 is estimated by H. V. Poor at 545 million tons, and in 1886, at 482 million tons; total for the two years, 1,027 million tons. For the two years preceding 1886 the estimated tonnage was only 836 million tons. It is evident from this and other figures that a sudden stride has been made forward in the years 1886 and 1887, and, following the usual precedents, there should be a settling back in 1888.

For this peculiar feature is noted in our industrial progress: that while a ten-year cycle can only be faintly traced, and that by the help of much imagination, there is very plainly defined a two years' period wherein speculation made a sudden rush beyond the rate of progress in the years preceding; that is, the culmination of a period of safe prosperity has been a sudden expansion and extravagant speculation running for two years, and then came the crash. The crash has necessarily been severe in proportion to the wildness of the speculation preceding. General trade seems to have been conducted on a fairly safe basis of late, and the only extravagance has been in railroad building and in Western land speculation. The latter has been pushed to wild excesses, and the reaction will cut deep. Altogether, it would seem that the year 1888 would be less favorable to bull speculation than 1887 had been, but that no severe crash threatens.

CUTHBERT MILLS.

PRISONER AMONG THE INDIANS.

It was not at all like a prison van, but ample, sufficient, and convenient, "with kitchen, parlor, dining-room, and chambers all complete," like the doll's house of the nursery-rhyme, if somewhat like that, too, in magnitude, with sofas and reclining-chairs, the luxuries of the larder, all the appurtenances of toilet and table, and deft personal service, and the captor and tyrant lurked unseen, unsuspected.

So we went gaily into the wilderness, seeing only the wide, rich plains, with a cabin here and a cottage there; now and then a dusky face watching the train, now and then a plow upturning the fertile furrow; and ever the long lines of iron rail on a turfed and even bank—stiff, straight, slender lines shooting from the horizon, leading all the world's skill and thought and patience of hope and labor of love for a thousand years, into the heart of the wilderness, to a people without a history. And, suddenly, lurid clouds drop low over the plains, threatening, to the uninitiated, tornadoes and the sudden extinction of *our* history, but to the experienced eye of the scoffer representing only the unsentimental outskirts of a sand-storm in Texas!

Along the horizon of the gloaming we are girdled with fire, and between it and us are fences of fire, fierce and beautiful, among which and past which we sweep unharmed.

"That is what becomes of the prairie grass," says the Master of Horse, with unsmothered disgust. "There are 300,000 acres of it burning up, and the cattle perishing for want of food!"

The ignorant ranch-less opens wide eyes of astonishment and inquiry, and the battle instantly begins.

"Every blade of that burning grass is needed for the cattle. They are dying for the lack of it. Texas has dried up. Yes, it belongs to the Indians, and they cannot sell it, but they have a right to rent it, and it was hired from them in good faith and with

their full consent. They were doing nothing with it. No one was using it. They were glad to let the cattlemen hire it, either at so much per head or so much per acre. The renting of their land brought in to the Indian Government $200,000 a year—$13.50 per capita. Their right to rent it was not, perhaps, exactly guaranteed by the last Administration, but it was certainly so confirmed that there was no doubt of their right to make the contract. We had eighteen thousand cattle feeding there. One man's share in the plant I know was $80,000. Gone. Hurt the land? No. Helped it. Improved the land, helped the cattle-owners, put money into the Indian hands, hurt nobody. Oh! a few of the lazy head men among the Indians, who were trying to get hold of the money themselves and could not, but saw it going where it belonged, to the honest working people, revenged themselves by interfering, made complaint, and Goverment interposed, revoked the action of the preceding government, or, perhaps I ought to say, ignored it. Without the slightest regard to their rights or their fate the cattlemen were ordered off. They were ordered to drive away thousands of cattle and nowhere to drive them. The Texan plains were dry. Here were food and water, and nowhere else. Prairies that are fed out don't burn out, but these were given over to fire and not food. Time was asked, but refused. Lands had been fenced in at great cost but they had to be sacrificed.

"But is there not another side to it?" asked John Halifax, Gentleman. "Is it not an opening for the white man to come into the Indian Territory, and, when he is in, will it not be hard to dislodge him? The Indian owns his land, but only while he occupies it. If he is allowed to rent it, the white man gets an opening wedge,—the shrewd and unprincipled, as well as the honest,—and they burrow in, and screw in, and stick in, like a wood-tick,—to use a simile of the territory,—and make as great an inflammation upon the body politic, and the first you know you have an Indian war upon your hands."

"Not a bit of it. There is nothing to kindle war, nothing to incite war. The Indians want the cattle. It is not in the nature of an encroachment, it is in the nature of a contract. It is not made between man and man, it is made between cattle companies and the Indian Government. They contract of their own free will and get this money for their schools and their courts from lands which are not cultivated, which would otherwise run to

waste, which do burn up, as you see. The very Indians that gave in to misrepresentations, and went against us, see their mistake now and want us back again; but it is too late. The ranches are broken up. The cattle have been driven here and there, and many of them have died. You will find Indians enough. Ask them about it. See what they say themselves. Ask Mr. Hewitt; he is a Democrat; and see if there is any partisanship or politics about. You are not going to benefit the Indians, or conciliate them, or civilize them, or teach them economy by taking two hundred thousand dollars worth of their property and burning it up before their eyes. You can keep out the law-abiding white man who goes there honorably and openly for traffic; but that does not keep out the law-breaking white man who goes there scoundrelwise to cheat and steal and sell bad whiskey!"

I shudder. I fear that I am going to be interested. I feel myself becoming interested. I do not wish to be interested. I have come to the wilderness to be wild. I long to be, for a season, purely savage; to be a mocking-bird, a deer, a partridge, a panther—anything that does not think and does not care; a part of the swamp and the sky. They call cultivated strawberries tame strawberries here. I wished not to be a tame strawberry, but a wild strawberry; a child of the jungle and not of politics.

Vain hope. Down in the wilderness I am sevenfold more a child of politics than in the cities. For, suddenly, here is a whole new set of politics. I find myself face to face with things which I had always heard of indeed, but only heard of. They were practically as remote as the grass-lands in the hanging gardens of Babylon. Now I tread the turf of another time, another race. A mysterious stream, flowing from what source I know not, descending through ages and continents of conjecture, washes now against my feet. I see its sparkle in the sunshine, I hear the ripple of its unhastening course, nor is wanting a gray sullenness beneath menacing skies, the growl of an obstructed flow, the "melancholy, low, withdrawing roar" of a helpless ebb. I find a nation within a nation; the Anglo-Saxon nation, strong, advancing, controlling, cherishing, surrounding, irresistible: the Indian nation, surrounded, struggling, resolute, rising, suspicious, defiant. It sees the white government powerful and beneficent, white men teaching, civilizing, Christianizing.

But it sees also white men with faces gleaming greed and hands twitching for fight, impatient to enter upon a vast, rich, a forbidden possession,

> "With wolfish eyes
> Waiting to see me die."

At home, on the Atlantic shore, I could settle "the Indian question" at the breakfast-table, between oranges and coffee, without a misgiving, and without the slightest friction between plan and execution; I have settled it a hundred times. But, here on the spot, great, grave questions spring from the hills, lurk in the woods, shoot athwart the streams, blaze up on the prairies, stretch from Earth to Heaven! Panther and wild-cat and startled deer go their ways with the beasts that perish, and I cannot go with them. Human souls stand without at the gate, knock at the doors of the mind demanding to be admitted, demanding that their claims be presented, because they are human beings, children of our Father in Heaven.

The Prohibition Law exists in fullest force in the Indian Territory, both by Indian law and United States Treaty law. The whole legal power of both nations is bent on keeping whiskey away from the Indians and out of the territory.

"And is it really kept out?"

"They swim in it!"

We go to "town." There are no streets. The buildings stand anywhere, askew. A few cabins, a few decent cottages, all very small, some with little attempts at decoration. There is no sign of what Massachusetts would call a town;—only a few small, faded, shabby business buildings scattered around in the dust, the few small dwelling houses scattered around in the pasture. There are no roads. There can be no roads, because a man may fence wherever he will within a certain distance of his neighbor's fence; and what is a road to-day may be barred by a four-foot fence to-morrow. So the wagons are made to fit the country and the Government—made, I should say, to ride equally well upside down and right side up. Certainly that is the way we seem to be going. Four mules draw us untiringly, not to say friskily—sidling into a gully, jolting over a stump, dashing down a terrace, whisking around a corner, barking against a tree, pitching into a hollow, splashing across a "hog-wallow," then a crash and

a splintering, and one mule is dancing out at right angles with the rest, and all jumping different ways, and we bump along somewhat more energetically, and I don't know whether it is a part of the performance and to laugh, or an accident and to scream, for it is only a little wilder jiggle, a little harder bounce against the tree trunks ; but I see that the Commander has taken one set of lines, while the driver keeps the other, and both are pulling with all their might, and I am inclined to think that things do not always go thus and that it is a runaway ; while a philosophical little lady, always philosophical, and with a turn for investigation, begins, with scientific dispassionateness, "Carl, why do Bessie and Jack take that peculiar gait ?" and suddenly we are brought to a standstill, and the drivers leap out and the barn doors of the wagon are flung quickly open and the passengers bidden and brought afoot out with marvelous celerity, and then I see that we were on the brink of a catastrophe and ought to have been scared, but it was only a very slight exaggeration of ordinary charioteering in the Indian Territory !

Our objective point is an Indian home—a trim little cottage in the woods, quite in the woods, a tiny lawn with flower-beds in front, neatly marked with white-washed rounded large pebbles. I have a misgiving as to my reception. Will not Madam Squaw surely divine that I have come out of curiosity, and will she not resent the motive and resist the act ? She emerges from her front door and advances lightly and erect down her straight path to the ambulance, the Dougherty wagon, the upside-downer—Oh ! comes she in peace or comes she in war ? thumps my guilty, cowardly heart, and lo ! it might be a Scotch woman fresh from the heather, or a Vermont farmer's wife, slender, energetic, self-reliant;—abundant, soft, light brown hair, a face keen, almost sharp, light fair complexion, blue eyes, dress of the country farm, neat and simple, and an air not merely of complete self-possession, but of recognized authority and command. My squaw is certainly a woman of parts and power.

She is full of hospitality and welcomes us as one who is glad to see us and to converse with her peers where peers are few. She has well defined ideas on all subjects—morals and manners and politics, laws and newspapers ; the mutual duty of the United States Government and of the Indian Government ; their sins of omission and sins of commission. The Marquis of Hartington is not

more proud of his blood. She recounts but casually her kin of high degree and the height of their degree and their estate. Her grandmother rode in her own carriage at Washington and ate State dinners at the White House. A Senator of the United States is her cousin. Scotch and American are in her blood, but "I am a right smart of a Cherokee, too," she declares with laughing insistence. All the reticence of the Indian is submerged under the Scotch-American inflow of blood and outflow of talk.

I am not more eager to ask than is she to convey information. She is intensely patriotic and political. Her sons, one a Senator, and her daughters, sit by interested and sometimes amused, and listening always to their mother with manifest affection and respect. She is unquestionably chief and *Matriarch* in her own family, and amply and easily fills the position. Like her the sons show no stronger sign of the Indian than their abundance of rather auburn hair. They are half-breeds, but might travel through the most inquisitive New England village without being suspected.

Their house is well furnished—carpet, books, pictures, parlor organ, vases. If I felt at liberty to investigate, no doubt I should find somewhere a frieze of defunct sun-flowers, a dado of cat-tails, some Japanese fans and a portiere.

"The Indians are coming. Don't you hear their warwhoop?" cries one next day at my chamber door.

I put on my war-paint and go down. Indians again! The Princess Pocahontas, dark, but comely, tall and strong and commanding, and with a gayety of heart, certainly with a gayety of address destructive of the Indian ideal. Gayety of dress also—a bonnet, upspringing in conventional yellow efflorescence, to the exact appointed height, and of the tint to match her brunette stateliness, figure becorseted and bedraped and begloved as faultlessly as if Worth had had the making of her, as he did, for aught I know. And the Young Brave beside her, dark, handsome, courteous, in Prince Albert coat and everything else as princely, might well have turned the heart of any Hanoverian princess of them all, were not the English heart already preoccupied by the more congenial charms of Buffalo Bill. Accompanying them, a veritable Fair One, with Locks of Gold—palest gold—a blonde maiden and no Fairy—no Indian either, but the daughter and the granddaughter of missionaries who have accompanied these Cherokees in their outgoings and incomings for generations—from

Georgia to Tennessee, from Tennessee to the Indian Territory, in South Carolina and in Florida; whithersoever these wanderers fled, thither fled with them the beneficent missionaries, feeding, teaching, guiding, consoling, sustaining. And as I observe the delicate pale face, the crowning corn-silk hair, the soft refinement of costume, the gentle cultivated voice, the modest bright intelligence of words and mien and manner, the noble level of purpose, too simple and matter of course to be held forth or hidden, I behold a new revelation of the ways of God with His world. My Princess Pocahontas and her Young Brave are the strong, native, agile folk, nearer akin to earth. My daughter of the gods, divinely tall and most divinely fair, not only teaches, but is to them a word of the other world. When I look into her gentle face I marvel that she can dwell content in the wilderness, but she smiles back, not martyr wise, but amused, and says: "Why, it is my life."

And I mind me of one who made the self-same answer once upon a time, but to whom "life" meant the arrangement of dull hues and limp folds and lank outlines, and no hues are too dull, and no folds fall lankly enough to represent the meagre and awful shrinkage of that "life" before the eternal beauty and holiness of such consecration as this. We may differ regarding creeds and frankly admit "the future all to us unknown," but creeds and non-creeds recognize the nobleness of self-dedication to the service of humanity, and by that token humanity itself rises Godward.

The Creek lands adjoin those of the Cherokees. It is a charming drive thither. A bland and beautiful afternoon, a placid and smiling river, across which we are ferried to the climbing wooded bank beyond. It is true that, when we return, the ferryman will be drunk, relapsed into his surliest Indian mood, and unable or unwilling to ferry us across; but we do not know it, and we shall not know it even when it happens, for the United States army will come down like the shepherd from the fold, with another wagon to the river bank, and, leaving ours on the further side for the night, will ferry over the wandering sheep with their own hands, under the weird light of flaring bonfires which they have kindled, and which set black river and sky, lurid green trees, and moving figures of men in the memory forever.

After prairie fires, the grass springs up again green and

smooth. In the woods the huge grapevines swing down like cables from the highest trees, and require much close observation and skill in the driver who would avoid them. Tree and sward and bank and bush are all alive with white and pink and purple bloom, which bee and bird have been swift to find; so the fragrance is filled with music, too. It would be hard to recall a fairer landscape than that where Creek and Cherokee touch hands and lands. Nature here is gracious, and in the heart of civilization does not wear an aspect more soft and smiling. It is difficult to believe that we are not in a populous and cultivated country. The smooth, verdurous hills, level fields stretching afar; here and there the roof of a cottage on a hillside or in a niche of the woods, fat cattle feeding tranquilly on the open plain, and resting content under clumps of shade; here and there a group of traders on horseback, under picturesque broad-brimmed hats, chatting among the herd or meeting us four abreast where the kindly woods open wide enough, and over us the soft pink enchantment of the sunset sky, and the white and landless looks on with itching palms.

Our Creeks are less masterful than our Cherokees—less vindictive, too, I heard it said—more reticent and retiring, but equally cordial and hospitable. Equally equipped, also, I observe, with the *impedimenta* of civilized coat and collar, dolman and panier, and close-fitting kid gloves. Equally familiar with Indian and United States politics; equally alive to the advantage of being an Indian if you must be in the Indian Territory; equally shrewd to discern the power and property inherent in a four-foot fence well set with stake and rider! All their appointments of house and garb, while simple, as must be in this frontier land, yet indicate easy circumstances, independence, cultivation.

I should say that the Cherokees hold themselves a little higher than the other Nations—the Bostonians of the Indian Territory—and that the other nations know it, half admit it, play upon it a little, but not resentfully. One Creek family was in great glee because their little Creek girl had carried off the honors of repartee at the Seminary. The teacher had put the question: which were the most advanced in learning and the arts of civilization. The Cherokee girls waited proudly for the only possible answer, "the Cherokees." The Creek girls waited disdainfully, expecting the shot, but none the less ready to fight for their good

name. The little Creek paused a moment, securing vantage-ground, and then piped up blithely, "the Whites!" Creek and Cherokee "caught on," and joined in a hearty laugh, and thus the Indian Territory keeps step to the music of the Union, and woman's wit saves the day.

So sensible are these people of the importance of education that some of their best families, who are so remote or otherwise so circumstanced as to be unable to send their children to suitable schools, employ a governess at home. The best books are on their shelves and the second best, and what is this? A huge volume of unmistakable antiquity—dark tinted, rough to the touch, smelling of the centuries; perfect and matchless old English lettering. It is a Holy Bible of the time of Queen Elizabeth! Massive, splendid, royal with the imprint of that last of the old-time Queens. Its title-page bears the verifying date of 1585, and Archbishop Cranmer furnishes the stately preface. It has, moreover, come down to these Creek Indians by lineal descent, in direct line, from the kith and kin of Washington! The family record on its pages without a single break attests this fact, and ten chubby children playing on the grass bear the familiar names which every school history has made familiar from Maine to California, Archbishop Cranmer and Queen Elizabeth and George Washington saluting each other in a tepe. I do not believe even the poet's eyes of Mr. Tennyson beheld so rare a vision, so grand a manner, as this, when, upon shining fields, he saw

> "The red man dance
> By his red cedar-tree!"

It is the evening of Easter Sunday and the United States army invites me to go to church. I gladly accept, but in spite of Creek heredity and Choctaw civility, I have learned somewhat in my captivity that would incline me not to go under any less powerful escort.

"Is there really any danger?" had been asked. "Cannot one go about here as freely as anywhere?"

"Within this Fort," answered the Flag of my Country proudly, "your life is as safe as it is in Massachusetts. Outside of this Fort it is not—quite. That is all that can be said."

That I fear must be said. The Indians manifest no hostility to our Government—at least I found only the most friendly

eagerness toward it, a deprecation of its interference against the Indian autonomy, but rather too great an inclination to look to it for help to be quite consistent with entire Indian independence. The personal private relations of the surrounding Indians with the soldiers seems to be altogether and thoroughly friendly. The Indians seem to feel an assurance of the justice and of the intelligence of the soldier quite apart from their respect for him as representative of a power entirely capable of resenting and punishing an injury. Drunkenness is the only thing that a United States citizen among them need fear danger from, and even drunken, an Indian seldom fails to remember the majesty of United States law. His Honor the Mayor, for instance, is a martinet. He holds the law strict and stern over the evil and the good, and keeps "the town" in order. Except the prohibitory law. That defies his best efforts, and by hook or by crook the rivers run whiskey of the worst concoction. But His Honor the Mayor does not selfishly permit himself to be exempt from the penalty of the law whose violation he cannot prevent. He dooms himself to the drink which he cannot exclude. Under the spell of this illegal intruder he is currently reported to have slain five men, "and he is bringing up a family of boys the same way," says a peaceful woman with a sigh.

"Oh, no," interposes her husband, briskly; "they are under good discipline."

"Why, I heard they were desperately bad boys!"

"No, indeed! They behave very well. They have to. If they did not he would shoot them!"

Of course he keeps order in the town.

Yet, when suffering radically from violation of the prohibitory law, he still discerns the difference between an Indian citizen and a Federal soldier. One such, a belated Cromwellian Roundhead, shot all to pieces in the war of the rebellion, and as jolly and boyish as if his mother had tucked him up in bed every night of his life, had the misfortune to be unable to make his Honor understand that the latter had fixed too early a date for certain bids, and that his monetary interests were therefore not pressing, failed also to make him understand that the United States army chose not to bet with him a bottle of poison-whiskey that the Mayoral memory was correct, declined also to go out with him and buy and drink said whiskey in honor of a victory purely

phantasmic. Life had been laid low for less cause than this by that red-brown hand, but with a Soldier of the Legion his Honor inclined to mercy's side, and permitted himself to be coaxed out, harmless, into the dizzy air, upon the staggering earth, under the swimming sky.

The Doctor came in one day looking grave. His Honor the Mayor was very ill—of pneumonia. "Pneumonia, the scourge of the Indian Territory," my Lady Squaw admitted, though why, in that dry, warm, sunny air, I fail to see.

There was genuine sympathy at the Fort. His Honor, though his spiritual evolution was not yet complete, except in a frivolous sense of the word, had his trustworthy points. "He would give me his last penny if I were in trouble," said an appreciative soldier, who was sure never to be in that trouble. I followed his case with deep interest, trying even to peer into the next world, for what hope was there for him in this? What tireless, tender, intelligent nursing was there to hold him up against the onset of an insidious and terrible foe, and how much of being would wrench itself free when the foe had cloven these strong bonds of earth—falling back to earth. What could there be in the unseen world that this untutored soul should desire?

Nursing! One day he lay on the bed, with his boots on, one lung closed, the other clogged, panting for breath.

The second day he lounged on the piazza and had his bed made.

The third day he was at a cattle round-up!

I refused to believe he had been ill at all.

"He was ten times sicker than YOUR invalid!" vouched the United States army.

A naïve illustration of the respect in which the United States is held was offered at a trial in court. A year or two ago Sixkiller, Captain of the United States Indian Police, was shot and wounded by some young Cherokee braves in a fit of drunken revenge. The defense of the young men was that they thought they were just shooting at the Indian police! That Sixkiller was also a United States officer they did not know. Even this knowledge, however, I regret to say, did not suffice long to save his life, and this efficient Federal officer was last winter shot down and killed in cold blood for diligent performance of his duty.

But the chief danger to white visitors is from stray bullets,

and that is not large. Except for that it is also safe to take a lantern to light us through the thickets, swamps, and holes on the way back from church. It is but partly a joke that men dare not carry a lantern at night, because it affords a mark to shoot at! It is but partly a joke that the Indian Territory goes to bed at candle-light for fear of shots being fired at lighted windows! "Well," said one, shamefacedly, after being well hunted down for the truth, there *was* awhile ago over at Tahlequah or Muscagee or somewhere—there was some trouble, and folks did not light up much for awhile, but I believe they have got over it now."

I really fear that we shall be late to church!

GAIL HAMILTON.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COPYRIGHT.

SOME years ago I devoted much time to the question of international copyright, and withdrew from the Executive Committee of the Copyright League only when convinced, after long delay, that the views of the majority could then lead to no practical result. These views, I am now gratified to learn, have been so modified as to give promise of early action in the direction then so generally opposed. In the absence of decided action here, meanwhile, there has been a revival of the discussion in England, originating chiefly from the publication of Mr. Pearsall Smith's project in the *Nineteenth Century*. This project has challenged the attention of so many distinguished Englishmen that the discussion of its merits cannot be ignored by Americans, and for this reason I gladly adopt Mr. Gladstone's friendly suggestion by letter to follow up the recent discussion in England on this side of the Atlantic. In carrying out the suggestion of one so distinguished both in the spheres of literature and of statesmanship it became necessary to invite the opinions of some representative men in this country, and in order to supplement the discussion in England to furnish them with a kindred text. This was done by forwarding for criticism to certain gentlemen interested in copyright the subjoined paper by Mr. Pearsall Smith, containing his most matured views. The comments are appended.

In justice to the writers, I should add that the necessary limitation of space has confined them to a bare record of their verdict, and denied them the opportunity of adequately presenting their reasons.

There being no time to await Mr. Gladstone's contribution by ordinary course of mail, he kindly favored us with a brief statement of his views in the following cable dispatch :

HAWARDEN, *December* 8, 1887.

RICE, NEW YORK.

I earnestly hope for an international copyright between the two countries, meaning simply for British works in America,

American in Britain. To substance: it would be copyright by royalty, not copyright by monopoly. As to method, I cannot believe it too difficult for practical men to adjust. As to objects, I not only think freedom will, in this, as in other things, give the natural, which is the lowest legitimate price, but also regard the measure as a new and strong tie between the nations whose union I so heartily desire. GLADSTONE.

In reply to those who deprecate the presentation of this issue at the present time, I need only say, with Dr. Holmes, that "it is a special issue over which the general question may be fought as well as on any other." ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

NEARLY two generations have passed in efforts to procure from Congress an international copyright law. During this time vested interests in the republication of English books have so grown, that it becomes more difficult with each year to secure a favorable consideration of the measure. The publishing business, once confined to a few houses in the Eastern States, has extended to the Western cities, where new literary centres rapidly multiply the difficulty of passing any measure which may result in confining the business to a few Eastern publishers, or probably to American branches of London houses, with the further consequence of immensely raising the prices of reprinted books. In practical politics, the withdrawal of any privilege once allowed, raises up against any consenting statesman just so many opponents of his re-election as there are injured clients. Their clamor is liable to drown the gentle voice of national ethics.

American readers would gladly accord English writers fair compensation, could it be done without materially advancing, for the benefit of middlemen, the prices of their books. This obligation is especially pressed upon us since the ratification of recent treaties, by which reciprocal privileges have been conferred upon the citizens of all European states, Holland excepted. The British Government, under an act passed for the purpose, by a simple "Order in Council," may bestow on Americans the same privileges which Congress shall confer on English copyright owners. This places responsibility for the present mutual uncompensated republication of books wholly upon the United States.

The interests involved in the republication of English works,

in countries speaking foreign languages, are very small compared with those represented in reprint for readers having the same language, literary traditions and tastes. Probably the number of British reprints in America is a hundred times greater than that of all the Continental republications together. There is not a full parallel between the cases, and these foreign arrangements do not affect the weighty objections of American readers to a publishers' restricted sale, such as that recommended by the Berne "*Conference Internationale*" of September, 1885, now generally adopted in Europe. A law which would increase the cost of newspapers tenfold would not be endured in Great Britain, and one similarly increasing the cost of modern English books would be little less intolerable to Americans.

The standard English price of a new three-volume novel is one and a half guineas; but, after a time, a cheaper edition is often issued; and, when the copyright has run out the price goes down to a shilling, often six pence, for a neat edition.* The book, successful in England, is at once published in America, at from ten cents to a dollar. It is often issued by several publishers, Mr. Haggard's "She" appearing at once from a dozen houses. The more publishers that compete, under fair conditions, the better it is for authors and readers. The American sales of a popular book are from ten to fifty times those of the first London issue. When later and cheaper English editions are issued, the sale is of course enlarged; but a book rarely goes to a low price during the copyright, which extends through the author's lifetime and thirty years after.

This English system of high prices and small sales is acknowl-

*The contract cost of printing, paper, and binding of a three-volume novel is eight pence a volume. In other words, the three volumes that sell at $7.50, (or, where booksellers allow buyers 25 per cent. discount at $5.63,) cost to manufacture 48 cents. If we assume a sale of a thousand copies the difference between 48 cents and $7.50 will be distributed somewhat thus: Stereotyping, per copy, 40 cents; copyright, at 15 per cent. on the wholesale price, 67 cents; booksellers' discount, $3: remainder to publisher, $2.95; total, $7.02; *printing, paper, and binding, 48 cents;* total, $7.50. It is evident that the stereotyping cost would disappear after the first thousand copies, and thereby the publisher's share would be increased to $3.35; and that, conversely, on a sale of only five hundred copies, the item of stereotying would be doubled, reducing the publisher's share to $2.55. Out of this publisher's remainder of $2.55 to $3.35 per copy, come the costs of advertising, press-copies, and office expenses; but the editions are usually so small the unsuccessful books so many, that the net returns are less than might be supposed.

edged by the "Incorporated Society of Authors" to be the survival of an intolerable abuse. It has been abandoned in France, where the best books are at first issued at 3½ francs, or 70 cents, per volume, and where editions often run into hundreds of thousands, instead of the mere thousands or hundreds of the English press, one result being some of the largest returns to authors known in the history of literature. Intrenched in immemorial custom and vested interests, the English publisher will probably continue in the grooves of custom to his own disadvantage and the measureless loss of millions, who find in him an obstructive of literature rather than a free channel of its distribution. The men of small means can only buy books that are out of copyright, the monuments of a past generation; they survey the fresh feast, but dine on cold meats.

We find in England two classes of publishers, one issuing books at excessive prices for circulating libraries and the wealthy few; the other supplying older books, of good type, paper, and binding, at from one-sixtieth to one-tenth their original price. Standard novels, first published at 1½ guineas, now out of copyright, are sold at six pence, or even less. A complete Shakespeare is sold for six pence. A conspicuous instance of the effect of open competition is found in Tauchnitz's Leipsic editions. Tauchnitz's fortune was largely made by republications of British works. He gave, at forty cents apiece, volumes which in England often cost four dollars. His editions are estimated at from 10,000 to 25,000 copies, an issue vastly exceeding the numbers usually sold of the high-priced English editions. The volumes are models of type and printing, the favorites of continental travelers; but though Baron Tauchnitz pays copyright to every author, his reprints are outlaws in England. The excursionist, returning from the continent, must have his baggage specially searched for "Tauchnitz," dynamite, and tobacco. The writer, in 1886, visited in Constantinople a Greek book-seller, who stated that he was a large purchaser of the Franklin Square reprints of English authors; and in India booksellers are compelled by excessive British prices to trade in American reprints.

While we have waited for absolute copyright, two generations of authors have passed away unrewarded by America for gifts that are beyond measure. Shall the present generation in like manner weary out their lives in waiting, or shall a modification,

giving less than they claim, but, in the opinion of experts, a practical equivalent, establish the principle of compensation to foreign authors and, with the outworks in possession, have the vantage ground for gaining, if it be ever possible, the ultimate demand of absolute, unconditioned copyright? The practical English authors have seen this danger, and seem greatly in favor of the scheme set forth in the *Nineteenth Century* for November.

We fully appreciate the position of those, who, jealous of the principle of ownership in the work of their genius, would have the absolute rights they claim, at any cost to readers and to Western publishers, since "right is right." But these remedies may transfer the wrong to vested interests long protected by law. The foreign possession of exclusive copyrights by selected publishers would fatally damage many centres of enterprise. Nor would it end here. No ingenuity can prevent English houses, openly or in disguise, holding their books in America by means of branches, and thus snatching from Americans the whole republishing business. That they would then establish English high prices, is proved by their own candid public acknowledgment, and by the fact that in the face of French example they continue their own system. The 100,000,000 low-priced reprints circulated here within a few years, and to be reissued in the next decades, would be contracted to 10,000,000. None can estimate what would be the loss to the lonely rancher in Dakota, the humble freedman at the South, and the poor student eager for a library of his own made unpurchasable by legislation.

But, further, were we to grant an Anglo-American copyright system which should fix on us the English system and prices, we must pay intermediaries between author and reader the sum of about eight dollars for every dollar which would reach the author.*

* *From a responsible printer's estimates:*	20 cent edition. (On 20,000.)		$1 edition. (On 5,000.)		$1.50 edition. (On 5,000.)	
Stereotyping, per copy....	$1\frac{4}{10}$ cents	5 cents	$3\frac{5}{10}$ cents	43 cents	6 cents	43 cents
Printing, paper, binding...	$3\frac{6}{10}$ cents		$19\frac{3}{10}$ cents		26 cents	
Discount to retailer	8 cents	15 cents	40 cents	$37\frac{2}{10}$ cents	60 cents	$1.07
Remainder to publisher (increased in larger editions)	7 cents				58 cents	
	20 cents		$1.00		$1.50	
The gross margin of publishers' profits will be absorbed by cost of stereotyping in	4,250 copies		450 copies		500 copies	

It will thus be seen that should Congress grant a copyright which would raise 20-cent books to the prices of similar American works, say $1.50, we must pay the author, publisher, and vendors 92 cents more than on the purchase of a 20-

It must be remembered that the extra profit essential to publishers at home to pay for ventures of unsuccessful books is not required in the case of foreign reprints, where only already tested books of almost certain sale are selected.

We want the vital force of healthful, open competition, to give us books at the lowest prices that would compensate the commercial houses which vie for our patronage; and in any form consistent with this, American readers would gladly consent to a moderate addition to the cost of reprints. But reformers will have to wait long before they obtain any law that might make the wealthy and powerful London publishers autocrats of the distribution of English writings in America without additional profit to authors.

Is there an alternative?

In the November number of the *Nineteenth Century* is a plan, which was proposed in 1872 by Sir Charles Trevelyan,* and which

cent edition; and of this additional 92 cents only 13 cents (or the difference between copy-money at 2 cents and 15 cents a copy) would reach the author. On every 100 copies we must pay $9.20 in order to reach the author with $1.30—like a mismanaged endowment, where only a tithe of the provision reaches the beneficiaries. The force of this consideration is increased, when it is found by well attested facts that, practically, in the case of successful books, by so much as the price is reduced, is the sale increased, and doubtless even more. For every popular book sold at $1.50, giving the author 15 cents, at least fifteen copies could be sold at 20 cents, giving the author 30 cents for tithe, the usual percentage in America. Still further, we may add that popular books are mostly issued in America in library form, as well as in cheap quartos, and on these superior styles the author would receive a proportionate return. A very successful American author found the sale of his works in library form, which had been declining, greatly increased by an issue in cheap form, thus giving him double returns.

* He wrote to Mr. Longman, the publisher:—

"I am persuaded that Mr. Appleton's bill will not pass. The Americans will never submit to an absolute monopoly on the part of foreign authors and their assignees, so that they might fix the price of their books without fear of competition; *nor in my opinion is it right* [the italics are his] that it should be so either in the United States or Canada. Such an absolute monopoly is only possible under the protection of the municipal law of the countries in which the books were originally produced. As regards other countries, the owners of the copyrights must be content with some more general acknowledgement, which, like the circle in the water, would increase in diffusion as it decreased in intensity. . . . The people of the United States will not invest any person with the power of indefinitely enhancing the price of the books upon which they and their children have been nourished. There is now every disposition to admit the just claims of English authors, but not by means of a monopoly. . . .

"The author's royalty might be fixed at ten per cent. on the retail price. At home he would continue to get whatever might be prescribed by the municipal law

is now indorsed by the written approval of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Tennyson, the Duke of Argyll, Archdeacon Farrar, Mr. Rider Haggard, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Sir Thomas Farrer, Mr. Walter Besant, and Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. It has already found support in influential quarters in our own country. This bill was drafted at the suggestion of an American statesman and author, and claims the careful consideration of Congress.

of his own country, but to whatever extent his works might be reprinted abroad, it would be under license from the respective governments, and his percentage would be paid before a single copy was permitted to be sold." . . . Again "I maintain that this principle of a monopoly, while it does great harm in England, is simply impossible in America, some other principle must be adopted."

"I think that it [Protected Copyright with Free Trade Competition] is the only principle which furnishes a practicable basis for a convention with the United States. . . . . It appears to me that that principle of monopoly is totally inapplicable to these new countries where the English language is spoken and read by multitudes. The difference between the position of Authors and that of Publishers underlies the whole subject, and it is better to have it out at once. It is for the interest of the author that his works shall be sold everywhere and by anybody. It matters not to him who his publishers are, or whether there is one or a hundred ; in fact for him the more the better ; the greater the competition among publishers the better for the author." *Report of Royal Commission on Copyright.*

The principle of Royalty was passed upon adversely by the Royal Commission as regards *home* copyright alone, with which all parties agree. In regard to its application to foreign copyright no opinion was expressed by the Royal Commission, which printed long testimony in its favor, as well as strong recommendations by two of the Commissioners.

The following is from the individual reports of Royal Copyright Commissioners :

"A monopoly should never be created with the view of remunerating a person or a class, if that object can be effected without it; the profits of authorship are one thing, and the profits of publication another, and even if some form of monopoly is necessary to protect the first, it is equally desirable in the interest of the author and in that of the public, that the profits of publication, which are purely of a commercial character, should be regulated and controlled by the ordinary laws of trade.

"The only method which has been suggested by which the interests of the author can be effectually disengaged from that of the publisher is the royalty system, and it is contended that under the operation of free competition between publishers, the author and the public would be alike benefited, the first by an extended circulation of his works, and the second by a reduction of their cost.

"The royalty system has the further advantage of affording, as it seems to me, the best means by which international copyright can be systematically and usefully extended."—*Separate Report by Sir Louis Mallet, C. B., p. li.*

"While anxious to establish for writers to the fullest extent, and in all countries, a right of property in their works, I am of opinion that this protection once secured, the traffic in books, as a manufactured commodity, should fall within the ordinary laws of political economy."—*Separate Report by Sir H. Drummond Wolff, K. C. M. C., M. P., p. xlvi.*

The plan offers all the advantages of open competition, and therefore low prices for the reader, while it yet secures to popular American and English authors mutually, by an open royalty system, as much remuneration as is promised by any other plan.

While various elements are being developed into the ideal system which shall satisfy all interests—a result hardly to be expected in any near future—this plan is proposed which would at least save to American and English authors, year by year, moneys now justly due them. Under the proposed law a foreign author would share all the advantages of a native author, save that of limiting the issue to one publisher. The foreign author must supply receipt stamps, representing 10 per cent.* on the retail price, royalty to any publisher, within thirty days after their price is tendered; every book sold must contain this author's receipt stamp bearing a fac-simile of his signature. The author must deliver stamps on the conditions mentioned, under penalty of losing his copyright moneys; the bookseller forfeits ten times the retail price of every copy sold by him without the stamp, the prosecutor to have one-half, the government the other half of this fine, in addition to liability to the author for general damages. A different stamp, bearing the name and date of periodicals licensed, can be, by special arrangement, printed with the type. For forged stamps the publisher is liable to criminal prosecution in addition to the action for damages. Publishers are also responsible for accurate reproduction of originals. The present import duty makes the manufacture in this country cheaper than importation.

The details of the measure have been drawn up with care, and scrutinized by experienced statesmen, both English and American. The proposal has received approval as an emergency measure. It should be observed that a large margin is left for private contract, and, especially, that by the thirty days' provision, (a fortnight for transmission of stamps being allowed,) the publisher selected by a foreign author would be secured about six weeks for exclusive issue over all competitors, instead of remaining liable, as now, to be undersold within a few days of issue.

This method of protection is simple and automatic. It makes every purchaser, whether wholesale or retail, an interested de-

* This was stated before the Royal Commission by Mr. G. H. Putnam to be nearly always the basis of contracts with native authors in America. (Section 7,910.)

fender of the author's rights. A writer will have as many possible agents to protect his interests as he has purchasers of his books. A similar stamp system is already in operation in the United States for protection of patent rights. Forgery of stamps is made impossible by a title page pointing out the forger.

In this article we are limited by the space to a consideration of international copyright in literature, but the development of the plan would include the mutual international protection of engravers, dramatists, and musical composers.

To every plan for the international protection of authors some objections will be found. Any legal adjustment can at best only be recommended as that which involves the fewest difficulties. The method here proposed may not be without minor disadvantages, but it offers an overwhelming balance of advantages. It will be improved in details, and it is not rash to say that it has a fair prospect of success in Congress, because, while solving the international difficulty, it obviates all the prominent and essential objections to the plan so often rejected. American writers naturally might prefer to have the prices of reprints advanced to the full standard of home issues, but for this, since it would not really increase the compensation to English authors, they can now scarcely hope. It will be for their interest to accept a modification, giving a small increase in the price of British republications, and securing to them at once a substantial royalty in Great Britain for their own books. We may confidently state that the tendency of literature is toward an equalization of the number of reprints on the two sides of the Atlantic. Seventy years ago our list of American novelists was a short one—Charles Brockden Brown. Now there are hundreds. An equal increase, proportionate to the past would, in two generations, give America a preponderance.

If we now refuse a plan which an English editor has named "an olive branch," we may some day sue for it in vain.

It is hoped that in future the democracy of the Anglo-American republic of literature will be found willing contributors to the support of those who lay them under measureless obligations by the products of their thought, without the sacrifice either of full remuneration to authorship or of economical access to the best books. Literature is a commonwealth, from the privileges of which none should be excluded by any artifical enhancement of

cost, through needless legislative interference with the laws of demand and supply.

It is the highest concern of a free people that the powers of its citizens should have full development, noble training, and unstinted scope. The world's inheritance of wisdom is none too great to feed a citizen who is to bear his part in the labor of the coming time. He who builds a wall of needless restriction to keep our growing people from any source of educational advantage, commits an offense against the future of democracy and of the world. It would be strange indeed if we, who pride ourselves on holding the free school as a necessity of national existence, should be found mocking those whom we have taught to read by putting books beyond their reach.

R. PEARSALL SMITH.

COMMENTS.

I.

I CAN hardly hope to live to see an international copyright law established, but I hope and trust that another generation will

not suffer the present system of injustice to authors to remain as it now stands.

As to Mr. Pearsall Smith's proposal, it is a special issue over which the general question may be fought as well as on any other ground. A wrong remains to be righted, and any step tending toward that result is better than leaving it undisturbed.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

II.

I HAVE read with interest the article on international copyright in the *Nineteenth Century*. I do not see that the proposed plan is a complete solution of an exceedingly difficult question involving moral as well as financial considerations, but it seems to me worthy of the attention of authors and publishers.

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

III.

AMERICAN authors desire royalty payments to English authors partly in justice to the latter, partly to protect themselves against the competition of cheap pirated reprints. Were English books sold here at English prices, they would practically vanish from our market, leaving American authors a clear field. Sold at American prices, however, whatever advantage they had over ours would arise from their superior merit. If Mr. Smith's plan attains this end, I advocate it. American authors might also benefit by lowering the price of their books, and not confining themselves to one publisher. Contract difficulties and insecurities could be remedied.

JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

IV.

I CANNOT put in one hundred words what I wish to say about international copyright, but I can put in much less my sense of the importance of Mr. R. Pearsall Smith's clumsy and cranky proposal in the *Nineteenth Century* Magazine. Mr. Huxley has sufficiently exposed its character. The only magnitude it has is the colossal impudence of Mr. Smith's assumption to speak for American authors or publishers, and to extend an "olive branch" from the United States. He is evidently put forward by the same interests that have heretofore defeated international copyright, for the sole purpose of defeating it again. He represents the Ameri-

can people as conscienceless graspers of goods, cheap, because not paid for, and the indorsement he receives from English politicians and two or three authors is enough to make every American blush for shame; for it is on the contemptuous ground that we are a nation of thieves, and that anything that can be got out of us is clear gain. I know of nothing else so humiliating as Mr. Smith's article and the English comments on it. His argument against international copyright is an argument against all copyright. His impracticable plan is not worth discussion.

The United States is the only civilized nation, except Russia, I believe, now standing out of a copyright union. I think the American people would not continue the disgrace of their position if they understood it. The case is perfectly simple. A man raises a bale of cotton in Texas. His property right in it follows it in all lands, subject to local laws and regulations. We ask this acknowledgment of property right in the product of brains—the same for books that is given to inventions. Tariffs and conditions of printing are separate considerations. With an acknowledgment of property right, the author will, of course, submit to varying local conditions. With this, he could make his own bargains with publishers, like a free man.

CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.

V.

I CAN only say, in comment upon Mr. R. Pearsall Smith's paper, that I am in favor of any and every scheme to do justice to foreign authors. None is too radical for my assent, and I should be glad of the slightest advance in the direction of international copyright. I cannot judge the practical workings of this stamp notion, but nothing seems to me so unpractical in the long run as the present system of pillage.

W. D. HOWELLS.

VI.

THE stamp royalty scheme of copyright revived by Mr. Pearsall Smith cannot be adopted, because it is regarded as impracticable by nearly every reputable publisher in America, while every author of reputation that I know, with a single exception, holds

it in more detestation than can be expressed in these limits. Its adoption would immediately open the door for any hobby-rider or demagogue to advocate the cheapening of books by the abolition of the present system of American domestic copyright, on which almost the very existence of our literature depends. Those of us connected with the Copyright League who are not optimists believe that the present union of purpose between authors and publishers almost insures the adoption of an international copyright measure in the present Congress. If it should be defeated, Mr. Pearsall Smith will add to his laurels the credit of having overthrown the disinterested labor of years.

EDWARD EGGLESTON.

VII.

I THINK the Farrar plan of an international copyright which Mr. Smith is recommending, and about which you ask my opinion, is unsound in principle; would prove mischievous, if not disastrous, in practical operation, and, withal, is clearly unconstitutional.

I. It is unsound in principle, for it strikes at the most cherished attributes of property, by taking from the author of a book the right to determine when, to whom, where, for what price, in what form, in what costume, and in what company it shall be marketed.

II. It would prove mischievous, and, if long persisted in, disastrous in operation, for publishers would have to compete for a new book in a sort of scrub-race, in which the one who did the cheapest and meanest work would be sure to win, while it would offer to authors greater inducements to write down to the intellectual level of chambermaids and factory girls, than up to the level of the more thoughtful and educated classes.

III. It is clearly unconstitutional, for it contemplates the practical confiscation of a portion, at least, of every author's property in his books to private use, and without compensation.

Your limitation as to space precludes any demonstration of these positions in this communication, but to readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, I should be surprised if the mere statement of them was not equivalent to a demonstration.

JOHN BIGELOW.

VIII.

It is a delusive statement that "the more publishers compete . . . the better it is for authors;" when, as by Mr. Smith's bill, the author is deprived of the right to utilize that competition for his own best interest. Suppose an American newspaper reprints an English novel in one of its issues, at 2, 3, or 5 cents. The author must then accept a fraction of a cent as royalty, or lose his copyright. Besides, he must go to the expense of keeping a large stock of stamps, adapted to royalty on every possible price that his miscellaneous publishers may fix. The expense of this would eat up a large part of his profits. Experience shows that American copyright works are hard enough to protect from domestic piracy, even under our law, which gives the author a right to choose one publisher. How much more difficult, then, for the foreign author to protect his work, when any number of persons may publish it at will! He must go to the cost of hiring an agent, and, even then, it will not be possible to prevent forging of stamps and surreptitious circulation. The plea that Western publishers would be hurt, and "centres of enterprise" be damaged, is inane. With foreign authors placed on a basis of equality with American authors, every publishing house in this country would have a fair and equal chance to bid for foreign books. Every manly Westerner should be ashamed to whine that he would be beaten in business on a basis of honest competition to secure the publishing of foreign works copyrighted here. I have always found Western Congressmen among the readiest to approve and support a measure giving foreign authors exactly the same property rights and legal safeguards that are accorded to American authors.

George Parsons Lathrop.

IX.

The *Nineteenth Century's* royalty and stamp scheme of international copyright is opposed and its agitation is deprecated by The American Copyright League for two principal reasons: 1st, because *any* new scheme divides and weakens the organized effort now being made in America in favor of international copyright; 2d, because the stamp scheme is considered in itself objectionable, on account of its impracticability, and also on account of its being

false and dangerous in principle. American authors regard their present movement not only in the light of a moral crusade, but also as an attempt to strengthen the rights of literary property in general. This English royalty scheme, revived by Mr. Pearsall Smith, for international copyright, after the proposition had been overwhelmingly rejected in England for home copyright, strikes the Copyright League as in effect an attack upon all copyright. Under this scheme any one may publish any foreign book by paying ten per cent. royalty. Now, a foreign author should have the right here, as every American author has here the right, to throw his book open to the public under these conditions. But it is an attack upon the principle of copyright to *compel* any author, foreign or native, to do this. It is not surprising, and it is significant, that the principal English advocates of the royalty stamp scheme for home and for international copyright, should be men who are understood to have loose views in general of the rights of authors. It is not surprising, and it is significant, that the most persistent advocate of the stamp scheme in America attacks all copyrights now in existence as "monopolies," and that he uses over and over again the arguments of the pirates in favor of cheap literature. He accuses the authors of America of seeking to cut off the supply of cheap literature by trying to establish what he calls the "monopoly" system of copyright with regard to foreign books. The Copyright League, very naturally, resents the imputation that it is selfishly indifferent to the intellectual needs of the masses. Its members know well that cheap literature will continue in America under a just and business-like international copyright act; and they regard the use of the term "monopoly" in this connection as misleading, untrue, and demagogic.

The question arises, how have certain English writers and statesmen been led to believe that Congress will *not* pass a fair and workable bill, favored by the American Copyright League, with Mr. Lowell at its head, and by the great body of American authors and publishers, and that it *will* pass this awkward and, in certain particulars, outrageous stamp bill which is offered by Mr. Lowell and the League of which he is president, and by the great body of American authors and publishers? The fact is, that the prospect for equitable international copyright was never so fair as now. It is unfortunate that our English friends should have

been led to hinder, rather than to help, their American brethren in this good work.

R. W. GILDER.

X.

WITHOUT assuming sufficient knowledge of the copyright question to speak authoritatively on the subject, I can yet fully appreciate how the present condition of the laws multiplies the difficulties in the way of the struggling writer, and how much harder it makes his dealings with his arch enemy, the man who prints his books. An author takes his precious MS. to a publisher and tremblingly asks that he may receive for it sufficient compensation to pay for the paper on which it is written.

The publisher turns in his chair, and looking severely over his spectacles, asks: "Why should I pay you *anything*, when I can get the work of Stevenson or of Rider Haggard for *nothing*."

Thus is the difficulty to find a publisher increased. We protect a man if he makes a patent fly-tickler, an improvement in a soda-water fountain, or in the mechanism of a lemon-squeezer, but the unfortunate who directs an equal ingenuity to the fabrication of a book is met by the disheartening retort that the European author must be preferred to the American—not because of worth, but simply because the foreigner's works can be pirated free of cost. How, let me ask, can an unknown author become known unless he has some chance at the beginning? Instead of extending him the hand, however, we practically repulse him. No country has ever been great without a "distinctive" literature, and in discouraging the writer we dry up the fountain which we ought to keep always flowing.

Borrowed thoughts are as borrowed plumes, and the present tendency to ape the customs, the habits, and the social life of countries utterly dissimilar to our own, may be directly traced to the laws that now place a premium on theft and enrich the publisher at the expense, not only of the author, but of that originality and distinctiveness which ought to mark the literature of every great people. I therefore am prepared to heartily indorse any really practical plan for the protection of our authors and the fostering of our native literature.

LLOYD S. BRYCE.

XI.

NEITHER the plan nor the mode in which it is presented meets my approval. I am unable to understand how any honest man can approve a plan which, by its inventor's own admission, is not based upon the rights of the question.

C. E. NORTON.

XII.

WHILE I have little or no personal interest in the question of International Copyright, I have been watching the discussion as an economist for a quarter of a century. I am keenly alive to the injustice done to foreign and still more to American authors by the absence of any law to prevent the pirating of English books. But in every plan which has been proposed to prevent this, I have been obliged to recognize an equal injustice either to the makers or to the readers of such books in America, or to both.

In Mr. Pearsall Smith's plan I find a solution of the problem which secures all interests at once, and which puts copyright itself upon a better footing than that of monopoly. Of course it is open to objection as being novel and a little more complicated than the monopoly system. But these objections are not insuperable.

It will be opposed by the manufacturers of books on both sides of the ocean, because it will not put a stop to the issue of books of a certain class in very cheap forms. Nor should it do so. The time is past when the public will pay for cloth-bindings and broad margins in books it buys only to read, not to preserve. That class of books will have to be differentiated in cost and structure from books bought for preservation. They will have to be made as cheap as a fair return to author and publisher will permit.

ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON.

XIII.

I HAVE long been acquainted with the ingenious method by which Mr. Pearsall Smith would secure to authors some return for the publication of their works in countries where they are not protected by an international copyright, and, in the extreme difficulty which prevents all just legislation on this subject, I have been disposed to regard with favor his proposals. But there is the

same objection to this measure that there is to every form of compromise. As Mr. Hallam Tennyson says, speaking for his father, "Something is better than nothing." Accordingly, were I an author, I should prefer to receive one thousand dollars instead of nothing for any book I might have written. If the leading writers of both countries acquiesce to the "stamp plan," it seems to me that others may as well keep silent; but I cannot resist the conviction that any temporary arrangement will soon break down. The only lasting remedy for the acknowledged difficulties that now exist is a thorough protection of an author's property by a just plan of international copyright.

DANIEL C. GILMAN.

XIV.

HAVING followed with care the discussion excited by the new proposal, the objections to it appear to me divisible into three classes, the irrelevant, the sacerdotal, and the foregone. The irrelevant are directed against provisions not in the new bill, and reject it for not containing what it does contain. The sacerdotal oppose it wrathfully because it did not originate with the Copyright League. The "foregone" objectors may be described by a little story: A sheik went to his neighbor to ask the loan of an axe. "I cannot lend it," said the other, "I need it to eat my soup with." "Friend," said the sheik, "one does not eat soup with an axe." "Ah! neighbor, one excuse is as good as another when one doesn't intend to do a thing." It may be, however, that the new proposal will presently be discussed on its merits in America, as it has been in England, where it was also disposed of by the three classes above named, until the failure of the last Congress to consider their measure induced serious study of this alternative. That measure, with adjustments calculated to conciliate all interests, backed by an unprecedented combination of literary and publishing authorities, will soon be again urged on Congress. Should it fail, under such circumstances, the failure may be regarded as final so far as the interests of authors for the next few years is concerned. It will become necessary for the friends of justice to decide whether a platonic dispute about the ideal copyright shall supersede the saving of several millions to literary men, by means of an emergency measure which, besides its practical

advantages, establishes the principle of property in brain-product as a foundation for future enactments.

In any case it is to be hoped that authors will insist on having their receipt-stamps in their volumes published abroad. If that shall become the international fashion it may be easily adopted in the internal trade, and authors no longer remain the unique simpletons who have no adequate check whatever on the disposers of their property.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

OUR OUTLYING PROVINCE.

It is not an easy task to give an idea of Alaska, as a whole, which can be comprehended. The extent of territory, which comprises more than five hundred and fifty million square miles, the great variety of climate which exists and must exist over so many myriads of miles of shore, river, and forest, of lake, morass, and Arctic plain, are but two of the many bewildering factors which make the problem of description so difficult. There is no lack of Alaskan literature. Adventurous discoverers and persistent traders have skirted the coasts, ascended and descended the great rivers, and given us their information as to the present, as well as their conjectures as to the future. None of their descriptions, as a whole, is very cheerful and few of them very hopeful.

Everywhere in the reports of the last census are seen the rude products of barbarian life and the hand-to-mouth existence of races struggling with cold and content with bare subsistence. But a generation which has witnessed the disappearance of a great American desert visible to many able men; which has seen the desolate sage brush succeeded by rich crops, and the dreary cactus plain laden with the luxuriant verdure of the great potato and alfalfa fields of Colorado, may well hope that the energy and vigor which will before long be turned upon Alaska, will make some other generation smile at the dismal reports of to-day, strictly truthful though they may be.

Ivan Petroff, the Russian Agent of the Census Bureau of 1880, divides the province into six parts, and at present, at least, this partition is a natural one. All the country north of the valley drained by the Yukon makes up the first division. It lies for the most part beyond the Arctic Circle and has, perhaps, three thousand Esquimau inhabitants, one to every forty square miles of snow and ice. No white man has ever crossed this country from the valley of the Yukon to the Arctic Sea. Coal in easily

accessible seams is found near Cape Lisburne, but it is of no present value. The same may be said of this entire region, and it is even a question if the present inhabitants can long survive the rapid disappearance of the walrus and the whale.

The Great Valley of the Yukon makes the second division. In a hundred villages, half of them on the river banks and a fifth on the Delta, live 6,870 people, one to every twenty-six miles, with no saving leaven of civilization except nineteen whites and eighteen half-breeds. Though many books have been written and more articles published on the river Yukon, probably the great majority of the American people has yet to be astonished by the fact that Mr. Seward bought a larger river than any we owned before. The Yukon, flowing through the centre of our new province, seven miles wide, ten hundred miles from its mouth, and as many from its source, pours into the Behring Sea a volume of water one-third more vast than the Mississippi empties into the Gulf of Mexico. But, thus far, its great expanse has shown but little of value to the permanent settler. It can only be classed among the productive forces of the country in the same confusion of thought that enabled an enthusiastic admirer of the Province to end his catalogue of its resources with "sixty volcanoes, of which twenty are in a state of active eruption." It owes its vast volume of water to the mossy morasses which lie along its edges, holding moisture like a sponge, and preventing its dissipation by evaporation. Along its margins are banks which are eaten away, like those of the Mississippi, falling in huge masses into the mighty channel. It is a pleasing anticipation to think of its figuring some day in the River and Harbor Bill, like the Mississippi and Missouri, with huge appropriations to improve navigation, with "incidental" protection to the plantation owners.

South of the eastern portion of the Yukon Valley is the Kuskokvim Division, lying, a huge wedge, between the ranges of mountains which bound it and including the Kuskokvim, the Togiac, and Nucheyac rivers. The lower part, however, of the Kuskokvim, having pierced the barrier, lies beyond the mountains towards the Yukon Delta. This region supports a population of nearly nine thousand, with thirteen square miles for each one. Of white men there are three.

To the southeast is the Kadiac Division, with its long coast, stretching from the Shumaqin Islands to Mount Saint Elias.

This division includes the Kadiac Island, and is nearer civilization than any yet mentioned. Of the population, 4,352 in number, one to every sixteen square miles, nearly a thousand are whites and half-breeds. The houses are better built and many of them are of timber, entirely above ground. Over the greater part of Alaska, the dwellings are so far underground as to be entered by a tunnel on the hands and knees. The mouth of the tunnel, at a considerable distance from the main apartment, is covered with a rude shed as a protection from the snow and the severity of the climate. The houses are conical, covered with turf, with a hole for the escape of the smoke from the fire in the centre, around which are ranged the platforms of timber or sod for the sleeping and living regions.

To the westward of the two divisions reaches out toward Asia the long line of mountain tops which carry the Alaska range far out to sea. Upon these treeless islands, with a climate of which the record for seven years gave fifty-three clear days and twelve hundred and thirty of rain and snow and hail, a population of 2,451, one to every six square miles, in the sea fisheries and in the pursuit of the fox and the sea otter win the largest incomes of any of the natives of Alaska. This enumeration includes 82 white men, 479 half-breeds, and the 290 inhabitants of the Pribylof group.

The Pribylof group are the islands in Behring Sea which are breeding grounds for the fur seal. From two islands of this group, St. Paul and St. George, the one containing thirty-three square miles and the other twenty-seven, comes all the direct revenue derived by the United States from its purchase of $7,200,000, and that revenue, over $300,000, is large enough to pay a fair interest on the sum invested. To these little resting places, in the heart of Behring Sea, come every year more than 4,700,000 seals. For three months the rookeries along the shores are multitudinous with amphibian life, the like of which can be seen nowhere else on the round earth. Years ago the San Juan and Juan Fernandez Islands, off the coast of Chili and Bolivia, the coasts of Patagonia and Terra del Fuego, and the Falkland Islands, swarmed with uncounted and uncountable millions of fur seal, and might be to-day the finest seal rookeries on the globe. But the unrestrained, senseless hunting of the seal by every one who could hire a vessel and crew has resulted in a near approach to extermination in the Southern seas, and to-day the frequent

capture of vessels in Arctic waters, laden with thousands of skins, which must be of the very least possible value as furs, shows the need of vigorous measures to preserve to the world one of its finest articles of luxury, elegance, and comfort. The climate of St. Paul and St. George, cool and humid, covering the islands with fog and shifting mist, the position and nature of the shores, free from sand and mud, make them the ideal country for an animal which needs the land only as a place for breeding, much broken in its nature, and as a nurture ground for its young. Every year, about the first of May, begin to appear the great bull seals, at least six years old and seven feet long, dragging clumsily out of the water upon the rocky foundations which constitute the breeding grounds their great weight of 400 to 600 pounds. The nearer the shore the more eligible is the situation and the higher the price, measured by the fighting needful to maintain it. Each one keeps his place until a stronger takes it away. Severe and terrible wounds and often death result from these contests. When the females arrive a month afterwards, a carnival of combat is the result of this culmination of nerve tension. After many struggles and much confusion each one has provided himself with a family varying from five to forty, and a period of two months of uninterrupted domesticity sets in. About the middle of August the season is over and the males gradually depart, not the full rounded creatures that came, plump with blubber and well-filled muscle, but poor and scraggy. During the whole period of three months, if we are to believe unanimous testimony, they never leave the grounds and have had neither food nor drink. As has been already said, the males of six years old and over are on the breeding grounds. Against the approach of any others the grounds are guarded with Turkish seclusion, vigor, and barbarity. The least intrusion by a younger male means mutilation and perhaps death, prompt and immediate. These young males, "called bachelors," roam about the regions near by and furnish the skins which come to market. A hundred thousand of these young seals are yearly driven to the killing grounds, knocked on the head with clubs and are stripped of their coverings. Great care has to be taken to get the skin removed while the animal is in proper condition or the fur is spoiled. If heated by the drive he must have time to become cool. The skins are salted and in due time shipped to London,

where they are cured and rendered fit for use. The hundred thousand killed under six years of age is probably not much over one-half the number which might be killed with entire safety to the perpetuation of the race. The female seal brings forth her young very soon after landing in June. The little seals have to learn the art of swimming for themselves.

The remaining division of Alaska is Sitkan Division, which is becoming so well known to tourists. It has a population of more than 7,000 Indians. There were 523 whites and half-breeds in 1880, but there must be more than four times that number now. This is beyond question the best part of Alaska in climate, soil, mineral wealth, and in inhabitants. The Indians are willing to work, are capable of sustained labor, and appreciate regular wages. The early history of the country shows them to have been as brave and warlike as the tribes on which so much poetry and rhetoric have been bestowed, and they have, to modern prosaic eyes, the additional charm of an earlier possibility of civilization. Some of our surplus revenue might well be spent on their education and development. The delights of the voyage to Sitka have become known to many, and the journey is destined to take the place of many a foreign trip. Whoever seeks the highest charm of wild and wonderful scenery, will turn from Switzerland and Norway to the charms of the Alexander Archipelago, and to the frozen rivers which cover the seaside valleys of Alaska. On board a comfortable steamer, without the worry of change, with no chances of bad hotels, in serene pleasure, the traveler voyages two thousand miles as if in a narrow inland sea, forever changing, and always wild, startling, and unexpected. You seem to be passing, and, indeed, you are passing through mountain valleys, with the mountain peaks almost within touch on either hand. Where there are low hills wooded to the summits and sloping to the water's edge, the tall peaks behind show their snow-capped heads shrouded in endless variety of shifting cloud and moving mist. Where the mountain hangs almost precipitous over the channel streams of water fed by the exhaustless snows pour down visible here and there through the breaks in the forests, sometimes in great torrents with broad avalanches of foam and the roar of angry waters, and sometimes in slender threads so steady and fine that it needs the tremor of a gusty wind to assure you

that they are not motionless streaks of color on the rock. Whoever has seen an Alaska glacier has felt to the full that sense of awe which comes of being in the visible presence of one of the great forces of nature. The glaciers of Switzerland melt in the noonday sun high up on the mountain side, while the glaciers of Alaska march in unbroken column majestic to the sea, facing the bay with an icy cliff reaching hundreds of feet into the air and stretching for miles from shore to shore. When in the sombre twilight of an Alaskan midsummer midnight you look across the gray distance under a clouded sky, unbroken by sun or moon or star, at two great rivers of ice, meeting at the base of the mountain which lies like a black island between, and speeding massive and wide to the water's edges, and think of the centuries which have seen that vast mass, motionless to every human eye, move with ceaseless progress from the cold snows above to the cold waters below, helping to make a world, you will have some conception of the weary years the world has seen and the weary years the world is yet to see. At the Yellowstone Park and in Alaska you can see some of the ways in which the world was made and is still making.

Sitkan Alaska will have at least two beautiful villages, one to be and the other already beautiful. As the steamer approaches Juneau, on the Gastineaux Channel, there comes into view a most striking picture. The new town spreads its little cottages over a low hillock, at what seems the base of a broad perpendicular height, covered with evergreen trees, and stretching away into the sky overhead. Down the beetling cliff play slender cascades of waving water, which brighten and vivify the whole mountain side. On the hillock the streets are incipient, rich with mud, and sloppy with the daily rainfall; but sidewalks are beginning to emerge from chaos, and one can see in the near future a well-ordered and decent town.

Sitka, the old vice regal seat, is already a beautiful spot. One may travel far and never see a nobler or more varied picture than spreads before his eye who stands on the roof of the old Russian "Castle" on the summit of a high knoll at the water's edge. It was not a bright day, but from the north to the east and away round to the south was a half circle of mighty hills, snow-capped and mist-crowned. Away off at sea, melting into indistinctness in the haze of the distance, were the great mountains which

cover the quarter of the compass from north to west. At our feet on the seaward side was the harbor, dotted with scores of beautiful islands and islets bright with vivid green, and in the farthest distance was a glimpse of the edge of the great ocean itself. At the base of the "Castle" the two wings of the town spread out at right angles with each other. The Indian village lies on the shore to the north, parallel with the low bluffs where are the graves of the dead, and the quaint little huts which mark their last resting places. Near by the weather stained block houses bring back the lonesome memories of the conflicts with the savages in the earlier days. The white village lies on the other shore, strongly marked to the eye by the Greek Church, with its green roofs. Beyond the village the Indian River, gathering itself from the snows of the mountain, flows over a rocky bed through a grove charming with its sauntering places and in July rich with a vegetation which seems little short of tropical in its luxuriance.

Wrangel is the place to visit if you wish to see the Indian village uncontaminated by civilization. The houses are of a higher order than those of continental Alaska. They are like our log houses, only broader and without any pretence of separate apartments. In the centre of the roof is a square hole covered with a four-posted frame, on which the covering can be shifted to suit the varying winds. Under this hole is the place for the fire, around which the natives sit on their haunches when they crave food or warmth. Over the fire are strung the fish and flesh which they smoke for future use. Around the sides is a raised platform, on which the natives live, and sleep, and work. The entrance door is in the gable end. The whole establishment is not nice or clean. On the contrary, it is nasty and unclean; and when the ladies of the mansion black their faces to preserve their complexions they seem to gild the refined gold of the situation, like the painted lilies which they are. When old age and the wrinkles of a life of hardship are supplemented and adorned by black stain on the face, a yellow bone protruding from below the under lip, and mellowed by general and unmitigated uncleanliness, feminine fascination appears to be reduced to its lowest terms. There at Wrangel are totem poles, ugly, curved monuments, erected either to indicate that the owner, like the Duke of Marlboro', moved in the best society on account of the virtues of his ancestors, or to frighten away the evil beings which inhabited

the Alaskan air. Some are much inclined to the latter belief, having in mind how great an incentive to architecture the fear of the devil has been in other lands. At Sitka the native dwellings are larger, cleaner, and show the results of better police regulations.

The climate of Alaska, as might be expected from its continental expanse, varies greatly. The cold on the Arctic shore must be almost unendurable. The Yukon River is not open to navigation until July, and closes at the end of September, and in many places, in the mossy morasses, the ice lies all the year round a few inches under the surface, protected by the moss from the heat of the sun. Bishop Leghus and Father Mondard, two Catholic missionaries, who spent a year in this region, were delighted with the summer heat on the Yukon River and in its "fertile valley;" but the census agent of 1880, Ivan Petroff, thinks the good men much too enthusiastic, and gives altogether a more dismal account of the country than was ever given of Dakota by its early official visitors. In the Sitkan Division the unexpected happens. In this country, between fifty-five degrees and sixty degrees of Northern latitude, the thermometer in fifty years has never been under four degrees below zero, and never but once has gone to eighty-seven degrees above. The mean of all these years was forty-three degrees twenty-eight minutes. This year the first snow did not fall at Sitka until January 16th. The summer, however, is not warm, though the natives hardly seemed to think it inclement. Our party at Wrangel saw a sick man lying on his blanket out under the open heavens, and as we were picking our way through the inexpressible mud and ooze and nastiness, we saw a dreadful looking creature, with a blackened tin pot in one hand, while under the other arm, pressed against her body, was a baby with nothing on but a shirt. As she hitched along the little child became more exposed, until you could see it naked below the arm pits. When she reached her smouldering fire, which was out of doors, she coolly sat down on her haunches, smoothed flat a bunch of the wet grass, seated the baby thereon, and the little thing blinked and snuggled contented by its mother's side with all the satisfaction which was ever born of good treatment and maternal tenderness, while we effeminate grown men and women looked on clad in rain coats, winter ulsters, and the thickest woolens money could buy.

Of the native population but little can be here said, though very much is known. There are 17,617 Eskimo Inuits, 2,147 Aleuts, and 11,478 Indians. Of all of them it can be said that they exhibit qualities which make them of superior promise to the Indians with whom we are familiar. If there were no other evidence the yearly importation of 10,000 barrels of flour, 6,000 cases of hard bread, 1,200 chests of tea, 2,500 barrels of sugar, and between 15,000 and 20,000 pounds of tobacco, with, perhaps, an equal value of dry goods, show that they have civilized wants and desires which promise to be a great incentive to their further improvement. The willingness to work manifested at least by those of the Sitkan Division is of the happiest augury.

What is to be said of the resources of our outlying province? The word resources, like all other words of large import, is a term of varied meaning. If you intend by the word the products which can now be of use to the world, they are few in number but of vast extent. They are furs and fish and minerals. The pursuit of the seal and sea otter on the streams and on the sea, and the hunting of the fur-bearing land animals, already constitute great industries. Six thousand sea otter skins are taken annually on the Southern coast, and the beaver extends throughout the vast interior, and the fur trade is more than doubled since our occupation.

The salmon on the Yukon, the Kuskokvim, and other rivers are so numerous that, with reasonable restriction, one-fourth would support the natives and the rest might be sold to the world. The deep sea fisheries of cod and halibut have been sufficiently explored already to make it certain that they will far exceed, both in quantity and in ease of access, those fisheries on the Atlantic coast which have been the subject of so much solicitude and have demanded so many conventions and treaties. The mineral output has but begun, and yet the greatest stamp mill for pounding gold out of rock in the United States, and, therefore, in the world, is on a lonely island in the Alexander Archipelago. Large, however, as it is, numbering one hundred and twenty stamps, and thundering like Niagara, the owners propose to double its size, and have already begun the work. The rock they mill lies in a broad vein, nearly, if not quite, three hundred feet in width. There is very little gold to the ton, but there are very many tons, and the process of extraction is not costly. It is thought that

the vein stretches for miles the whole length of the Douglas Island. The snows of the mountain furnish the power, although steam power is also at hand, in case of drouth. The mine is named for Mr. Treadwell, the superintendent, who made many tests and spent much time before entering upon the great enterprise which seems to be crowned with so signal a success. Coal has been found in several places, but thus far no commercial advantage has been derived from the discoveries. The forests will afford a great future resource, but not until the Pacific slope has a greater population, and until the timber of Oregon and Washington has been much diminished. The Alaska cedar is a beautiful wood, capable of polish, and giving out a pleasant odor. There is, however, but little of it in comparison with the vast extent of the spruce, which is found throughout half of the country. How thick the forests are, and what quantities of timber there may be, can only be told after much closer exploration than has thus far ever been possible. In the southern part the trees are large and the product comparatively good, but all the spruce is very resinous and unfitted for nice finishing work.

If it should be asked what the future of Alaska seems likely to be, I can give no answer. Prophecy is very easy, but it is also very cheap. I cannot refrain, however, from saying, though it is the result of what I have seen and read rather than of what I have written, that the prospect of the conquest of Alaska does not seem a tithe as difficult or half as hopeless as the conquest of the land now covered by the prosperous population of the United States must have seemed to the emigrants who first strayed across the ocean and dotted the shores of the Atlantic coast.

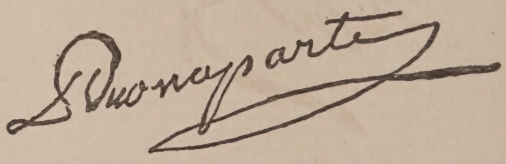
THOMAS B. REED.

NAPOLEON'S SIGNATURES.

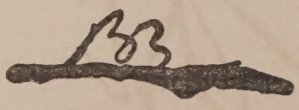
For those who believe that the varying phases of change in the human mind or the peculiar thoughts or actions of certain periods of individual life are reflected in chirography, a comparison of the signatures of the Great Napoleon, at different stages of his career, will be of interest.

It was a German writer who first seems, some time ago, to have noticed the strange diversity of these autographs. If we may judge by the examples before us, it can apparently be said that they began to tend downward only after the decline in power and prosperity of this "child of destiny," who trusted implicitly in his star, until the campaign of Russia and the gathering hosts of his foes finally shook the faith which had led him to successive victories. If for no other reason than for amusing speculation, some of his signatures, taken at intervals, are here reproduced.

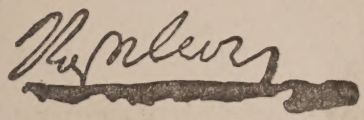
The following is taken from a letter dated 1793, addressed to the "Directory." It is in the nature of a claim for moneys due to Captain Buonaparte :



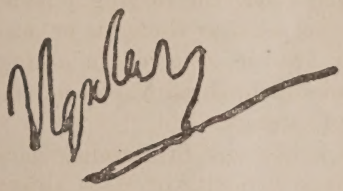
The next bears the date of the 13th Fructidor, year IV., and is the autograph of General Buonaparte at the headquarters of the French army, Berlin :



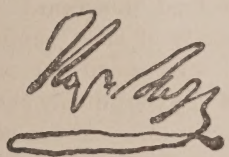
The next is the signature of Napoleon, Emperor of the French, 1804 :



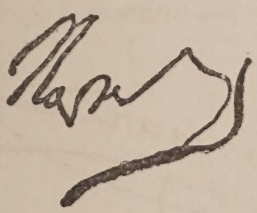
The following is appended to a proclamation after the battle of Austerlitz, and written in the flush of victory :



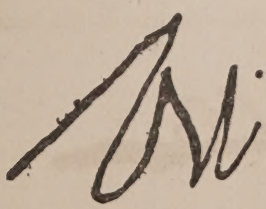
After the campaign of 1806, we find the following :



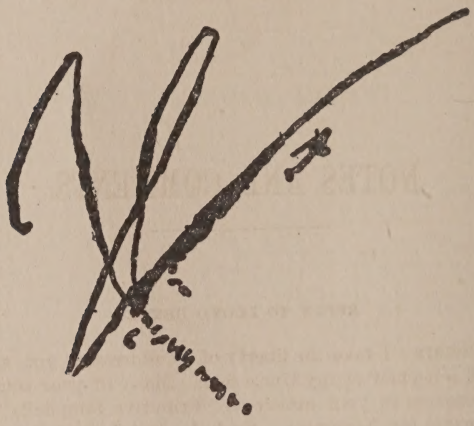
On the 21st September, 1812, by the light of burning Moscow, he wrote thus :



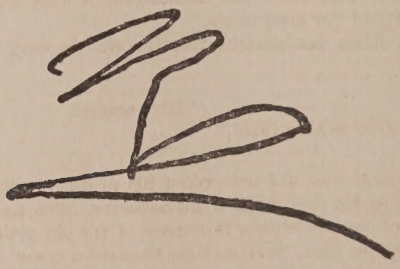
Then follow these strange devices : October 6th, 1812, still in retreat from Russia :



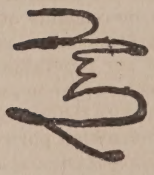
Erfurt, October 23d, 1813, after defeat at Leipzig :



Fontainebleau, 4th of April, 1814 :



St. Helena :



Believers in the revelations of chirography, among whom I do not claim a place, will find proofs strong as Holy Writ in this signature of the Exile of St. Helena. Both his signature and career had then reached their lowest "point of decline."

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

REPLY TO LLOYD BRYCE.

MY DEAR COUSIN: I take the liberty of so addressing you, as you have described yourself a nephew of my Uncle Sam. Many of your cousins agree with the views you express in your article on "Primitive Simplicity" in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for November. So do I. But I think, for the sake of our dear uncle, you should have omittted the conversation with the imprisoned anarchists. In addressing those who are discontented with the unfulfilled promises of society and the violated pledges of our civilization, it were well to lay but little stress on the generosity of our good uncle.

In former days, when our ancient relative was in easy circumstances, he was

"Rich enough
To give us all a farm,"

and his wealth, great as it was, did not exceed his profuse generosity, for he did most bountifully provide for thousands of his nephews. But, unfortunately, some of our cousins were not content with a fair share of the old gentleman's prodigality. Many, as you know, took land enough to make a great many more farms than each required, and consequently some of our ancient kinsman's grand nephews and great grand nephews are deprived of their share of a legacy ample for all had it been properly administered. And, as succeeding generations, though veritable heirs of our good uncle, descendants of his brothers who helped to release his estate from King George's mortgage, come upon the scene, they must needs be servants to the heirs of our forestalling cousins. Not all the tramps who caused our uncle so much trouble spoke in that dialect which gives so interesting a flavor to your conversation with the anarchist. Are there not many who use our own vernacular in all its Columbian purity who have been defrauded of their rights by the unequal distribution of our Uncle Sam's legacy? We may hang a few of these for fighting against the scheme of society which abets their deprivation, but if there be others whose unwillingness to be disinherited takes some less violent form than killing policemen, we will finally have to heed their demands for justice. You may argue against anarchy never so wisely, dear cousin, but you must not forget that injustice cannot permanently maintain the safety of society.

Better heed the demands of the blind goddess, that her scales, rather than her sword, may be the implement with which she will right the wrongs of the disinherited.

HERMAN KUEHN.

II.

CATHOLICS WANT PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

IN the discussion as to substituting sectarian schools for the present system of public schools, the desire of the Catholic people on the subject has not been referred to. It is a fact that none would object to such a substitution more than they.

Their preference for the public schools is shown by the fact that, while in every important parish in the country there is at present a free Catholic school, and parents have their choice between that and the public school for their children, the Catholic clergy have found it necessary to prescribe that any parent sending children to the public school shall be refused the sacraments of the church; and thousands of Catholic parents are at present undergoing this penalty rather than comply. In the writer's own family, a parent was refused the sacraments for years for this reason.

One reason for this preference is that a better education can be secured in the public schools. This the church authorities deny, and say that the Catholic schools as at present conducted are sufficient. Consequently, it is not to be supposed that there would be any improvement in this respect in the Catholic schools, even though they had the desired aid from the Government.

Another reason for this preference is that the parents regard education as being, if not a branch of the Government, at least as outside of religion, and they want no religious interference with it. They are not anxious to exchange the present system for one in the management and scope of which they will have no voice. American Catholics, no more than any other Americans, are desirous of yielding up any right of self-government which they now possess.

Cardinal Gibbons's plan of abolishing the present public school system, and apportioning the present school tax for the maintenance of sectarian schools, means that the Government shall be used, first, to compel Catholics to contribute to the support of Catholic schools, and second, to aid in compelling Catholics to send their children to Catholic schools, by making the only alternative the sending of them to a school of another religious denomination.

When there is any serious danger of this Government being made the agent, through the educational system or otherwise, of forcing any religion on its citizens, whether that religion be Catholic, Protestant, Mormon, Jewish, or any other, the Catholic people will be among the foremost in protesting.

F. E. MCGURRIN.

III.

THE FIELD-INGERSOLL CORRESPONDENCE.

INTERESTING, instructive, and able as the Field-Ingersoll correspondence has been, I think Mr. Field was unfortunate in his "Last Word," in that he has given away the essential feature of his side of the case in this remark: "You (Ingersoll) say, 'There are no punishments, no rewards: there are consequences. Very well, take the 'consequences,' and see where they will lead you. If followed up, they will lead you very far. For if man lives after death, and keeps his personal identity, do not the 'consequences' of his past life follow him into the future? *And if his existence is immortal*, are not the consequences immortal also? And what is this but endless retribution?"

"If his existence is immortal?" "If" is a poor premise upon which to build a dogmatic conclusion, and yet such is the great error and absurdity of Orthodoxy. And here Mr. Ingersoll has Mr. Field at a great advantage, and can easily grind him to powder. For it is perfectly safe to assert that there is nothing in

Scripture, in reason, or in common sense, that goes to prove or intimate that man *by nature* is immortal, or that moral evil, in any way possible to view it, has an affirmative existence in the universe.

To teach such a doctrine is to teach a gross dualism, a doctrine that the universe is the joint product and battle-ground of two co-extensive opposing Powers. This in itself is not only a worse Atheism than Mr. Ingersoll has ever taught, but a worse form than he has ever been accused of teaching.

To say that evil depends for its existence wholly upon relations, and that it is in its nature essentially self-destructive, is one of the main pillars of a true Theism. While, on the other hand, to maintain that evil is inherently indestructible, eternal, and coextensive with good, is not only to unsovereign Jehovah, but tantamount to characterizing God as imbecility.

Many as are the highest and best authorities easy to be produced here in substantiation of the unquestionable fact, that immortality, while the *end* and *goal* of creation, depends wholly upon *conditions*,—which must be answered sooner or later,—I content myself with only one from the fast growing recognized intellectual king of the nineteenth century,—Goethe,—in the second part of "Faust:"

> "Who hath not won a name, and seeks not noble works,
> Belongs but to the elements:
> *Service* and *faith* secure the individual life."

From which point I stand logically and fully in accord with Mr. Field, that to know God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, is life eternal.

HENRY W. HAZEN.

IV.

THE DISEASE OF INEBRIETY.

THE principles of law which have been laid down regulating the legal relations of the inebriate were framed long before we had obtained any accurate ideas respecting the disease of inebriety, and, therefore, great injustice has been done to the inebriate under the forms of law. The inebriate is a sick man and should neither receive loathing and ostracism at the hands of his friends, nor penal punishment when he commits overt acts at the hands of the law. We must distinguish primarily between those who are ordinary drunkards and those who suffer from the *disease* of dipsomania; between the individual who merely chooses to indulge in liquor daily and him who is irresistibly impelled by the craving—often periodical—resulting from a morbid irritation of the cortical sensory centres of the brain to indulge in alcoholic stimulants, and to frequent fits of intoxication.

I will give a typical case to make my meaning clear, and to clearly differentiate between the *vice* and the *disease*.

Some years ago a gentleman of high social standing was put under my care for the treatment of dipsomania. Between his paroxysms he differed from the ordinary drunkard in that he never touched liquor, did not like it, and was a most useful and honored member of society. About once in four months he would become restless, could not apply his mind, was sleepless, and became irritable. Then an imperious and irresistible drink craving would appear, and for days this gentleman would obey an impulse which he had not the power of resisting. He would follow out a course of inebriety at these times, and neither the dictates of affection nor the remonstrances of his many friends availed anything. At the close of his paroxysm, which was the perfect analogue of other periodical insanities, he would deplore, with great mental agony, the impulses by which he was mastered, and resume his

regular and sober habits, never touching a drop of liquor until the time for another paroxysm approached, when the same course was again pursued. The disease was characterized by its paroxysms and intermissions until he was finally cured. I have seen many examples of this disease in ladies of the highest social standing, who had all the virtues of their sex. These people are sick, and this strong, irresistible craving for spirituous drinks is the diagnostic symptom of their disease—Dipsomania, which is a distinct form of mental disorder. The act of drinking is not a voluntary act at all. It is done in obedience to the blind, irresistible craving for the alcoholic stimulus. It is an involuntary act that unintentionally and automatically oftentimes leads to the commission of crime, when such overt acts are committed. To constitute crime there must be moral liberty and an intent to commit crime. The dipsomaniac acts in obedience to a *vis a tergo*, derived from a brain condition that he cannot resist. He acts as the result of the morbid notions in the mind that springs from his disease, and he does not act in response to the suggestions of affection, of reason, and of common sense as sane persons do.

I suppose that it may be urged that I am promulgating truths dangerous to recognize in estimating the degree of criminal responsibility; for, by our code, inebriety does not afford any relief from the ordinary consequence of crime. The clear light of science, however, never reveals truths dangerous to recognize. The danger lies in the opposite direction. The inebriate does not enjoy the free and rational exercise of his understanding; he is more or less unconscious of his outward relations, and none of his acts during his paroxysms can be rightfully imputed to him as crime. The mind is not in the full possession of its powers and oftentimes excited by unfounded delusions, as in a recent case tried in our city before Judge Gildersleeve of a woman who threw her child out of a window under the influence of a delusion the result of a paroxysm of dipsomania. The judge most humanely charged the jury that there would appear to be no doubt as to the prisoner's insanity, and the verdict rendered was "not guilty on the ground of insanity." Judge Storey, in the case of Drew, who killed his second mate, Clark, while in a state of insanity, with hallucinations, the remote cause of which was the excessive use of alcohol, decided that insanity whose remote cause is habitual drunkenness should be an excuse in a court of law for a homicide committed by the party while so insane. Will not society in general accept the conclusions of many celebrated men of profound study and extensive observation, with their authoritative utterances; men like Krafft-Ebbing in Germany; Magnan, in Paris; Hathergill, Sir Thomas Watson, Richardson, Crichton Browne, Peddie and Norman Kerr, in England; Skae and Sir Benj. Brodie, of Edinburgh, and Hagstrom and Huss, of Sweden, who have all been trying to bring about a co-operative public sentiment and legislation relative to the disease of inebriety? Law and medicine should join hands with the cultured public in this matter, and a provision like the following should be introduced into the code of laws in every State, viz.:

By reason of their impaired responsibility, punishment cannot be inflicted on those who commit penal acts in a state induced by the disease of inebriety, which either takes away all consciousness respecting the act generally and its relations to penal law, or in conjunction with some peculiar bodily condition irresistibly impels the subject of this disease, while partially or completely unconscious, to violent acts.

The law can protect society sufficiently without punishing sick men and women, and responsibility should be annulled in that condition in which either a consciousness of the criminality of the offense or the free will of the offender is taken away by disease.

EDWARD C. MANN, M.D.

V.

COL. INGERSOLL AND CHRISTIANITY.

I HAVE read with much interest Colonel Ingersoll's reply to Dr. Henry M. Field. I have never before read any of Mr. Ingersoll's strictures upon Christianity, but I am aware that many good people regard his views with horror, as calculated to throw doubt and discredit upon the Christian religion. I am myself a firm believer in Christ and *His* Christianity; but I do not entertain any such apprehensions. The truth is a rock which will withstand the beating of any man's eloquence, however great. Colonel Ingersoll may doubt that the sun shines, but his assertion to that effect need give no disquiet to men of ordinary eyesight. But, if I may judge from this article, his attacks are not so much directed against the essential truths of the Christian system, as against the errors and absurdities that have grown up around it, and which are altogether of human origin. And if some of the errors have even crept into the narrative parts of the Old and New Testaments, I do not see that they need to shake our belief in the substantial truth of the history. Paul believed that the world was to come to an end in his day; but does that detract from his credibility when he asserts that he saw the risen Christ on the way to Damascus? The white lily often springs from a black and noisome pool, and it is only natural that some foulness should then cling to its roots. The early books of the Bible were written in a dark and superstitious age, and I should question their authenticity if there did not cling to them some of the superstitions of that remote time. But do these superstitions invalidate the abundantly supported historical facts that God chose Abraham to be the father of a great people; that He led that people out of bondage in Egypt; gave them through Moses a system of laws far in advance of the age; and subsequently, through the incomparable man, Jesus Christ, assured them, and us, and all who shall come after us to the latest time, that He is the loving Father of all mankind? These facts neither Colonel Ingersoll, nor any other man, can shake; and I conceive that he will do an essential service to Bible truth if he shall clear away some of the rubbish which has gathered about it, and now hides its supernal beauty from the world.

STILLMAN FORCYTHE.

VI.

NOTE FROM HENRY IRVING.

THE "combination" system by which theatres are occupied by traveling organizations, instead as formerly by their own stock companies, has become as general in England as it is here. There are now no stock companies in Great Britain outside of London. Recognizing that this state of affairs gave young actors no chance of the schooling so absolutely necessary to artistic progress, Mr. Henry Irving, in his latest provincial tour, took occasion to urge the erection of theatres by the municipalities of the large cities, and the leasing of them to managers who would maintain stock companies. His attention having been called to the paper in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for November, "Wanted, a Representative Theatre," he sent its author the following letter:

NEW YORK, *November* 9, 1887.

MY DEAR MR. MAGNUS:

I have read your excellent article with great interest, and I don't think anything can be added to it. A State-aided theatre is certainly less visionary in America than in England, where the prejudices of a certain class of the community would probably forbid any national subvention to theatrical management; but I

agree with you that such a project as you propose, which is on a much larger scale than a merely municipal theatre, must depend for realization on private enterprise. The undertaking would be arduous, but, with good management, I believe it would eventually pay its way. My own proposal is essentially different, for I would not apply it to London, where we have already a number of trained companies. Municipal theatres are necessary, in my opinion, in our large provincial cities, which are now dependent entirely on traveling companies from the metropolis. Such a scheme as I suggest would revive the independent organization of the chief local theatre, provide a training for young actors, and, if properly directed, throw no burden on the rates. But you will see that, in the nature of things, this would be a much smaller affair than a national theatre.

(Signed) HENRY IRVING.

VII.

SHELLEY'S MORALITY.

IN a recently published essay, Mr. Charles Dudley Warner passes criticism on Shelley's moral code as shown in "Prometheus Unbound." But he reveals himself as wholly misconceiving it. He says: "In the poem Zeus stands for law, for faith Christianity, custom, superstition, wrong, for every tyranny over the human mind; Prometheus for the universal love which dissolves all law and leaves man free."

Prometheus is the hero of the poem, the deliverer of mankind from oppression, the opposer of Zeus. At first under the thraldom of Zeus, he at last escapes and beholds the downfall of the tyrant. But is it true that Shelley represents Zeus as "law, faith, Christianity?" He certainly does let him stand for *false* "custom, superstition, and every tyranny." Shelley was a true scientist and believed in law. He believed in the highest moral law, that of love and justice. His definition of art, that it is true art only as connected with morality, shows how truly he revered the moral. His belief in justice is shown in his description of man when he shall have become renovated; then he is to be "gentle, *just*, and wise." As to "faith," it is Prometheus who represents that. He is the doomed victim of a tyrant, suffering every agony; yet he has faith in his deliverance, in the eternal downfall of evil, and the permanent establishment of the good.

Zeus did represent *perverted* Christianity. Shelley saw so much mock religion, so base a tyranny of the Church over her subjects, binding them to unreasoning and barbarous beliefs, that he was led to denounce Christianity as then existing. But any one who reads his poems aright will find them permeated through and through with the spirit of true Christianity. Of "Prometheus Unbound" can this especially be said; it is ever universal good-will and peace that he aspires for; the suppression of evil in all its forms that he desires.

Mr. Warner seems to have been misled by the use of words and thus failed to give the spirit of Shelley's belief due weight and justice. The dethronement of Zeus is the climax of the poem, but does it follow that Shelley denounces a God of love, purity, and justice? He says himself that, "under many a name and form has Jupiter, the Tyrant of the World, existed, abhorred of God." Thus he acknowledges that Highest Existence, and as very far apart from him whose doom he pronounces.

Mr. Warner seems led astray by the art-form in which Shelley has embodied a beautiful and truly religious conception of the world. "What basis," he asks, "has Shelley's conception in any conceivable system of ethics or philosophy?" What? we repeat, why that of the truest and strongest. Prometheus typifies the

nobler elements of humanity triumphing over the ignoble. As in the fable, Prometheus wars against Zeus, so here Zeus must represent all forms of the depraved, against which men must struggle, not by any means God, as our highest ideas embrace Him, nor any of the noble forms of life thus far developed in the world.

Certainly it was congenial to Shelley to let Zeus stand for evil, because of his belief that so many of the sufferings of men have sprung from their false notions of a God. His personal experience of religious intolerance and the anguish thereby inflicted intensified this belief. Who that shudders over the worst pages of Christian history will deny that he was right? But when we look deeper than the names and form of his work, and get an insight into the spirit of his teaching and aspiration, we find it in the highest sense religious. It is not "Anarchy" to which his thought leads, as Mr. Warner asserts, but true freedom,—man self-governed, and that self-government obtained by obedience to Divine Love.

Does any world-renowned religious teacher inculcate a better lesson than that of the closing lines of the great poem Mr. Warner finds lacking in the moral standard?—

> "To suffer woes that hope thinks infinite;
> To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
> To defy power that seems omnipotent;
> To love and bear; to hope till hope creates
> From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
> Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
> This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
> Good, great, and joyous, beautiful and free;
> This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory."

A. M. GANNETT.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I.

CHARLES DARWIN, THE MAN AND THE SCIENTIST.

WE are not surprised at the publishers' statement that the first edition in this country of "Darwin's Life and Letters"* was exhausted within a few days after its publication. Thoughtful people, who have marked the influence his writings have exerted in the domain of science within the last quarter of a century, cannot feel otherwise than curious, and even anxious, to know something more of the man himself than could be obtained through his writings—just such information, in fact, as these volumes supply. Mr. Darwin, notwithstanding his absorption in scientific work, was a good correspondent. Indeed, the nature of his life-work was such as to bring him into close correspondence with many people eminent in different departments of science, and these letters, with explanatory comments and many interesting details, personal and relative, are here collected and arranged by his son with pious care, forming, with the autobiographical portion of the book, a valuable and complete sketch and biography. The illustrations are few, and include two portraits, a sketch of the Darwin mansion, and one of the study of the great naturalist. The autobiography was written in 1876 for his children, without any idea of publication, and the editor has omitted some passages of a strictly personal character. This is followed by some reminiscences by members of his family and others, but the letters occupy the greater part of both volumes. The concluding chapters contain a brief account of his last illness and death, and of his public funeral in Westminster Abbey.

There is very little to be said about such a work as this of a critical character. The letters are deeply interesting, as showing the nature and temperament of the man as well as throwing light on many curious scientific questions, and on the circumstances surrounding Mr. Darwin in his life-work. It is seldom, we imagine, that a mere collection of letters reveals so much of biographical detail as these do, and it seems to us that the editor has most wisely and acceptably used them freely in this way. They also form a valuable contribution to scientific literature. They show us a man thoroughly in love with his work, ardent and diligent in the collection and classification of facts, and singularly free from foibles and egotism. The public knew that Charles Darwin was, during the later years of his life, a constant sufferer from bodily ailments which interfered sadly with his plans; but few of us were prepared for the statement that for nearly forty years he never knew one day of the health of ordinary men, but had to maintain a constant struggle against the weariness and strain of sickness. That under these circumstances he accomplished so much as an investigator of facts in the world of nature

* "Life and Letters of Charles Darwin." Including an Autobiographical Chapter. Edited by his son. 2 vols. D. Appleton & Co.

is a marvel. One is not surprised to learn that he set great store on the minutes, "never wasting a few spare minutes from thinking it not worth while to set to work." Mr. Darwin was a born naturalist, having a habit of collecting and classifying natural objects from his earliest boyhood ; but in other respects he writes himself down as a rather ordinary boy, with a penchant for shooting game, in which in early manhood he acquired great skill. He remembered having, as a boy, a keen sense of pleasure in mastering subjects which really interested him. The vocation to which he first turned his thoughts was that of a clergyman, and he pursued a course of study at Cambridge University with that end in view.

His appointment as naturalist to the scientific expedition in the ship "Beagle" on her voyage to South America in 1831, diverted his attention from the Church, and was the great turning point in his career. At this time he was a believer in the orthodox creeds. The history of his declension from the faith of the Church forms a brief but very interesting chapter in this work, and is given from his own letters and diary. It appears that he gave up his belief, slowly and unwillingly, but finally avowed himself an agnostic, though confessing that the idea of annihilation was intolerable to him. He rarely discussed this question, however, feeling that the whole subject was beyond the scope of man's intellect, and that every one must judge for himself between "conflicting vague possibilities." In one respect Darwin was very favorably situated, namely, in being possessed of an ample inherited income, which made it possible for him to pursue his favorite tasks without care about finances. He realized also a good profit from his books, part of which he expended in furthering public objects of a scientific character. Professor Huxley contributes an interesting chapter to the first volume, on Darwin's great book, "The Origin of Species," in which he refers to the complete change of view which has taken place in the scientific world with regard to the theory of evolution, and to the misconceptions regarding it which yet prevail in many quarters.

II.

DARWINISM AND ETHICS.

PROFESSOR SCHURMAN, of Cornell University, is the author of an interesting treatise on "Darwinism and Ethics,"* which discusses the scientific as opposed to the speculative method as applied to ethical problems. The prevalent idea of the book appears to us to be embodied in the following sentence, from the first chapter: "If ethics, instead of groping through the void, impalpable inane of fictitious pre-human morality, would in good earnest describe historic morality in all its fixed and changing characters, tracing the evolution of moral ideas and institutions from their earliest to their present form, then its scientific character, which is to-day a reproach, would be firmly established, and it could claim to be a science as unimpeachable as any other branch of history." And again: "Given the earliest morality of which we have any written record, to trace from it through progressive stages the morality of to-day : that is the problem, and the only problem, which can fall to a truly *scientific* ethics." The author draws a distinction between ethics as a science and a philosophy, and he deplores the unscientific character of the prevailing ethical systems, which he characterizes as speculative. It is just here that Darwinism seems to come in. Darwin, according to our author, is the father of evolutionary ethics, but his work is incomplete; first, because he uses the historical method in morals more as a means of confirming a

* "The Ethical Import of Darwinism." By Jacob Gould Schurman, Sage Professor of Philosophy in Cornell University. Charles Scribner's Sons.

biological hypothesis than as an independent instrument of investigation, and secondly, because he does not keep it free from the spirit of speculative utilitarianism. Assuming the correctness of Darwin's scientific position, this treatise examines its bearing upon morals, distinguishing between fact and speculation in Darwin's own moral theory. Where Darwinism breaks down in its application of evolution to ethics is in the failure to account for the human conscience. He finds no conscience in the animal, and therefore the conscience of man cannot be a development from the conscience of the lower animal. Instead of resting here or groping for more facts he turns to speculation, and takes sociability on the one hand, which is common to man and beast, and on the other high intelligence, which is peculiar to man, and gets from the combination a primitive conscience. Professor Schurman entertains a great admiration for Darwin as a scientist, and shows a very close acquaintance with his system, but on this point he claims that Darwin is inconsistent with himself, though entitled to gratitude for directing attention to the great question of the evolution of morals as distinct from empirical morality. If ethics is ever to become a science in the true sense of the term, he thinks we must bring ourselves back to this point of departure, shun speculation, and follow the historical method. This, he argues, will in time bring us a rich harvest of facts, which will throw light on many vexed questions.

There is one point on which we cannot quite follow our author's reasoning. We do not see how all the facts in the world gleaned from an investigation of the history of morals can enlighten us as to the origin of the moral sense. A very interesting collection of facts may be tabled for the use of philosophers, but what has all that to do with the origin of the moral sense? If the moral sense is simply an evolution from a physical basis, there is a missing link in the Darwinian system, which our author very clearly points out, but we find no suggestion as to where this link is to be discovered, and no suggestion of an alternative. It may, for instance, be very interesting to learn, with our author, how certain remote savage tribes regarded the question of chastity, and to trace the growth of the law of moral purity as a personal obligation, but the question as to the nature and origin of our moral perceptions is not thereby settled. On the other hand, if we cannot settle this question in a scientific way, there remains the alternative of a creative fiat, but that would be breaking the chain of the evolution hypothesis. Unfortunately, the limits within which our inquiries as to the development of the moral sense in man can range are too restricted for either proving or disproving the Scriptural account by scientific observation. If primeval man was made "upright" and lapsed into barbarism and immorality, the condition in which the dawn of history finds the savage races would be only what might be expected; but all our researches cannot carry us over the prehistoric period to the birth of the moral sense in man. Until evolution can give us a scientific explanation of the existence of conscience, we cannot look to it as a guide in determining the graver questions of ethical science.

III.

BEGINNINGS OF THE STRIFE.

GENERAL CRAWFORD'S "Genesis of the Civil War"* is a work that must produce a deep impression upon American readers. It is in many respects the most important and interesting war book which has seen the light. Never before has there been an attempt to set forth the full history of those political events and discords

* "The Genesis of the Civil War. The Story of Sumter, 1860-1861." By Samuel Wylie Crawford, Brevet Major-General, U. S. A. Charles L. Webster & Co.

which, like the mutterings and rumblings preceding an earthquake, agitated the country prior to the declaration of civil war. And yet without such a work one-half the significance of the struggle would be lost to succeeding generations. Happily, General Crawford has brought to this great task those qualifications which alone could insure its accomplishment, judicial calmness and impartiality, with a true historical instinct. It would have been easy to load down a work of this character with a prolixity of detail that would have successfully immured the main purpose of the author as a historian. That purpose, as stated in the preface, is not the "recital of the long train of predisposing causes," but rather those of "an immediate and exciting nature," which preceded the outbreak of hostilities. The history of political parties, the origin and progress of the anti-slavery agitation, the character and development of the "peculiar institutions," are questions which the author scarcely touches. He begins with the actual throes and agonies of the war-birth. Many of us will remember the protracted negotiations preceding the assault on Fort Sumter, and the oft repeated but vain prophecy that neither side meant serious business. In England this was at the time the general opinion. Nothing can be clearer in the light of this work than the determined attitude of South Carolina from the very first. The decision and boldness which guided the counsels of that State could only have been derived from the perfect unanimity of her people on the question of separation. This much has always been known, but the inner springs of action—the impulses which moved that Commonwealth, the skillful and daring diplomacy of her rulers which gave her for a time the seeming advantage—have never been so clearly set forth as in this volume. The same may be said as to the embarrassments of the Buchanan Administration. As the story unfolds itself we begin to understand how fearful was the responsibility which pressed upon the rulers of the nation at that period. With divided counsels the President had no easy task to see the straight line of duty. General Crawford's estimate of Mr. Buchanan is that he desired and strove to serve his country, but that he utterly misunderstood the real nature of the crisis. His policy was vacillating and timid from the very first. In his anxiety to maintain the peace he permitted himself to make personal guarantees which were eventually used against him, and when at length he came to see the necessity of stern and straightforward action, the great opportunity of his life-time had passed away. "When history," says our author, "shall come to pen the record of the close of his career, it will judge him not from what he did, but what from his great opportunities and grave responsibilities he utterly failed to do."

The greater part by far of this book is taken up with the story of Fort Sumter, for it was the fate of that fortress to be the hinge of the controversy immediately leading to the war. The whole force of the Carolinian sentiment, after her formal secession, was concentrated in the one determination to wrest that fort from the possession of the general government. When diplomacy failed force was resorted to, and thus was precipitated a conflict which could not at best have been far distant. Major Anderson has been fortunate in his historian, and in the light of these papers stands forth as a wise and resolute, while, at the same time, a humane and thoughtful commander. Sympathizing with Southern sentiment, he yet held firmly to his soldierly duty, and, availing himself of the full discretion accorded to him by the War Department to abandon the untenable position of Fort Moultrie for the apparently impregnable one of Sumter, he aroused against himself the bitterest antagonism of the South. The honor of South Carolina was pledged to the downfall of Sumter. As our author served as medical officer to Anderson's command, and was with him from first to last of the contest for the fort, he is able to give many interesting details which would otherwise have scarcely

been recorded, and with the capture of that stronghold by the State his narrative ends, although he adds some particulars as to the after career of the little garrison and other matters pertinent to the subject. The book is well illustrated.

IV.

PRE-GLACIAL MAN.

UNDER a somewhat quaint title, too long to reprint in these pages,* Lorenzo Burge discusses the interesting question of the history of creation, and of man from the year 32,500 before Christ. The book is not strictly scientific, but the author claims that it is based on scientific data, such as geological discoveries, investigations of the glacial period, and the labors of such men as Adhémar, Layard, and Professors Smith, Sayce, and others. The Bible account of these matters he treats as allegorical, but accepts it fully in the light of his interpretations. The creative periods, or days, contained, in his opinion, hundreds of thousands of years each, and the "shorter periods of man thousands and tens of thousands of years." Adam is the generic name of a race, and there were several distinct races on the earth, of which the Adamic was the highest in intellect and power. Man, the animal, existed before Eden, and entered it as such, and Eden itself was a large portion of the continent of Asia in which the Aryan race found its first home. The temptation in Eden was simply the ardent desire of the race after spiritual knowledge, which opened their eyes to the degradation of a merely animal existence, however innocent, and led finally to the dispersion of the race in order that the new "evangel" might be proclaimed to all other races on the earth. The real "fall" took place, in the author's view, during the period preceding the Deluge, when the intellectual man, as represented in the Aryan race, fell so far beneath the animal as to be unworthy to live. A remnant of the race survived and have thus received another opportunity of doing what their ancestors neglected.

There is a great deal of ingenuity and an evident familiarity with scientific facts in this production, which combine to make it interesting. The author, while revering the Bible, cannot accept it in a literal sense, and gives many reasons why, though the majority of good church people will scarcely dare to accept his conclusions. He rejects the idea that all mankind sinned in Adam or in anybody else, and that the heathen are going down to endless destruction. Immortality, he believes, is a kind of evolution or advancement, but the germinal principle of it, which exists in every man, may be destroyed by sin, and then at the period of bodily dissolution the particular man ceases to be. A bad man is the only kind of a devil the author believes in, and all men can obtain immortal life by deserving it.

Such books at these will scarcely disturb the settled beliefs of the masses, but they will be read by the curious and exercise a certain influence on the future developments of creed. Many people doubtless see no escape from the alternative of accepting the literal statements of the Bible and rejecting it as the Word of God, but there is an increasing tendency to search for some other method of silencing objections than that of the pious negro mammy who declared that she would be perfectly willing even to believe that Jonah swallowed the whale if the Bible said so. The author cannot understand how any vessel like Noah's ark could possibly have held pairs and sevens of all the creatures on earth, with food for a year, and how the family of Noah could have attended to them; but once admit the supernatural and all difficulties vanish before credulity. The author accepts the fact of a limited deluge as sufficiently authenticated, and on this point is in line with modern orthodoxy, and he believes that to the great Aryan race is intrusted the great responsibility of communicating the gospel to all mankind.

* "Pre-Glacial Man. The Aryan Race." By Lorenzo Burge. Lee and Shepard.

V.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND HISTORY.

DR. ROEMER, in his elaborate and well-conceived plan of presenting a correct view of the origin and development of the English people and language,* starts out upon the theory that these two things must necessarily be closely related. In tracing the language to its sources, he finds it indispensable to pursue a critical inquiry into the origin, character, and distribution of the various races who at various epochs have found their way into the British islands. In presenting the results of these inquiries, he has availed himself of the labors of many scholars who have gone before him in different departments of this general field, so that this work in one sense is largely a digest of the substance of numerous works constituting a considerable library and not always easy of access. As a patient collector of facts, which he has also skillfully and consecutively arrayed, the author has rendered an important service to the world of letters, and a study of his book will give any one a very complete equipment of knowledge on this special topic.

Beginning with the prehistoric period, and the etymology of "Britannia," the author rapidly advances to the period of the Roman invasion, giving a sketch of the races and tribes then inhabiting the country. He thinks it highly probable that the Welsh and Irish were originally one and the same people, and that the difference in language is to be accounted for by their having been divided by the sea and brought into contact with other peoples. The effect of the four hundred years of Roman occupation was, of course, most marked, but he doubts whether any Latin word in modern English is traceable to that period. In this connection we would recall an incident in the travels of the present writer in the middle western district of England, where, in the county of Shropshire, he came across the word "puning," which was used by the peasantry in the sense of striking or knocking—"Who is that *puning* at the door?" This word is not in the dictionaries, but its Roman derivation is obvious, and its use in that part of the country seemed to be quite common. The author similarly traces the Cambriam *ather* from *aer*, air; *capat* from *caput*, head; *carn* from *caro*, flesh, etc.

The various tribes which in the fifth and sixth centuries took part in the Anglo-Saxon conquest spoke virtually the same language, but broken up into a great variety of dialects. Connected with these were the Teutonic and the Scandinavian, and all have left their impress on the language. The earliest specimens of the Anglo-Saxon language date from the end of the seventh century, and, as our author states, belong to the Anglian dialect. One of the most interesting of the existing fragments of this literature consists of the verses said to have been uttered by the venerable Bede on his deathbed to his pupil Cuthbert, of which we give both the original and the translation:

Fore the neidfæræ	Before the unavoidable journey
nenig uuiurthit	no one is
thonc snotturra	wiser of thought
than him tharf sie,	than he hath need,
to ymbhycgannæ	to consider
æer his hiniongæ,	before his departure,
huat his gastæ	what for his spirit
godues æththe yflæs	of good or evil
æfter deoth-dæge	after the death-day
dœmid uuieorthæ.	shall be doomed.

The troublous times of the Danish invasions made a marked impression upon

* "Origins of the English People and of the English Language." Compiled from the best and latest authorities. By Jean Roemer, LL. D. D. Appleton & Co.

the English tongue, and to this day the popular language in the Northeastern shires would be intelligible to a Dane or a Norwegian were it not for the intermixture of Norman words and idioms. From this time onward great local diversities of dialect appear. To the Danes must also be attributed the wanton destruction of monasteries and schools, containing many libraries of the vernacular. At this point the author furnishes many interesting particulars of the meaning of geographical and proper names which have clung to the soil and remain to this day. Sometimes the spelling of these words has been modernized, but the pronunciation remains the same; thus Seaford, in Sussex, is pronounced by its inhabitants Seavoort. The suffix *ford* is sometimes Anglo-Saxon, and then means a passage across a river; sometimes it is Norwegian, and then means an arm of the sea. This distinction, resulting from derivation, applies to many words. The terminations thwaite, holm, by, ham, ness, ton, worth, burg, hurst, field, combe, meer, ing, etc., are satisfactorily accounted for in a manner that will interest many readers.

The Norman conquest comes in for a large share of notice, as a matter of course, and here the book grows intensely readable and instructive. The character of the Normans and the circumstances which led up to the invasion by William, with a true story of that invasion and its influence upon the people and language, are skillfully set forth. It will not flatter the pride of the Norman aristocracy to be reminded that their progenitors in Normandy were in very many instances peasants and herdsmen. William made a clean sweep of the country, turning out the Saxon gentry and distributing their lands among his followers of every grade. There was terrible want and suffering where there had formerly been ease and abundance, and it was a common thing for Saxons of illustrious rank to sell themselves into slavery for food. But at this point we must leave this interesting book. The author continues his inquiries into the linguistic changes accomplished by this fusion of races, and the gradual consolidation, so to speak, of the English language, giving also in an appendix a valuable contribution as to the French sources of modern English, including a historical sketch of the French language, its etymology, and specimens of early French.

It will thus be seen that the work covers a very wide field. It can hardly be expected but that here and there an erroneous view may be propounded, but in a cursory examination we have not lighted upon any points calling for serious criticism. The author, by the care and fidelity of his researches and digests, has, in fact, produced a standard work which will doubtless find its way as such into the seminaries of learning on both sides of the Atlantic.

VI.

NEW WORK ON CHURCH HISTORY.

THE various standard histories of the Christian Church have not so thoroughly covered the field or met the needs of the public as to make it necessary to apologize for writing another book on that subject; and to many people the plan formed by Dr. Fisher* of condensing the most important facts into the compass of a single volume will be peculiarly acceptable. The author has two objects specially in view in this work—to exhibit the relations of the Church throughout its progress to secular history, and to present a survey of the history of Christian doctrine. We infer from the preface that the book has grown up from the basis of academic lectures delivered at Yale in the ordinary university course. It is

* "History of the Christian Church." By George Park Fisher, D.D., LL.D., Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. With maps. Charles Scribner's Sons.

written in a compact, lucid style, and will be peculiarly serviceable to those who desire to post themselves in the main points of particular episodes and periods without wading through lengthened details. The chapters and paragraphs are so arranged as to show the subject matter at a glance, and the eye and memory are further assisted by systematic side notes. There are no foot-notes or references whatever to distract the attention from the text. In these respects the plan of the author has been carried out very successfully, and although the advanced scholar may regret that some important matters are disposed of quite summarily, he must recollect that the attempt to do full justice to every one of the vast multitude of topics ranging themselves under the comprehensive title of the work would have extended it to several volumes.

The contents are arranged under three great divisions—the ancient, the mediæval, and the modern eras. The first embraces four distinct periods—the Apostolic, thence to Constantine, thence to Gregory I., thence to Charlemagne. The second includes three distinct periods and brings us down to the Reformation. The third deals with the Reformation and carries us through the various phases of Church life to our own day. A considerable space is devoted to Christian missions, and also to the present doctrinal divisions of Christendom.

VII.

DANTON IN THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE average American reader cares about as much for a study of Danton* as he would for a eulogy of the Man in the Moon; but fortunately Mr. Gronlund has not confined himself to Danton's biography. He has attempted to deduce from the French Revolution teachings that may be of use to us in the United States to-day. The book is well written and very readable, and the author stands far above most of the economic writers of the present day in the sobriety of his diction and the fidelity of his historical statements.

When Mr. Gronlund deals with the French character and French theories of government, his propositions are generally sound; but when he treats of our American Revolution he fails to grasp the full and true import of that event—both in the causes which led to its outbreak and the ideas which influenced the American people at that time. He ignores also the propulsion which our success gave to the outbreaking of the French Revolution, and he is blind to the total inability of the French people to comprehend the properties and principles underlying our system of government.

The awful atrocities of the French Revolution all civilized peoples must ever regard with horror, yet they were the natural and inevitable results following the absence of checks and balances in the French Revolutionary system, where a law was proposed, and adopted, and executed in the space of a few minutes. No time was given there for sober second thought—no supervising second or third power was asked to approve or disapprove. The heat of passion, the hysteria of fear, the delirium of enthusiasm, were the influences among which laws were made and deeds done at which the world still shudders. Mr. Gronlund shows clearly these defects in the political system of the French Revolution, but he does not seem to appreciate the causes from which they resulted, nor to clearly comprehend that very similar results might follow in the United States if our system of checks and balances was once broken down.

It is the fashion nowadays to eulogize earnestness, and Mr. Gronlund is not

* "Ça Ira! or Danton in the French Revolution. A Study." By Lawrence Gronlund.

behind the age in this respect—but our insane asylums are crowded with intensely earnest people. Danton and his associates were earnest—but so were the Chicago Anarchists. In fact, earnestness, if not linked with soberness of thought, word, and deed, is little better than insanity ; and there are scenes in the history of Danton's time that are the very insanity of earnestness. It is a very fortunate trait in the Anglo-Saxon character to admire pluck, enterprise, and energy, but to distrust earnestness run wild into enthusiasm.

It is the fashion also to leave out of consideration the deep religious sentiments which prevailed at the time of our revolution ; yet all history teaches that the religious idea—no matter whether Christian or Pagan, so long as it be live—is one of the strongest binding social forces in existence. Yet Mr. Gronlund leaves entirely out of consideration the religious factor of the French Revolution. The word does not even occur in the excellent index that completes his book ; it is as absent from the book as the thing was from the French Revolutionists.

Yet, notwithstanding this fault-finding, we think " Ça Ira " to be a book well worth a perusal. The French Revolution has been so often presented to us in a series of kaleidoscopic pictures that it is both interesting and instructive to meet a philosophic study of it ; and the style of composition and method of arrangement make Mr. Gronlund's book very readable.

VIII.

A VOYAGE TO THE CARIBBEES.

MR. PATON tells the story of his five or six weeks' voyage among the Caribbean islands very pleasantly,* and contrives to weave in with his graphic, descriptive sketches many facts concerning the history, population, trade, and social condition of the places he visited in the course of his tour in this interesting region. The book is therefore not only interesting but valuable. Part of it is a reprint of letters furnished to a New York daily newspaper, but a large portion of it is here published for the first time, and this latter portion, it is fair to presume, is mainly due to enlargements and additions made after a careful study of historical and official records. The voyage was made in a trading steamship, the "Barraconta," carrying also a few passengers, and making many stoppages at different ports, discharging and receiving cargo. A few days at most, and often but a few hours, could be given to each island visited, but these were used to the best advantage, and the result is exceedingly creditable to the author's powers of observation and rapid generalization. For any one proposing to make a trip to the region in question, or to any portion of it, whether for health, pleasure, or business, the book will prove a welcome and useful companion and guide. One of the strongest impressions produced on the author by this tour was the gradual disappearance of white people and their descendants from these tropical lands and the rapid increase of the blacks and Hindoo coolies. " In the future, it may be in the near future,—certainly at some time more or less remote,—the Africans, who were brought unwilling captives into this land of bondage, and the Hindoos, who owe their exportation from the land of their fathers to the imagined necessity for cheaper instead of more intelligent labor, will find themselves left in possession of regions no longer profitably to be cultivated." Mr. Paton thinks that this subject may well engage the attention of ethnologists and statesmen, and he points signifi-

*" Down the Islands: A Voyage to the Caribbees." By William Agnew Paton. With illustrations from drawings by M. J. Burns. Charles Scribner's Sons.

cantly to Hayti as a warning. The hope of the future lies in two directions: the turning again of the tide of white immigration and occupation toward these islands and the elevation of the black races.

IX.

GLIMPSE AT A NEIGHBORING REPUBLIC.

THE region in which the civilization of our country had its beginnings should be a point of especial interest to Americans. We travel North, South, East, and West, and send explorers to Arctic colds and Afric heats, while down at our feet, securely hemmed in by the Caribbean Sea and the calm Pacific, nestles a little country, seldom visited or written about by our countrymen, as rich in natural wealth and beauty as any on the earth's surface. In the list of over two hundred books or publications used for reference by the author of this charming new work on Guatemala,* by far the larger part are written in the Spanish language, and, with few exceptions, are not of recent date. Various enterprises have, of late, awakened interest in this hitherto strange country, and we know of no publication so accurate, comprehensive, and available for the expectant traveler, or so full of interest to the lover of books of travels, as this now before us, and we promise the reader that he will not find a dull page from preface to appendix.

The opening chapters briefly indicate the extent, geographical features, geological formation, agricultural and mineral wealth, government, and educational interests of the five independent republics which constitute Central America, formerly known as Guatemala. These States cover an area of about one hundred and seventy thousand square miles, and have a population of two and a half millions. Gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead are found, and in some portions of the country are very abundant. The climate is generally healthful, though warm. "We often hear of the extreme unhealthfulness of the tropics; but is it generally known that more persons die of consumption in Massachusetts than of the most dreaded diseases in Central America? The last time an official census was taken, Livingstone had a population of one thousand in round numbers, and the deaths of the year numbered seven,—one a centenarian, and two youths who fell from cocoanut trees and broke their necks; while in Boston the rate for July, 1885, was 28.1 per thousand."

In somewhat irregular and unsystematic fashion, but in the vivid, entertaining style which characterizes Stanley and Rider Haggard, Mr. Brigham takes his readers on a journey through the little republic of Guatemala proper, from the free port of Livingstone on the Atlantic coast, to Guatemala, the capital city, thence by southerly course to Azacualpa, thence northerly through the mountains to Esquipulas, Quirigua, and back home again to Livingstone.

Of the rich soil of Livingstone, he tells us that no plow is needed to prepare it for sowing, and corn planted on Thursday has attained a growth of four inches by the Monday following. Crops often mature in ninety days, and three crops are often harvested in a year. Bananas and plantains, rice and sugar cane, grow abundantly, the latter yielding three tons of sugar per acre for twenty years without replanting. The farmer clears the land of forest in January and February; burns the felled trees in May, and in June his land is ready for planting. Livingstone is but eight days from New York, four from New Orleans, and one from Belize. Yet "the Northern farmer wears out his life in the consumptive fields of New England, where his crops grow only four months of the year, instead of settling here, where he can plant any day of the year, and reap a rich harvest in due

* "Guatemala, the Land of the Quetzal." A Sketch, by William T. Brigham. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

season. He sometimes goes to Florida, which is neither tropical nor temperate, which is nothing but a raised coral reef with a veneering of soil, and where frosts cut off his crops every few years."

According to these legends, the dynasty of the Votanides and the empire of Xibalban were founded by Votan, who came to the country at a very early period and civilized the savages whom he found inhabiting the country. There are some interesting ruins attributed to this period which exhibit a remarkable development in architecture and sculpture. Nahoas, a leader from the North, founded a city not far from Palenque, called Tula, whence the name Tultecas, which is often applied to this people. Successive conquests and immigrations ended in the establishment of the Quiché power, which at one time extended from Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, and eastward to the Lago de Izabal. As near as can be estimated, the Quichés were reigning in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. Palaces, altars and lofty watch towers of cut stone were erected at their capital, Utatlan, near the modern city of Santa Cruz del Quiché, and the people reached a state of civilization far beyond that of the present day. From the "Popul Vuh," the sacred book of the Quichés, an elaborate and fanciful account of the creation of man and the origin of the world is obtained, together with many hints as to the condition and religious belief of these early inhabitants of Guatemala. Passing by the intervening centuries of unimportant events, the election of General Barrios to the Presidency, in 1871, was the beginning of an era of progress in the republic. The adoption of a Constitution, the expulsion of the Jesuits, the confiscation of church property, and its use for government and educational purposes, were some of the measures by which General Barrios greatly increased the prosperity of his State.

The legislative power of Guatemala is vested in the Asamblea Nacional, which is composed of deputies chosen from the people, at the rate of one for each twenty thousand inhabitants, the term of office being four years. The President is elected by popular vote and serves six years. Religion does not flourish in this republic. Unfaithful priests have, for centuries, brought reproach on the Roman Catholic Church, and although full liberty of worship is allowed by the government, but one Protestant church is supported in the State. The military organization is strong and the standing army numbered 2,500, rank and file, in 1883, while the militia included 50,000, and one-sixth of the income of the State was required to support it.

Education was made compulsory by President Barrios, and all the ordinary elementary branches are taught gratuitously in the primary schools. There were 850 primary schools in the republic in 1885, with an attendance of 39,642 and 1,000 teachers.

Schools are often held in old convents or other confiscated church buildings. Teachers are appointed by government. Teachers' Institutes are regularly held, and the schools are visited and examined with care by intelligent men appointed for that purpose. High schools and academies supply the higher education to those who desire it, and Mr. Brigham finds that the work of the pupils in this department compares very favorably, in many respects, with that of the Boston Latin School. There are chemical and physical laboratories, zoological museums, and other aids of a well ordered school of the higher grade. Medicine and pharmacy, engineering, philosophy, and literature are also taught in government schools, and at the Capital, music and oratory, commerce and design, may be studied. There is a school for deaf mutes, and a polytechnic school, the latter under the supervision of the Minister of War. Several newspapers are published and there are small libraries.

Among the larger exports of Guatemala may be noticed sugar, bananas, coffee, cochineal, india rubber, and timber. Of the possible exports, Mr. Brigham says: "All our sugar, all our coffee, all our rice, all our chocolate, all our india rubber ought to come from Central America, where these products can be raised better and cheaper than in any other country; and, next to these staples, the subsidiary fruits, as oranges, plantains, bananas, pines, limes, granadillas, aguacates, and dozens of others now unknown to commerce, ought to come to us from Limon, Puerto Cortes, and Livingstone." Lack of private enterprise and capital prevent this people from advancing to their rightful place among the commercial nations of the world.

It should be added, that a large number of photographs which Mr. Brigham took in these interesting regions increase the interest of the reader, although they have lost much in the process of reproduction.

X.

NOTES OF A HALF CENTURY.

THERE is a peculiar attractiveness in books which give the personal recollections of wise and observant men, and in the Life Notes* of the Reverend Dr. Wm. Hague there is the additional interest attaching to the last written work of a long and useful life. In a prefatory note the publishers state that two days after sending the last corrected proof pages of this work the author was stricken with apoplexy while on his way through the streets of Boston to his publishers, and died in the entrance to Tremont Temple, near the place where much of his life work was done. Dr. Hague was in many respects a typical and representative American. Of mingled Huguenot and British ancestry, his earliest recollections are of Pelham and New Rochelle, in Westchester County, New York, of which charming suburbs some interesting historical particulars are given. The "Life Notes" go back nearly eighty years, for the doctor was born in 1808, and he remembered well the death of his grandfather in 1811. They relate chiefly to ecclesiastical movements, and are also in great part autobiographical. Dr. Hague was brought up in the Episcopal Church, but became a Baptist from conviction. One of his relatives entered the Catholic Church and became Archbishop of Baltimore. The two divines had an opportunity of comparing notes as to their respective divergences from the old Protestant Episcopal standpoint. Each agreed that the logic of the other was convincing, the only difference being that our author starts with the premise that the Bible alone is the rule of faith and practice, while the Archbishop's major premise is that Church authority is the supreme rule. Both agreed that between these two positions there is no solid ground for effective Christian argument to rest upon. The doctor has much to say of Emerson, Theodore Parker, and other eminent contemporaries. He once cornered Emerson by the question, why he did not say outright that Christ was a charlatan for proclaiming his divinity if he simply regarded him as a human teacher. Unfortunately he never received an answer to this question. "With a quietly musing, meditative air, Mr. Emerson seemed for a moment to be extemporizing an answer, when a group of friends, students, and others, came pressing forward with their personal greetings, so that the opportunity for further talk in this direction was suddenly ended." Emerson's great failure lay, our author considers, in the impossible task of combining his Oriental mysticism with the shrewd common-sense of practical life. The American, he argues, will live out his supreme ideas. If he abandons the idea of

* "Life Notes, or Fifty Years' Outlook." By William Hague, D.D. Lee & Shepard.

a personal God he abandons religion, utterly repelling the mystic's thought of an ecstatic worship "without ideas." Or, if he becomes an emotional Nature worshiper, he will drift to the extreme of naturalistic spontaneity, and ignore the idea of sin as a fossil conventionalism.

Of the many thrilling and momentous public questions which have arrested public attention during the half century especially under review, the author has many things to say. He occupied several influential pulpits during that period, and took a leading part in many of the controversies of his time. His notes are shrewd and thoughtful, showing an observant and withal kindly nature, and a broad and catholic way of looking at things bespeaking cultivation and insight.

XI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A WIFELY tribute to the memory of General Hancock* has lately been written by Mrs. Hancock. It contains interesting but not elaborate biographical facts and incidents, with various letters and addresses eulogistic of the late general by a large number of his friends and associates. The work is also illustrated with portraits and sketches, among the latter being the birthplace of Hancock and the scene of his earliest school days. The book will be prized by the many friends and admirers of the general, to whom it is inscribed, and amongst whom must be included his comrades in arms. It is the story of a brave, patriotic, and accomplished soldier who deserved well of his country and bore the modest rewards and honors he received with wonderful grace and dignity. While the book shows in every line a wife's love and devotion, it is free from mere eulogy, and does great credit to the literary skill and tact of the author.

We submitted "Mrs. Shillaber's Cook Book"† to the judgment of a lady superintending a household of more than average size, and after careful examination and experiment the verdict was decidedly favorable. She pronounces it excellent and essentially practical from every domestic standpoint, economy included. Besides cookery, the book touches upon housekeeping duties in general, including the care of the sick, servants, and "things handy to have in the house." With great sense the author observes: "There is a limit to the labor that can be accomplished by one pair of hands; therefore resolve that the non-essentials only shall be neglected. The daily comfort of the family and the mental and moral training of the children are of more importance than frosted fruit cake." After such a sentence as this one feels like accepting the author's conclusions as to the best way of making food palatable and nourishing as well as attractive and delicious.

The idea of arranging books under classified headings for reference and selection‡ is a good one, but is open to the serious objection that such a list must always be behind the times. No sooner does it see the light than its omissions are manifest, owing to the rapid appearance of new works. It is questionable whether the public feels enough interest in such a list to sustain an annual publication of the kind. This list seems to have been made with care and diligence, but it goes back only five years, and therefore omits many of the most important works on the different topics. It is, however, undoubtedly a very useful handbook.

* "Reminiscences of Winfield Scott Hancock." By his wife. Charles L. Webster & Co.

† "Mrs. Shillaber's Cook Book. A Practical Guide to Housekeepers." By Lydia Shillaber. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

‡ "The Best Reading." Third series. A priced and classified bibliography for the five years ending December 1st, 1886. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The latest addition to Mr. Rolfe's valuable series of annotated English classics is a volume of Browning's dramas* which includes "The Blot on the 'Scutcheon," "Colombe's Birthday," and "A Soul's Tragedy," and is edited by Mr. Rolfe and Miss Heloise Hersey. The first quarter of the book is devoted to selected criticisms, some of which appeared in the leading magazines when the dramas were first published, forty years ago, and were written by James Russell Lowell, Richard Henry Dana, Rev. John Weiss, and others. Copious extracts are made from Arthur Symons's Introduction to the Study of Browning. Of the explanatory notes, it may be said that their quality would have been greatly improved had the editors incorporated with them some of the good points contained in the introductory selections. Although helpful in the main, they do not always elucidate the text, and are often trivial and unnecessary.

It is not easy for Americans to connect the idea of children's sermons with the grandeur and magnificent gloom of Westminster Abbey. Yet from his desk in this famous place Dean Stanley was wont to address himself to the little ones† in very simple and tender fashion, with frequent reference to the knightly children of the olden time, sleeping so quietly near by. A small volume of these sermons has been collected, and consists, for the most part, of those delivered on Innocents' Day in successive years, but also includes a short series of four sermons on the Beatitudes and one on the Faithful Servant. The style is clear, direct, and forcible, yet so simple is the language in which the beautiful thoughts are couched that a very small child may easily comprehend it.

Nine lectures delivered, by Dr. Fairbairn, to classes in moral philosophy (presumably at St. Stephen's College) form a book‡ which may be read with pleasure and profit by that large class of readers who peruse works on theology and metaphysics. The task which Dr. Fairbairn set himself to accomplish was to show how the moral life cannot be cultivated without redemption and grace, and how redemption and grace cannot avail without morality. There are many who will not agree with the premises upon which Dr. Fairbairn bases his arguments, but all must admit the charm of style, the clear logic, and the deep learning with which he elucidates his subject. The value of the book is enhanced by an excellent index.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

D. Appleton & Co.

Origin of the English People and of the English Language. Jean Roemer, LL.D

Wealth and Progress. A Critical Examination of the Labor Problem. George Gunton.

Andy Merrigan's Great Discovery; and other Irish Tales. F. M. Allen.

The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin; Including an Autobiographical Chapter. Edited by his son, Francis Darwin. 2 vols.

Harper and Brothers.

A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. Henry Charles Lea. 3 vols. Vol. I.

Modern Ships of War. Sir Edward J. Reed, late Chief Constructor of the British

* "A Blot on the 'Scutcheon and Other Dramas." By Robert Browning. Edited, with notes, by William J. Rolfe, A. M., and Heloise E. Hersey. Harper & Brothers.

† "Sermons for Children, Preached in Westminster Abbey. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, late Dean of Westminster. Charles Scribner's Sons.

‡ "Morality." By Robert B. Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D. Warden of St. Stephen's College. Thomas Whittaker.

Navy, and Edward Simpson, Rear Admiral U. S. N., with supplementary chapter and notes by Lieutenant J. D. Jerrold Kelley, U. S. N. Illustrated.

My Autobiography and Reminiscences. W. D. Fiske, R. A.

April Hopes. W. D. Howells.

Ticknor & Co.

Sobriquets and Nicknames. Albert R. Frey.

Worthington Co.

Life of Washington. Illustrated. Virginia F. Townsend.

Locrine: A Tragedy. Algernon Charles Swinburne.

Charles Scribner's Sons.

Down the Islands: A Voyage to the Caribbees. William Agnew Paton. With illustrations from drawings by M. J. Burns.

Free Joe, and other Georgian Sketches. Joel Chandler Harris.

Memories and Portraits. Robert Louis Stevenson.

Virginibus Puerisque; and other Papers. Robert Louis Stevenson.

B. I. Durward.

Cristofero Colombo (Part first). The Gloomy Ocean-Sea (Part second). San Salvador (Part third).

G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. Ethelbert Dudley Warfield.

The Best Reading. Third Series. Lynds E. Jones.

The Old South and the New. A Series of Letters. Hon. William D. Kelley.

Slav or Saxon. A study of the growth and tendencies of Russian civilization. William D. Foulke, A. M.

Lee and Shepard.

The Art of Projecting. A Manual of Experimentation in Physics, Chemistry and Natural History, with the Porte Lumiere and Magic Lantern. Prof. A. E. Dolbear.

Only a Year, and What it Brought. Jane Andrews.

Poems. David Atwood Wasson.

Baker's Humorous Speaker. George M. Baker.

Vocal and Action Language. Culture and Expression. E. N. Kirby.

The Fortunes of the Faradays. Amanda M. Douglas.

Meadow Melodies. Charles F. Gerry.

The Bridal of Triermain, by Sir Walter Scott. Fourteen illustrations. Piercy Macquoid, R. I.

S. R. Griggs & Co.

Hegel's Philosophy of the State and of History. An Exposition. George S. Morris, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan.

Charles H. Kerr & Co.

Progress from Poverty. Review and Criticism of Henry George. Giles B. Stebbins.

A. C. McClurg & Co.

Higher Ground. Hints towards Settling the Labor Troubles. Augustus Jacobson.

Richard the Third and the Primrose Criticism.

Legget Brothers.

Whatever is, Was. Geo. A. Young.

Boston Public Library
DORCHESTER BRANCH

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLXXV.

FEBRUARY, 1888.

THE FISHERIES QUESTION.

A STRICT adherence to its title would make this article as brief as the famous chapter on "The Snakes in Ireland," for, properly speaking, there is no "fisheries question." The international dispute which passes under that name is more far-reaching than the interests of a particular industry, and involves not merely the safety and prosperity of a single class of American citizens, but the dignity and honor of the United States. Partly through inattention and partly by the efforts of the administration and its especial friends, the American people have been led to believe that all that is involved in our dispute with Canada and England concerns doubtful treaty constructions and complicated and obscure fishery rights. This, however, is very far from the truth. Our fisheries and our fishermen have been merely the instruments and the victims of a policy by which Canada seeks to extort certain commercial concessions from the United States. The real question now is not whether we shall fish within the three-mile limit, but whether we shall have the ordinary commercial rights in Canadian waters which we extend in our own ports to all civilized people, Canadians included. A very brief review of the history and facts of the case will show that this is the vital and essential question at issue to-day between the United States and Great Britain.

By the treaty of 1783 we retained all the unrestricted fishery rights we had before as subjects of the British Crown, except the right "to dry and cure" on Newfoundland. So jealous, however, was England of our fisheries that the signatures to the Treaty of Paris were hardly dry before the annoyances, restrictions and disputes began which have lasted with intervals until the present time. At the close of the war of 1812 an effort was made, when the Peace Commissioners met at Ghent, to shut us out from the fisheries, and the attempt was defeated by the indomitable firmness of John Quincy Adams, as it had been in 1783 by the vigorous resistance of his father. Still the matter remained troublesome and unsettled, and in 1818 a new treaty was made, which has been called a compromise, to the provisions of which we have returned since the abrogation of the treaty of Washington, and on which the present dispute is commonly, but erroneously, supposed to hinge.

By that treaty of 1818 we gave up the right to take fish within three miles of certain shores, or to enter within such limit save for the purpose of obtaining "*shelter, repairs, wood, and water.*" On the other hand, we regained the right to dry and cure on certain other shores. In 1824 England, dissatisfied with the treaty of 1818, or, in other words, with the growth of American fisheries, as she had been after the treaty of 1783, set up what was known as the "headland theory," to the effect that the three-mile limit was to be measured from an imaginary line drawn from headland to headland, and was not to follow the line of the coast. The object and result of this were to exclude us from these great bays and to injure our fisheries. There was some discussion, and then the dispute died down until 1839, when the "headland theory" was revived and some seizures of our vessels were made. Controversy and correspondence ensued, which went on with the usual accompaniments of seizures and withdrawals on the part of England and renewals of interference until 1851, when England sent out a naval force and Webster declared in a speech that the Government would protect the fishermen, "hook and line and bob and sinker." Then an effort at settlement was made, and the arbitrator decided in favor of the American view as to the Bay of Fundy. This did not suit the English policy which, instigated by Canada, had aimed steadily in all this wrangling at mercantile concessions. Accordingly Lord Elgin came to Wash-

ington, and succeeded, much to his credit, and very little to ours, in negotiating a "reciprocity treaty." Thus Canada had her way, and all was quiet until 1865, when the treaty of 1854 was abrogated and the contention was renewed. Various temporary expedients were tried, and at last the Governor-General of Canada issued an order for the seizure of all American vessels fishing in Canadian waters. General Grant, who had a keen sense of American rights, and was neither feeble nor timid, sent in a message to Congress advising retaliation, which had a wholesome effect. The fishery question, however, was drawn into the Alabama negotiations and settled in the manner so disadvantageous to us which is fresh in every one's memory. The abrogation of the treaty of Washington has brought on the old contention, and the old attempt is being made to bully us into granting commercial concessions by harassing our fishermen.

Rumor has it now that the headland theory has been revived by England in the present negotiations, supplemented by some equally reasonable claims as to pilotage, and it is also rumored that she will propose to refer this doctrine, as well as our commercial rights, to arbitration. There is nothing incredible in this report, for the studied mildness of our own government must be an irresistible temptation to vigorous opponents to advance every claim they can devise, no matter how preposterous such claim may be.

Meantime international relations in general have advanced and improved with the progress of civilization since 1818. In 1822 we extended to the world the principles of maritime reciprocity, which were adopted by Great Britain in 1830. At that time the United States and England dropped their non-intercourse laws as to British North America and all other of their possessions, as was duly set forth in the proclamations issued by President Jackson and William IV. Under these principles of reciprocity have grown up what are commonly known as commercial privileges, which belong to vessels of all nations, and which allow the vessels of all nations to enter foreign ports in order to obtain supplies and engage in trade. These privileges, in a word, have become part of the international comity of the world, and are never questioned or denied except in time of war. By universal consent these privileges, unknown at the period of the treaty of 1818, were held in practice after 1830 to apply to fishermen, and

have been enjoyed by the fishermen of Canada and the United States, without let or hindrance, from 1830 until the beginning of the present difficulties.

Having thus determined the general commercial privileges accorded to fishermen of the United States under the proclamations of 1830 and the rights granted them by the treaty of 1818, let us glance at some of the cases of seizure and interference on the part of Canada within the past two years:

"In May, 1886, the schooner 'David J. Adams,' of Gloucester, in a landlocked Nova Scotia harbor, where no intention of fishing could well be imagined, was seized by the cruiser 'Lansdowne,' taken from Nova Scotia to St. John, N. B., and, without explanation or hearing, taken back again by an armed crew to Digby, N. S., where a paper alleged to be the legal precept for the capture and detention of the vessel was nailed to her mast in such manner as to prevent its contents being read, and the request of the captain of the 'Adams' to be allowed to detach the writ from the mast for the purpose of reading its contents was positively refused by the provincial official in charge.

"June 2, 1886, the Dominion authorities threatened to seize American boats if they bought herring for canning.

"June, 1886, the Collector at St. Andrews, N. B., refused to allow the schooner 'Annie M. Jordan,' of Gloucester, to enter at that port, although she was properly documented as a fishing vessel, with permission to touch and trade at any foreign port during her voyage.

"June, 1886, four Gloucester vessels, the 'Martha A. Bradley,' 'Rattler,' 'Eliza Boynton' and 'Pioneer,' were warned by the Collector, at Canso, to keep outside an imaginary line, three miles outside Canso head to Point Esprit, a distance of 40 miles, this line being from 12 to 25 miles from the coast. At Prince Edward Island they were warned in a similar fashion. They were also told that they could not enter Bay Chaleur.

"June, 1886, the schooner 'City Point,' of Portland, Me., arrived at Shelburne, N. S., landed two men, obtained water, and was detained by the authorities.

"July, 1886, two American schooners visiting St. Andrews, N. B., for the purpose of purchasing herring for canning, were driven away by the cruiser 'Middleton.'

"July, 1886, the American steamer 'Novelty,' at Pictou, N. S., was denied the right to take in steam coal or purchase ice or tranship fish in bond to the United States, and she was compelled to leave without being allowed to obtain fuel necessary for her lawful voyage on a dangerous coast.

"July, 1886, the American fishing vessel 'Thomas F. Bayard,' at Bonne Bay, N. F., was threatened with seizure if she entered the port to obtain bait, or for any other transaction connected with fishery. The 'Bayard' broke up her voyage and returned home. The schooner 'Amherst' was similarly treated at Port Amherst, Magdalen Islands, and she was further threatened with seizure if she took a pilot.

"August, 1886, the 'Rattler,' of Gloucester, driven by stress of weather to Shelburne harbor, anchored in the stream just inside the harbor's entrance, where she was boarded by an officer of the Canadian cutter 'Terror,' who placed two men on board. When the storm ceased, the 'Rattler' weighed anchor to proceed home;

the two men from the 'Terror' discharged their pistols as a signal. The vessel was again boarded and threatened with seizure unless the captain reported at the custom house.

"August, 1886, the schooners 'Shiloh,' and 'Julia Ellen,' entering the harbor of Liverpool, N. S., were met by the cruiser 'Terror,' who fired across their bows and placed two armed men on board each vessel until they left the harbor.

"September, 1886, the 'Mollie Adams,' of Gloucester, put into Port Mulgrave, N. S. The vessel's water-tank had burst in the heavy weather and was rendered useless. The captain asked permission to purchase two or three barrels of water for his crew on their voyage home, about 500 miles. He was refused, and his vessel threatened with seizure if he bought the water. He had to put to sea without it, and in trying to enter another port for the same purpose a severe gale swept away his deck-load of fish and destroyed two seine boats.

"September, 1886, the schooner 'A. R. Crittenden' was denied the right to purchase water at Steep Creek, and the crew had to be put on short allowance during the voyage home.

"October, 1886, the 'Pearl Nelson,' of Provincetown, Mass., was driven by stress of weather into the harbor of Arichat, N. S., arriving late at night, when the custom-house was closed. Before the custom-house was opened next day the captain went there, and after waiting over an hour for the collector to arrive, he made his usual inward report, and asked permission to land the clothing of a sailor who had been lost overboard, and whose family resided in the vicinity. The captain was calmly informed that his vessel had been seized for allowing his crew to go ashore the night before, *before reporting at the custom-house!*

"November, 1886, the 'Mollie Adams,' of Gloucester, rescued the crew of a wrecked Nova Scotia vessel. The captain shared his purse and his slender stock of provisions with the men he had saved, and thereby ran short of food. He put into Port Medway and asked permission to purchase half a barrel of flour, or enough provisions to take his vessel and crew home. He was threatened with the seizure of his vessel 'if he bought anything whatever.' He put to sea, and made for Gloucester. On the home run his crew were short of rations for two days, and one day they were without food of any description."

What indication is there here that our fishermen have transcended any of the usual restrictions placed upon vessels to which commercial privileges are accorded? In these cases they have not even broken, except by the most forced construction in one or two instances, the provisions of the treaty of 1818, which expressly gives the right to enter for "shelter, repairs, wood, and water." They have not even had their rights under that treaty, but have been interfered with on the ground of a violation of certain arbitrary and wholly illegal regulations set up by Canada as an excuse for harassing the American fisheries.

Is it not clear to every one who takes the trouble to read these cases that they arose from no real infringements on our part of the treaty of 1818? Are there in any of these cases complicated questions of doubtful treaty constructions or of fishing rights?

Are they not, in a word, plain and sometimes brutal violations by Canada and England of the ordinary comity of nations, of common commercial privileges, and, in some instances, of the universal rights of humanity? The purpose of such high-handed action is sufficiently plain. In the words of General Cogswell, the very able representative of the Gloucester district, to whose investigations and speeches I am largely indebted: "That Great Britain pursues her present policy as of right, I have too much respect for her intelligence to believe; that she pursues it in order that she may build up the fishing industry in her own provinces; that she pursues it in order to force her fish into our ports free of duty, in order to hamper our own industry, in order to cripple our militia of the seas, and that she may raise recruits for her navy, by which she proudly boasts, 'Britannia rules the waves,' I most certainly believe. She pursues it, too, in violation of our sacred rights and privileges." The discussion and talk about fishermen's rights and three-mile limits have been stirred up merely to becloud the true issue and make the people of the United States believe that the whole thing is a technical dispute among contentious fishermen about small technical privileges. As a matter of fact, when the question is stripped of all disguises, it is perfectly simple and involves the ordinary rights of every man who goes to a foreign port on a vessel protected by the flag of the United States.

What is the remedy for such a disgraceful state of things? The country, speaking through the last Congress, said: "Retaliate;" and a resolution was passed authorizing the President to close our ports to Canadian vessels. This was the obvious, proper and dignified course, but the resolution has remained a dead letter. The administration, having seen a treaty rejected almost unanimously by the Senate, and having watched these outrages in silence and learned the opinion of the country, has now embarked on a commission to arbitrate, which nobody wanted and which nobody believes in. They discovered, after appointing commissioners, that they had no power to settle and determine these questions by commissioners, and in order to conform to the constitution, the country has been given to understand that this is a negotiation. But a change of names does not alter the intention and policy of the Government to bring about a joint arbitration, and the fundamental trouble with the scheme is that

there is nothing susceptible of arbitration, and nothing to arbitrate about. No man of courage and self-respect agrees to leave it to arbitrators to determine whether his neighbor can roll him in the gutter, if he is so minded, nor does he call in his friends to make a treaty with an opponent who has caught him by the throat. On the contrary, he retaliates sharply and effectively, and when the normal equilibrium is restored, he is ready for arbitration and not before. If Spain came to the conclusion that she would like to have our tobacco duties removed, and were to seize all our vessels going to Cuba, insult our flag, and close Cuban ports to our merchants, does any one suppose that we should invite Spanish commissioners to Washington to arbitrate? No one would dare to suggest it. Yet the position of this Canadian question is precisely the same as this supposed case. All the talk about fishermen's rights and the treaty of 1818, as has been said, is a mere blind to cover the real purpose of Canada. Give our fishermen the ordinary commercial privileges, renew to them the universal comity of nations, and the "fishery question" could be very quickly settled, either with or without commissioners.

There is no reason to blame England and Canada for their course. If they are able to get what they want by harassing our fishermen, invading our commercial privileges and violating the commonest principles of maritime reciprocity, they would be more scrupulous than is their habit if they failed to avail themselves of the opportunity. But what shall be said of our own Government, whose policy makes such actions possible? The administration "peak like John-a-dreams, unpregnant of their cause, and can say nothing," when even political expediency would seem to render such a weak attitude obviously and utterly undesirable. We have made our blunders in the past, like other people, but never before have we needlessly and feebly succumbed to the menaces and attacks of a British province.

Thus far the case has been recited in its simplest and broadest way as affecting the dignity and honor of the whole United States, for commercial privileges are common to the entire nation, and if touched at one point are touched at all. But there is another side to the matter which concerns those who are immediately affected. The direct result of the Canadian measures has been to cripple and injure the fishing interests. They have

enhanced the difficulties and risks of an honorable and manly calling, which is in its nature sufficiently perilous without artificial troubles and dangers. The particular friends of the administration, in their ardent zeal, have undertaken in the last few months to belittle the fisheries, but the industry is not one that can be lightly passed over. The fisheries of the United States, according to the census of 1880, employed 130,000 men and 6,605 vessels, and represented a capital of $37,995,340. This includes, of course, the very important fisheries of the great lakes, which are as open to incursion by Canada as those of the Eastern States. The New England fisheries, which are chiefly involved in this contest, employed in 1880, 37,043 men, 2,066 vessels, 14,787 boats, and yield an annual product of $14,270,393. The amount of food-fish landed in Gloucester in 1886 was 459,759 barrels. An industry which supports in one section of the country alone some 150,000 people, and which furnishes a large part of a most important article of food, cannot be neglected or overlooked, and when it is remembered that we must turn to that industry for sailors to man our ships in time of war, it has a right to demand not only the protection, but the fostering care of the Government.

Another of the highly creditable arguments advanced by the defenders of the administration is that most of the men engaged in these fisheries are aliens. It might be deemed a sufficient answer to say that these eager champions overlook the somewhat important fact that, even if the fishermen are aliens, they are covered by the American flag, and have a right to its protection. But we can afford to take the argument as it stands. Colonel Wright, in his statistical report of 1886 on the fisheries of Massachusetts, gives the number of native born Americans as 60 per cent. of all persons employed in the fisheries, and the resident fishermen as 76 per cent. To the 60 per cent. of native born fishermen must, of course, be added the natives of other countries who have been naturalized in order to determine the question of citizenship, and it is easy to see from these very recent figures, which will apply equally to all the New England States, how unfounded is the charge that our fishermen are aliens. General Cogswell, who has investigated the point with care, estimates the aliens on the fishing vessels of New England at 12 per cent. of the whole number employed, and even Mr. Manning, when Secretary of the Treasury, admitted that 78 per cent. were

American citizens. There are certainly enough Americans here entitled on the ground of citizenship to the protection of this government.

The more violent organs of the administration, however, are not content even with this. Very recently one of them gave utterance to this lofty and patriotic sentiment:

> "It would be better to buy them out (the Yankee fishermen) and set them up in some other business to keep them quiet than to be kept in a turmoil over their wretched fuss. The only way is for the Government to go serenely along and determine its policy according to the interests of the whole country, and leave the Gloucester fishermen to find out that their whining is uncalled for."

The sentence reads as if it had been taken from some English newspaper before the war of the rebellion, but as a matter of fact it is quoted from the New York *Times*. The same journal celebrated last Christmas, probably in the interests of peace on earth and good will among men, by a long and scurrilously abusive article about the Gloucester fishermen, winding up with the statement that they were all aliens—an absolute falsehood, as has just been shown. It is almost incredible that any American editor could say such things of any class of his countrymen; and it only shows how far people can be carried by personal politics and by partisan rancor. When Glover's regiments of Marblehead fishermen ferried Washington's army across the Delaware and marched upon Trenton on a certain bitter December night, nobody thought they "whined." Nor did any one find it convenient or apposite to accuse the New England fishermen of "whining" when they manned our ships and shed their blood both on deck and battlefield in the war of the rebellion. They are now, as they were then, a bold and hardy race of men. They do not whine, but they demand, plainly and firmly, that their Government should protect them in those rights which they share in common with all their countrymen. They are not making a "fuss" about the "three-mile" limit or any other small point. They can get all the fishing they want outside that limit, and are quite able to meet all fair competition; but they feel that they are entitled to the ordinary commercial privileges, and that they should not be debarred from them because Canada requires a lever to compel us to make a reciprocity treaty or to alter our tariff.

The fact that they are few in number compared to the whole body of the people does not touch the question in the least. Gov-

ernor Andrew once said, "I know not what sins the recording angel may set down against me in the next world, but this I know, I have never turned my back on any man because he was poor, or because he was ignorant, or because he was black." The same doctrine holds good with nations. No self-respecting nation can afford to turn its back, not merely upon a vigorous and intelligent body of men like our fishermen, but upon the humblest of its citizens, and there is no surer test of national greatness than the care with which the safety of each individual member of the community is watched over and guarded. It was the greatest glory of Rome in ancient times, it has been one of the chief glories of England in our own time, that no risk and no expense were to be considered in defending in all his rights and wherever he might be every man who was honestly entitled to the Roman or the English name. We have a greater empire than either Rome or England, and we cannot be too jealous of the lives and safety of our citizens. The case of one man to-day seems distant and unimportant, but it may be the case of any one of us to-morrow. This protection to citizens of the republic engaged in a lawful calling is what underlies our dispute with England and Canada to-day. It is something vastly more vital than the three-mile limit or free fish or reciprocity treaties. It is the question of the defense of the rights of American citizens which have been interfered with in contravention of all commercial privileges and all the rules of international comity. It is as near and as important to the citizen of California or Illinois or Florida as it is to the Gloucester fishermen, for if the fishermen can be attacked with impunity by Great Britain some other nation may see fit to treat in like fashion the people of any other part of the country.

The ultimate solution of all these recurring troubles with Canada will be found, no doubt, in union with the United States. Such an outcome will benefit both sides, but Canada far more than us. We can afford to bide our time and await the inevitable result of the laws of political, financial, and social gravitation, for it is a case of manifest destiny. Meanwhile, American citizens must be protected, and when that is done, and not before, we can arbitrate and make treaties with our neighbors if we choose. As Washington said a hundred years ago, "Whenever we shall have an efficient government established, that government will surely impose retaliating restrictions, to a certain degree, upon the trade of Britain."

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

THE WONDERS OF ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

ANIMAL magnetism, better known since the researches of Braid as *Hypnotism,* has had varied fortunes during the lapse of ages, being in turn made much of or neglected. Meeting all sorts of vicissitudes, according to the attitude assumed toward it by the prevailing medical opinion, it quitted the obscurity and darkness that encompassed it only after science had begun to employ the experimental method, which to-day is everywhere in use. Braid and Charcot have contributed most to give it a *status,* bringing it by force, so to speak, within the domain of science, which before it had not entered.

For hypnotism is not a thing of yesterday; and without dwelling unduly upon its history, I would observe that the phenomena of the hypnotic series not only have existed, but have been noticed from the earliest times. It is enough to cite the practices still in use in Egypt and India, the lands of immemorial traditions, in order to show that our proposition is firmly based.

Still its history has little to interest us till the close of the eighteenth Century, and the metaphysical dissertations of Paracelsus, Burgravius and Van Helmont upon the *vis magnetica*—hence the term animal *magnetism*—helped far less toward its propagation than did the exorcisms of the thaumaturgus Gassner, that illuminist priest who, albeit he attempted no theories, produced the trance state in the crowds of people who flocked to him.

It was reserved for Mesmer to publish to the world a very ancient discovery, the credit of making which he claimed for himself. His aim was in no sense scientific, for he sought only fame, and above all, wealth. With the effrontery that never failed him, Mesmer ignored the labors of all his predecessors, and posing as a discoverer, propounded in 1776 his famous "Propositions," which were destined to serve as a text-book for many generations of magnetizers.

Mesmer's theories were so obscure, and the effects produced

so hard to analyze, that his disciples began to study them. One of his followers, the Marquis de Puységur, a sagacious and conscientious observer, discovered in 1784 artificial or induced somnambulism, and through his study of this phenomenon reached other results of high importance. Under the influence of Puységur's researches curiosity was awakened, and animal magnetism societies, styled *Harmonies*, were multiplied in France, Germany, and Russia, and the polemics of Father Faria, a Portuguese priest, who came to Paris from India, were noised throughout the world.

These societies, broken up during the wars of the first French Empire, were reconstituted at the Bourbon restoration. Then came the period of academic discussions, in which the *savants*, departing from the principles of conduct so wisely followed by Bailly, Secretary of the Commission appointed by Louis XVI. to investigate magnetism, by turns rejected or admitted (always with the same passion and prejudice) phenomena with regard to which partisans and opponents alike were but little eager for illumination. Aside from Puységur's discovery, Bailly's Report to the Academy (1784), the studies of Pétetin of Lyons upon catalepsy (1787) and the researches of Father Faria (1819), we may say that the whole period from 1766 to 1843 is almost entirely void of scientific interest. To a British surgeon, James Braid, it fell, as we have already said, in the year last mentioned, to lay the foundations upon which in 1878 Charcot was to build up the scientific theory of hypnotism.

In 1841 Braid first undertook to repeat the experiments of a French magnetizer, Lafontaine, of which he had read an account. His first impressions, it must be remarked, were entirely unfavorable. What he had seen or read could not overcome his skepticism, and he still regarded the phenomena produced by hypnotization as due to secret connivance or to illusion. His determination to unmask fraud led him to discover the truth. He went to work, and soon perceived that he had to bow before the reality of the facts; two years later he published his *Neurypnology*, a very remarkable work, in which we find many striking truths formulated, though unfortunately in his interpretation of them the author betrays too often the bias of his mind for phrenology. But Braid's work had no such success as it deserved, and the articles "Sleep" in Todd's Encyclopædia, and "Hypnotism" in Nysten's Dictionary were almost the only scientific echoes of the

Neurypnology. In 1860 Professor Azam, of Bordeaux, made the book known in France, where it was received with absolute indifference.

It remained for Professor Charcot, whose profound knowledge of the diseases of the nervous system had qualified him for these difficult studies, to make of hypnotism an actual science; and in 1878 began, at La Salpétrière, that memorable series of lectures which was destined to give a new impulse to the study of hypnotic phenomena. Charcot took a ground quite different from that of his predecessors. Instead of devoting himself to the study of the less usual phenomena as others had done, especially before Braid's time, he was of the opinion that he could better promote the interest of science by making it his especial aim to determine the *physical* diagnostic signs, which are easily recognized, of the different hypnotic states, confining himself at first to the strict interpretation of the simplest facts, advancing slowly but surely, and never giving up the study of a phenomenon till he had discovered the connection between it and other phenomena that he had previously interpreted. Further, believing that the subjects of hysteria present in the highest degree all the indications of what he called the greater hypnotism, he took them exclusively as the basis of his description, thus drawing his conclusions from the simple to the complex. This natural method soon yielded results of the highest importance. An impulse having been thus given to the study of hypnotism, researches were multiplied, and now we propose to set forth the teachings of Professor Charcot and of his school, to which we have the honor to belong.

But before we describe the phenomena of the hypnotic state, it is well to premise some remarks upon the susceptibilty of different individuals to hypnotic manipulation. Not all persons are capable of being hypnotized. As was well proved by Faria in the beginning of the present century, the hypnotizer possesses no special power of his own enabling him, as the phrase then was, to communicate his fluid to those with whom he experiments; in his own temperament does the individual find the conditions of the phenomena he presents under hypnotization. The story that is told of Braid's servant illustrates this point very well. This servant was directed by his master to fix his gaze upon a shining object, at the same time being told that upon the steadiness with which he kept his eyes upon it depended the success of a chemical

operation Braid was at the time performing. The man was then left alone; Braid, on returning to the room two minutes and a half later, found him asleep.

Persons of a nervous constitution, and in particular those subject to hysteria, are most apt to fall into artificial sleep. There is then produced in them a peculiar neurosis, hypnotism, having psychical and physical characters of its own,—a genuine disease presenting a diversity of symptoms. Hence hypnotic phenomena ought not to be called forth rashly, nor without the precautions suggested by medical science. Women are specially susceptible to hypnotic manipulation, particularly during the period between the eighteenth and the thirtieth year, when the nervous system is in full activity. Young men may be hypnotized; but it is very difficult to produce hypnotic sleep in old men or in children. Persons who in early life are subject to natural somnambulism or sleep walking, are later in life good hypnotic subjects, just as they are also likely to be victims of hysteria and other nervous complaints.

Many are the processes employed for producing hypnosis. One that is very frequently used consists in fixing the gaze upon some bright object placed a little above the eyes and in front of the median line of the forehead, so that visual fatigue may ensue quickly, the eyeballs being directed upward and inward.

This process, or others of a like kind, may be employed in the case of persons who have never before been hypnotized. But after a while, when the subject has, so to speak, been educated, various more expeditious methods may be employed. Thus a jet of electric light, or a violent blow struck on a gong near the ear of the subject will quickly induce sleep. Again, in hypnotizable persons, the surface of the body often presents special points—"hypnogenic zones," as they are called, analogous to the "hysterogenic zones." Simple pressure upon these produces hypnosis.

Even in the case of the most susceptible individuals rarely does sleep appear when they, for the first time, undergo the hypnotizing manipulations, however skilled the operater may be. There is needed a complete surrender of one's will, and absence of all mental preoccupation, and on the part of the company present absolute silence. In most cases exhibitions of hypnotization develop, at first, only vague phenomena not easily classified, foreshadowings, so to speak, of what will follow later.

In order to bring what we have to say on the vast subject of hypnotism within the limits assigned for this article, we will not treat here at all of these phenomena of imperfect hypnotization, but will describe only the effects produced upon a subject that has already often been hypnotized, who quickly falls asleep, and who passes through the different stages of hypnosis at the will of the operator. These phenomena belong especially to what is called by Mr. Charcot the "greater hypnotism," we shall also have something to say of what he called the "lesser hypnotism."

The phenomena of the hypnotic series have been divided into three typical states, to which Charcot gives the names of *Lethargy, Catalepsy* and *Somnambulism.* These words were in use long before his day, but he has fixed their meaning as technical terms. The chronological development of these three states differs according to individuals; nevertheless, when a person undergoes again and again the same process of hypnotization, the catalepsy generally comes first. Suppose, then, that we have before us an individual who has often been hypnotized. We hold before his eyes, at the distance of a few centimetres, some shining object, for example, the bulb of a mercury thermometer, and he is told to fix his gaze upon it steadily. On withdrawing the object after a few seconds, or after a few minutes—it all depends on the individual's susceptibility—we find him motionless, his eyes wide open and still fixed on the place where the object was held, and indifferent, at least apparently so, to everything about him. Raise one of his arms, and it remains in whatever posture you give it; the joints are exceedingly supple, presenting the *flexibilitas cerea* so favorable to the production of the most varied artistic poses. Meanwhile the pulse grows less frequent and the respiration becomes superficial; further, the subject is completely insensible. He may be pricked with a pin, or a live coal may touch his skin, but he has no consciousness of it; and the same is to be said of the other hypnotic states. Finally, he readily adopts suggestions, as we shall see later. The subject can be kept in this state for some time, a quarter of an hour, half an hour, or longer; but of all the hypnotic states the catalepsy is the one that ought not to be prolonged, for it produces considerable fatigue; the countenance becomes flushed, tears flow from the eyes on account of the fixed position of the eyelids.

To awaken the subject is easy in the catalepsy as in the other

states. This is done by blowing gently on the eyes of the subject. He comes out of his sleep somewhat dazed, but without any feeling of suffering, nor has he any recollection whatever of what occurred during the hypnosis.

To produce the lethargy, it suffices either to keep the shining object a little longer before the eyes of the subject or to close the cataleptic's eyelids with the fingers. In the former case, the eyelids are soon seen to grow heavy and to fall little by little till they are fully closed. Commonly the subject passes into the state of sleep while performing the movements of deglutition, accompanied by a slight noise in the pharynx. He is then completely helpless, in the profoundest sleep, and were he standing when the lethargy came on he would fall to the ground like an inert mass.

A veritable *cadaver* he is now, but in appearance only, for the vegetative functions go on as before. He is insensible to all excitations, however powerful, however painful. His intelligence, too, is completely in abeyance; he makes no response to any question; he is sunk in the profoundest coma. While this state continues—and in the preceding state as well—the subject is absolutely at the mercy of the magnetizer, who can make him do whatever he will.

Of all the hypnotic states the lethargy is the one in which the subject may continue longest with impunity. To prevent a threatened attack of hysteria we often allow women to remain in the lethargic state upward of twelve hours; in that case the awakening is a little more difficult to bring about than usual. But if left to take its course, the lethargy, as well as the catalepsy, does not continue indefinitely, for the awakening comes after a period that varies in length up to twenty hours; but the subject should never be left unattended, for fear of accidents.

The lethargic subject presents one highly important physical phenomenon, first studied by Mr. Charcot; a knowledge of this is necessary, especially in order to detect simulation. When we press on a muscle, it immediately contracts, thereby producing the movement special to it. Pressure on the biceps brachialis, for instance, causes flexure of the forearm upon the upper arm. So, too, if we press upon a superficial nerve we produce a corresponding contraction in the muscle to which it belongs. The contraction is very strong; the muscles are rigid, tense; they would break rather than give way. Nevertheless, this contraction readily dis-

appears without leaving a trace of its presence, if we act gently on the muscles antagonistic to those that are contracted—for instance, on the extensor muscles of the fingers when the flexor muscles are in contraction. These phenomena of neuro-muscular super-excitation are, we repeat, of the highest importance for the diagnosis of the hypnotic state; they are comparable to the "diathesis of contraction"—the special faculty possessed by the muscles of performing a determinate action under the influence of the slightest excitation, or even spontaneously—which, as Mr. Charcot has proved, is one of the characters of hysteria. Here is one of the points of contact between the two neuroses, the hysterical and the hypnotic.

The somnambulic state is more difficult to produce in the first instance than either of the others. It is most commonly brought about by transforming one of the other states. In that case we have simply to practice a slight friction on the top of the head, either with the palm of the hand or with the tips of the fingers. Needless to say, this "reflex action of the vertex" has as yet found no explication in the data of physiology; it is simply a clinical fact, a fact of observation.

If, for instance, you rub gently the vertex of a lethargic, you immediately notice a change. The patient usually utters a low sigh, that being, so to speak, the token of his return to the outer life, if not of his regaining full possession of himself; for in the majority of cases his brain becomes like a tablet of soft wax on which is to be impressed instantaneously every suggestion that comes from the operator.

Before we study these "suggestions" be it remarked that in the somnambulic subject the neuro-muscular super-excitability still continues, but it is transformed.

It is no longer strong pressures, or malaxation of muscles, nor compression of nerves that call it into play; on the contrary, superficial, cutaneous excitation seems now to be the most powerful in determining contraction in the subjacent muscles. By merely grazing the skin, or displacing the surrounding air by waving the hand over a muscle, contraction is produced. This contraction is made to cease just as in the case of the lethargic contraction, by acting gently upon the antagonist muscles.

But in the somnambulist all the sensations, all the senses seem to be exalted to the highest degree, though in the latent

state. Let us explain. There are two kinds of somnambulists—those that are quiet and those that are excited: on the one hand, those whose eyes, while they are in the somnambulic state, are shut; on the other, those whose eyes are open. It follows that the somnambulist whose eyes remain open becomes, according to the mental state proper to him, the subject of a host of sensorial illusions produced by the sight of the different objects around him; while the other, whose eyes are shut, remains calm and motionless on the spot where the somnambulism came upon him.

Both, however, present one singular mental peculiarity, being, with few exceptions, in a very high degree "suggestible"—that is to say, their brain lends itself with a complaisance that is astonishing to the carrying out of all the orders, all the suggestions that come from the operator.

The study of these suggestions is of the highest importance in considering the subject of hypnotism; it is the one phase that has been most thoroughly discussed and most profoundly analyzed, hence we must here enter on some details.

In ordinary life we see individuals who show a surprising readiness to adopt the opinions, the ways of thinking of certain other persons; the latter thus, so to speak, become the masters of their personality. In the somnambulist this lack of brain resistance, this mental passivity becomes enormously exaggerated; his brain becomes, as it were, a plastic mass, which the one who has put him to sleep molds as he pleases. We say "the one who has put him to sleep," for it is a fact long since demonstrated, that the somnambulist obeys only the person who has put him in the somnambulic state, and who thereby has taken possession of his ego; he is perfectly insensible to all injunctions coming from a third person, but his will is absolutely subject to that of his hypnotizer.

In this way a great variety of suggestions can be produced, not only in the brain properly so called, but in all the special senses. Presenting to a somnambulist a leaf of paper perfectly white, I say to him, "Here is a photograph of me." He immediately sees my portrait on that paper—sees it so plainly, so truly, that if I shuffle that particular leaf with any number of leaves exactly like it, he will readily recognize and pick out the one upon which his brain shall, in accordance with my assertion, have impressed my photographic image. So, too, with regard to hearing or to taste: we may cause the somnambulist to hear a concert of har-

monious sounds where absolute silence reigns; we can make him drink the bitterest liquids, which he shall deem to be delightful beverage. The sensibility, both general and special, is also lulled to sleep in somnambulists, at least in those that keep the eyes closed; but when by a definite excitation or suggestion the operator has summoned that sensibility to quit the apparent apathy in which it is sunk, the awakening is comparable to an explosion. The subject's acuteness of sight and of hearing is extraordinary; he will see and hear sights and sounds that he could hardly distinguish in the waking state, owing to their distance. This super-sensibility has given occasion to the belief in the power of somnambulists to see objects at enormous distances, or through opaque bodies, and the like. The truth is, that in the somnambulist every sense is exalted, and the same holds good as to his muscular strength. We have spoken of the strong hold the magnetizer has on the subject. Well, let the subject be a woman possessing as little physical strength as may be. Let several persons stand between her and the operator, and let him summon her to come to him. She will struggle with them if they oppose her movement, and in doing so will display a surprising degree of strength.

This leads us to treat of suggestions of acts to be performed by the subject. These suggestions, of course, are various, and may be highly complex. For example, we order a somnambulist to go and steal the watch of some one in the company, and to bring it to us. The suggestion is *adopted*—for the subject is not simply a mere automaton, a passive creature: on the contrary, he reasons out perfectly the suggestion conveyed to him. Often he is unable to resist it, but again sometimes he positively refuses to accept the suggestion, especially when it goes very strongly counter to his habitual sense of honesty, of modesty, etc. But suppose he accepts it, still he does not execute it automatically; he will employ, in executing it, all the resources of a mind more or less acute, ever guided by his own proper intelligence.

We cannot pursue further this study of the various suggestions that may be conveyed to the somnambulist; their great diversity defies description or analysis. Still we must dwell for a moment upon the subject of criminal suggestions, for that has been agitating the public mind for some time. On this point some writers have brought forward theories which, however log-

ical, are contradicted by the facts of observation. The somnambulist, it has been said, may become the trusty instrument of others' vengeance; for, as we see in the laboratory experiments, the operator can place a weapon in his hand and make him do the act of assassination,—the dumb show of assassination, that is to say, for the pistol is not loaded, and only in the imagination of the somnambulist is a shot fired. But account has to be taken of circumstances, of the subject's resistance already spoken of, and of the many difficulties that in ordinary life attend the execution of such suggestions. Minute analysis of the results of observation, in fact, shows that while the detection of rapes committed upon lethargic subjects is comparatively frequent, there is no case yet on record of the commission of a crime by a lethargic somnambulic subject acting under orders from a magnetizer.

This leads us to speak of the persistence of the suggestions. The somnambulist may execute the suggestion even after he has passed out of the somnambulic state. On awaking, though he may have forgotten everything except the order given him, and though he may not remember even the name of the "suggestor," he proceeds to carry out the suggestion, and that at the time fixed for it. After a couple of days, or a week, or a month or two, a thought that to him seems new will suddenly occur to him. We say "a thought that seems new to him," for the somnambulist, or, better, the one that has been "suggestioned" in the somnambulic state, is no madman, forever revolving a fixed idea; the thought occurs to him instantaneously, at a set time; it masters him wholly, and he must carry out the order at any cost, and carry it out he will, overcoming, as far as possible, all obstacles that may stand in his way. If the order be that he kill a man, he will do it openly, though the victim be hedged with policemen; he will on occasion use strategy, but his one purpose is to attain his end, whatever may happen. One who commits a crime under these conditions will speedily be arrested, and though he may have forgotten the name of the instigator to crime, it will be easy to discover the one who armed him for the deed. An ancient axiom says, *is fecit cui prodest;* nevertheless, the true criminal may escape the penalty of his act. After a pretty thorough search, however, we have found no record of crimes of this kind. The crime that may fairly be charged upon hypnotism is rape, and that is committed by the hypnotizer upon the hypnotized.

Suggestion does not belong to the somnambulic state exclusively; probably it has a place also in the lethargic state. The subject has been as yet but little studied, but it is certain that suggestion can be conveyed in the catalepsy. Some of the cataleptics differ very little in this respect from the somnambulists; they are decidedly less quick to show emotion and more reluctant to accept suggestions, but these, once accepted, are executed all the more inevitably, all the more automatically. In this state it is, furthermore, possible to convey suggestions of a special character that possess a peculiar interest for the physiologist and the philosopher. First, there are *suggestions by gesture.* The cataleptic is a being that is motionless, expressionless. Now raise the arms so as to bring the outspread fingers in front of the mouth, as when one is sending a kiss; immediately the countenance assumes a smile, and the body is inclined forward—in short, the whole attitude is conformed to the supposed situation. The gesture has suggested the thought, but because of the automatism of the cataleptic state it persists: the cataleptic continues to smile, and would continue, so to speak, for an indefinite time, were the catalepsy to be protracted. If we change the position of the hands, and stretching one arm forward we bend the other, at the same time clinching the fists, the boxer's attitude is at once fully assumed, and the face reflects the thoughts of one who is actually defending himself against an antagonist. Of course these experiments may be varied *ad infinitum.*

But phenomena more interesting still may be produced. As is well known, the grand researches of Dr. Ducherme, of Boulogne, have enabled that great *savant* to determine with precision, by topical electrization, the physiology of the several muscles of the face, which control, usually in combination, the expression of the feelings. Take, for example, the pyramidal muscle of the nose—Ducherme's *muscle of aggression*—and excite this in a cataleptic subject by means of faradization. Immediately the muscle contracts, and the skin of the base of the nose is wrinkled transversely—purely a local effect of the electrization. But from habit, or perhaps in consequence of a training which has brought into association the cerebral functions and the action of the muscles which they control, the subject of the experiment assumes a special attitude, answering to the physiognomic expression produced by exciting the muscle of aggression. The fists

become clinched, the body inclines forward, the general posture is that of a man about to fall upon an aggressor. By a complex operation the excitation of a special muscle has in this case suggested a special and correlated thought—the thought of self-defense; and the brain in its turn completes the series of acts. In this instance the thought of fighting arises and is carried out to its results in an order the reverse of that which is seen when the ordinary mechanism is at work.

This brief exposition of the facts shows what advantages are presented by hypnotism for the study of certain intricate problems of physiology; so, too, from the point of view of philosophy, hypnotism may be of very great service in explaining the very complex mechanism of thought.

Nor are these the only advantages derivable from hypnotism when the process is employed by experienced medical men. For ten years and more it has been found at La Salpétrière that the hypnotizing *séances*, oft repeated and methodically conducted, have in hysterical patients much diminished the frequency of the attacks. The benefit of hypotization may be still more direct, in that it is better to put an hysteric patient asleep than to allow a paroxysm to come on, with all its unpleasant consequences. But in such cases intervention has to come betimes, for once the paroxysm is on, the subject is no longer hypnotizable. When the hysteric patient is awakened after a certain time, she will have escaped the convulsions. Again, it is known that an hysteric seizure sometimes leaves behind, after it has passed away, certain complications that may become permanent affections of the nature of contractions or paralysis. Even where these complications exist, nay, especially where they exist, hypnotization may have the happiest effects. By calling into action the neuromuscular super-excitability the lethargic patient is relieved of the contractions through excitation of the antagonist muscles. Finally, suggestion is of great avail in the special type of paralysis studied by Dr. Russell Reynolds. Suggestion may be effective even where the paralysis has continued for some time, and we have successfully treated cases of more than one year's standing.

Hypnotism in these cases plays the part of a medicinal agent, and as such it must be employed with the most scrupulous care. Now, facts prove how dangerous an agent it is in incompetent hands. We have seen many a proof of this, for, unfortunately,

hypnotism seems now to have become public property, whereas it never ought to have been taken out of the domain of medicine. It must be remembered that in persons predisposed to hysteria hypnotism develops that disorder.

Hence we must condemn those mountebanks who, knowing nothing of medical science, and employing the most violent methods, go about magnetizing persons either so regardless of their own health, or so ignorant of the danger as to submit to such practices. Besides, some of those who witness such exhibitions begin to practice the hypnotic manipulations at home on those around them, and thus are created new foci of contagion. Instances without number might be cited to prove the mischief wrought by these amateur hypnotizers. Quite recently the Italian Government, on the advice of Professors Lombroso and Tommasi, interdicted the exhibitions given by one Donato, a magnetizer, who had made upwards of forty persons ill in Milan and in Turin. The governments of Austria and Germany had some time previously forbidden one Hansen to ply his dangerous trade within their borders. Herein those governments did but confirm the view expressed by James Esdaile in 1846 : "Public opinion will suppress all those who practice hypnotism for any other purpose save medical utility or philosophical research."

The facts here set forth are beyond all question, but should any one still doubt their reality, to him we would say, in the words of Mr. Charcot : "In the presence of evident facts, the skepticism that claims to be scientific is but arbitrary skepticism."*

GILLES DE LA TOURETTE.

* This article has been read and approved by Prof. Charcot.

THE GENIUS OF BATTLE.

SINCE History first began to make its record all the centuries have given to the world profound and eminent philosophers, statesmen, lawgivers, and mathematicians, but to none of them has the public voice ever affixed the title of *great*. That alone has been reserved for those who have won it by extraordinary success in leading armies in war. The reason for this is that the great captain combines all the talents and genius necessary to make men eminent in the other walks of life, and in addition he must possess rare powers of physical endurance and a personal courage which is exceptional in degree. To the profundity of the philosopher he must add the qualities of a statesman, as policy is an element which must enter into his plans for a campaign. A commonplace general may plan a campaign and select his time of operations and points of concentration, but there will be as wide a difference between his work and that of a great captain as between the rhymes of a village poet and the sentences of a Shakespeare. The genius of battle must have an eye which at once enables him to discover the key-point of a battle-field and the weak point of the enemy's position, not often the same, and to judge promptly and surely which is to be selected for the attack. He must have the unerring faculty to see and press every advantage of the battle-field and to repair every disaster.

There is another quality of genius on the battle-field which is of the greatest importance, and that is an intuitive knowledge as to when the commander must himself lead a column of his troops, and by his personal influence excite superhuman valor to win in an attack or make a victorious defense. The qualities of such a captain are so great and so numerous that the ordinary human intellect finds difficulties in its efforts to measure them—difficulties comparable only to those over which he stumbles in an attempt to comprehend the attributes of Divinity. Not every age brings forth a great captain, and the number which the world to-day

can reckon may almost be counted upon the fingers of one hand. Among these Napoleon stands pre-eminent. His work is a study, requiring as long a time to master as he was in completing it. Up to the time of the general introduction of gunpowder as a force in war the intellect and personal courage of the leader went hand in hand, and both were in constant requisition during a battle. Since then the skill has been shown in the handling of masses before or during a conflict. The physical endurance is always needed, but the personal courage is seldom called into play with a leader of armies, except in some great crisis, when it should blaze forth like the electric light when the current is turned on the circuit. The constant and unnecessary exposure of a leader upon the battle-field is as faulty, in a military way, as the ignorance of when it is his duty to incur great danger to obtain a great end, for the fall of a leader is apt to demoralize the army and leave the threads loose which he held in his hand, and which might not be gathered up by the next in command before the occurrence of some grave disaster.

M. Thiers, in his "History of the French Revolution," summarizes the account of the brilliant campaign of 1796–1797 in Italy, and in one sentence gives the essence of military philosophy. He says: "When war is conducted as a purely mechanical routine, and consists in pushing and killing the enemy in front, it is hardly worthy of history; but when a conflict takes place in which a mass of men is moved by a single and vast intellect, which amid the lightning shock of battle has the same clearness and precision as that of a Newton or a Descartes in the silence of the closet, then the sight is worthy of the attention of the philosopher, as well as of the statesman and the soldier; and if the identification of the multitude with a single individual, which produces force in its highest degree, serves to protect, to defend a noble cause, that of liberty, then the scene has a grandeur in its moral as well as its other aspects."

War "conducted as a mechanical routine" was perfectly exhibited in the "Campaign of Attrition," inaugurated by General Grant on the 5th of May, 1864. The single and vast intellect which sways a mass, amid the roar of battle, with the serene precision with which the mind of a great philosopher works in the study, was intended to describe Napoleon, but is equally applicable to all great captains.

The highest plane upon which such a man can stand is where his great powers are used in the cause of liberty. In modern history but one man stands on that elevation, and that man was Washington.

While to make a great captain all the mental and physical qualities must exist in the greatest possible strength, varieties of these in combination to a greater or less degree have been possessed by generals of less or greater repute in the world's history, and the number and intensity of these qualities in the combination gives the general his relative place in the list of great soldiers. Some generals are only brilliant upon the battle-field and some even only in particular phases of a battle, though they may possess certain qualities of a great leader to an extent which amounts in its way to an exhibition of genius as great as any great captain has ever shown. The particular quality which made Napoleon seize the colors and incite his troops to follow him at the bridge of Arcola, is well worthy of attention as being at times a most important factor in a battle. Alexander and Henry of Navarre were leaders whose personal power on the battle-field may be said to have directly influenced many of their victories. Many of Napoleon's lieutenants had this instinct of leadership; Lannes and Massena to an eminent degree. Washington showed it in the power of his personal presence to change a retreat into an attack, and Scott made a brilliant display of it at the battle of Lundy's Lane. The Civil War shows but little of this divine gift. General C. F. Smith may be said to have had the genius of battle highly developed in him, as was conspicuously shown at the battle of Fort Donelson. It is not always given to genius to succeed in these efforts. Napoleon failed at the bridge of Arcola, though it is possible that the desperate fighting around his person on the causeway kept the enemy closely employed until another force had taken the town in rear, and that, therefore, his act secured his great victory.

There is one instance of such leadership in our Civil War which is of great interest as a notable example of the display of this element of genius, and as showing the tremendous influence which is exercised upon the field of battle by such personal leadership, and its nearness in this case to the achievements of a brilliant victory. The leader referred to was Albert Sidney Johnston.

It is evident from the history of the battle of Shiloh, on the 6th of April, 1862, that General Johnston had determined upon crushing the Federal left and securing the possession of Pittsburg Landing before the arrival of Buell's army. To insure this, after his final orders were given, he allowed his own left wing to take care of itself, and taking the personal command of the right, pursued his plan with marked persistency and success for some hours. He was finally checked at or near the "Hornet's Nest," and after two or three ineffectual efforts to drive the Federal troops from their position, he sent an order to Breckenridge to make an assault with all his strength. The aide returned to General Johnston with the answer from Breckenridge that his troops could not be induced to make the attack. As the aide began to give the message, General Johnston turned his head away, affecting not to hear, and said to the aide, "Go to General Breckenridge and tell him to make an assault at once." The officer went back to Breckenridge, whom he found pale from excitement and mortification, who again said that his troops would not follow him to the assault. When this last message was communicated to General Johnston he went to Breckenridge's troops, and placing himself at their head, gave the order to advance.

They then went forward with a rush, but General Johnston fell in the hour of his triumph. Under the impetus, however, of this wave of attack, the Federal division of Hurlbut melted away and the brigade of Stuart fell back and Prentiss was surrounded. A ripple of this wave was all that reached the left bank of Dill's Branch at a time when a few steady bayonets would have brushed away all resistance, checked Buell's junction, and left the Army of the Tennessee with hardly a possibility of escape, so near did the Federal army come that day to a crushing defeat. The plan of Johnston was admirable and was being brilliantly carried out; but when he fell his mantle descended upon no one worthy to have it, and the recall was sounded when fifteen minutes of bayonet work would have won the day.

"The race is not always to the swift," and a single well sped bullet may reach a life on which hang mighty interests.

W. F. SMITH.

WHY AM I A LUTHERAN?

THE question is not—Why did I become a Lutheran, rather than a Presbyterian, Methodist, or some other kind of Protestant Christian? To that question most of us now in any one of these so-called "orthodox evangelical denominations" would have to answer: I was born and brought up there. Providential orderings usually have most to do in fixing our lot religiously, as in other respects.

I was born of Lutheran parents, baptized by a Lutheran pastor, converted when at college, during a course of catechetical instruction conducted by a Lutheran minister, and very naturally found my way through the rite of confirmation, at fifteen years of age, into full communion with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the General Synod in this country.

But half a century has since elapsed and I am still a Lutheran. The Editor of the REVIEW asks me "Why?" To which I answer that, with ripening judgment and enlarged opportunities of observation, I have ever found increasing cause for gratitude to God for casting my lot as He did in the bosom of the Lutheran church. The more I learn of her character and history the greater reason I find for self-congratulation upon having been from early childhood identified with what I now regard as the very best form of Evangelical Protestant Christianity.

But Lutheranism is not everywhere the same. And in our own country, where not only the various types of European Lutheranism are largely represented, with their national peculiarities and cherished traditional customs, but where also an Americanized form of Lutheranism has firmly established itself—especially here does the Lutheran Church present to the view of other denominations the appearance of a discordant and heterogeneous mixture. But this diversity is more apparent than real. Amid this Babel of languages—for our church preaches the gospel here in English, German, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic,

and Finnish—and this commixture of European and American nationalities, there is an underlying harmony that unifies it all. These are all (with the exception of some so-called Lutheran congregations of foreigners in our large cities that have nothing of Lutheranism about them except the name) essentially one in doctrine and practice, with the same earnest, anti-papal, truly evangelical Protestant spirit, clinging tenaciously to the same great principles that gave birth to the Reformation, and to which genuine Protestanism in all its forms still owes its vitality.

The answer to the Editor's question would therefore be in substance the same, coming from any part of the Lutheran Church. I propose to reply to it as a representative of the General Synod, the oldest general organization of our Church in this country, which, although rent asunder by the war of the slave-holders' rebellion, and now composed of only such synods as were always loyal to the Union, still numbers 910 ministers, 1,449 churches, and 138,988 communicant members. It has under its influence the oldest literary and theological institutions, and is most active in the work of home and foreign missions.

I love and am proud of the Lutheran Church as a whole, and more particularly as she is represented in the General Synod in this country. My reasons are :

I.—HER DOCTRINAL POSITION.

This is the main thing. All else is of comparatively little importance. I understand the Lutheran Church to be soundly scriptural in doctrine. She bows submissively and unconditionally to the divine word. She had her birth in a solemn appeal to the Holy Scriptures as over against all human authority in matters of faith. Her attitude from the first has been that of Luther at the Diet of Worms, with his hand upon the Bible, bidding defiance to popes and councils and every extra-scriptural authority.

The Formula of Concord, the latest among our confessional writings, after enumerating those already published, expressly declares that : " The Holy Scriptures alone remain the only judge, rule and standard, according to which, as the only test-stone, all dogmas should, and must be, discerned and judged, as to whether they be good or evil, right or wrong. But the other symbols and writings cited are not judges, as are the Holy Scriptures, but only

a witness and declaration of the faith, as to how at any time the Holy Scriptures have been understood and explained in the articles in controversy in the Church of God by those who then lived, and how the opposite dogma was rejected and condemned."

And the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the oldest of our American Lutheran Synods, in 1853, after enjoining it, as a duty, upon all our ministers and candidates to "make themselves better and more thoroughly acquainted with these venerable documents of the faith of our fathers than has hitherto been the case with many," *resolved:* "That it is not by any means our intention hereby to diminish the absolute authority of the Holy Scriptures, but much rather to place it in the clearest light possible, and that we by no means design through these symbols to place constraint upon the consciences of any, but much rather through them to bind the conscience to the Holy Scriptures as the divine source of truth."

While thus basing her faith upon the Scriptures alone, our Church claims to be in cordial sympathy with the Christian Church of the early centuries, and in token of this she places in the forefront of her confessional position the *three œcumenical creeds*, indorsing them as correct statements of Bible truth. She adopts these, not because of any ecclesiastical authority that may be claimed for them, but because she believes them to be in accordance with the Holy Scriptures.

And when summoned by the highest earthly authority to give account of her faith and practice, she witnessed before the Emperor and all the dignitaries of the Diet at Augsburg, in 1530, that noble confession which became the bulwark of Protestantism. This grand production, the embodiment of the profoundest learning and the deepest piety of the Christian Church at that critical period in its history, not only gave adequate expression to the pent-up aspirations of the multitudes on the continent of Europe who were then sighing for deliverance from the thraldom of the papacy, but it became the model and type for subsequently published creeds of Christendom. Henry VIII. made free use of it (and of Melanchthon's Apology) in the construction of his famous Ten Articles. Had he been more of a devout Christian and less of a scheming politician, he would no doubt have allowed his learned men to quote more freely from it than they did.

Still more clearly is the influence of the Augsburg Confession

apparent in the formation of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. "In more than one respect," says Bishop Whittingham, of Maryland, in his charge for 1849, "the Confession of Augsburg is the source of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England and America—their prototype in form, their model in doctrine, and the very foundation of many of their expressions; while others are drawn from its derivative expositions and repetitions."*

But the Augsburg Confession is not the only doctrinal standard recognized in the Lutheran Church. There are others, subsequently published, that were indorsed by large portions of the Church. None of these were, however, universally adopted, nor is their acceptance by any one, in their entirety, essential to constitute him a true Lutheran.

In some parts of our Church in this country an absolute acceptance of every jot and tittle of all the statements in the Symbolical Books is rigidly insisted upon, and acquiescence also in some additional modern tests is enforced; but such is not the spirit of the General Synod. Its doctrinal position is set forth in the following eloquent and unanswerable vindication of the true Lutheranism of the General Synod by one who was her enthusiastic champion in 1857: "The Augsburg Confession is the symbol which alone has been recognized always, everywhere, and by all Lutherans as their Confession; and, as Lutheranism in America should rest on nothing that is local or national, but should embody as essential only that which is common to the Lutheranism of all lands, it is a vital point that she [the General Synod] should acknowledge as her creed that only whose reception in the Church has been universal. The Augsburg Confession is the symbol of Lutheran Catholicity; all other distinctive portions of the Book of Concord are symbols of Lutheran particularity, creeds of Lutheran Churches, but not, in an undisputed sense, of the Lutheran Church."

I heartily indorse every word of this, and trust that this

* The reader is respectfully referred for interesting information in regard to the influence of the Lutheran Confessions upon the Ten Articles of Henry VIII. to a series of papers now being published in the *Lutheran*, of Philadelphia, by Rev. Dr. H. E. Jacobs; and in regard to the influence of the Augsburg Confession up n the Thirty-nine Articles to an essay read by Rev. Dr. J. G. Morris before a Lutheran Diet, held in Philadelphia in 1877, and published in the volume of its proceedings in 1878.

liberal but truly genuine type of Lutheranism will ultimately prevail throughout our whole Church.

"The Augsburg Confession," says Oehler (in his Symbolik, quoted by Dr. Jacobs in his "Book of Concord," II., p. 34), "not only on historical grounds, because it is the banner around which the Church of the German Reformation has from the first continually gathered, or on those of ecclesiastical right, since the German Evangelical [Reformed] Church, as well as the Church of the Augsburg Confession, obtained legal recognition by the Augsburg Religious Peace of 1555, and the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, but because of its contents, has been at all times regarded the fundamental confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, its peculiar *symbol*, as it is already called in the Formula of Concord."

The doctrinal basis of the General Synod is thus defined in its constitution, Article II., Section 3: "All regularly constituted Lutheran synods, not now in connection with the General Synod, receiving and holding, with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the Word of God as contained in the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word and of the faith of our Church founded upon that Word, may at any time become associated with the General Synod by adopting this constitution and sending delegates to its convention according to the ratio specified in section first of this article."

The limits of this article forbid a detailed statement of the doctrines of our Church as set forth in her chief Confession. It may suffice to remind the reader that it was enthusiastically indorsed by the distinguished representatives of all the leading Protestant churches of Europe and America at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance at Berlin, in 1856. They recognized it as a clear and scripturally correct presentation of all the essential features of our common Christianity.

The christocentric idea pervades and dominates not only the Confession itself, but also the whole range of Lutheran dogmatic literature; and, in the promulgation of the Gospel, Lutheran preaching is pre-eminently distinguished for the clearness with which the great central truth of justification by faith alone is constantly and earnestly set forth.

But there is one feature of the Augsburg Confession in regard to which a word of explanation may be looked for in this connection. We sometimes hear it said that the Lutheran Church, in the tenth article of this Confession, teaches a doctrine nearly allied to transubstantiation; viz., that the substance of the body of Christ becomes united with the substance of the bread and wine, thus constituting a new material, partly earthly and partly divine. Intelligent students of Lutheran literature should blush to make such an assertion. Never did a Lutheran theologian give real occasion for such misapprehension and misrepresentation. With one accord our writers insist upon it that during the entire administration of the ordinance the bread remains bread, and the wine remains wine, undergoing no change whatever. But the Confession does teach a sacramental communication of the body and blood of Christ *in the act of the reception of the elements by the participant,* but no attempt is made to explain *how* we thus receive him. We are content to take the words of Scripture as we find them, believing even where we cannot understand.

II.—HER CHURCH POLITY, CULTUS, ETC.

In regard to all such matters she is liberal and free.

"Unto the true unity of the Church it is sufficient to agree concerning the Doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men should be alike everywhere." —Augsburg Confession, Art. VII.

Holding that the Scriptures do not prescribe any form of worship or of ecclesiastical government, she freely adapts herself to her surroundings in matters of this kind and makes no conscience of such adiaphora. In Europe, amid the paraphernalia of monarchy and aristocracy, she arrays her ministers in official robes. Maintaining in her standards, upon Scriptural authority, the parity of the ministry, she nevertheless recognizes in Scandinavia a *jure humano* form of Episcopacy; whilst in Germany she has what amounts to about the same thing in her office of superintendent; and in this country she has neither bishops nor superintendents. Here, unhindered by State authority or example, she avails herself of her liberty to organize her ecclesiastical government in strict accordance with her scriptural theory of ministerial parity.

Some of her characteristic features are thus set forth by Rev. Dr. Seiss, in his Ecclesia Lutherana, p. 191: "The Lutheran Church held and taught a sovereign salvation, by grace only, before Calvin was freed from the shackles of papal superstition. She confessed and believed that Christ Jesus tasted death for every man before Arminius was born. She approved and practiced the holding of meetings for prayer and mutual edification before there was a Wesley, or any followers of his method. She had her liturgies and forms of devotion,—the models and sources of the best that have followed,—when England was yet in the arms of the papacy, and the English Book of Common Prayer had not been thought of. She had her bishops before there were any Episcopalians, so called, though ever denying that diocesan Episcopacy is at all necessary to the integrity of the Church. In government, she prescribes for the pure preaching of the Word, and the administration of the Sacraments according to that Word, but leaves all questions of outward forms to be regulated as the circumstances, may render most convenient or desirable. And in all things she is as many-sided as the graces of the Holy Spirit, or the glorious character of her Lord."

Her form of worship is simple, with a moderate liturgy, varying considerably in different countries, but embodying in most cases the few liturgical forms that were in use in very early times, and have endeared themselves to the heart of the Church. There is a growing desire for greater uniformity in this respect among the English speaking portions of our Church in this country, and committees appointed by the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Lutheran Synod of the South have just prepared and are publishing a common order of service for all English-speaking Lutherans, which, it is hoped, may serve as an additional bond of union among them.

A striking feature of our Church is her attachment to the ancient custom of observing the so-called order of the Church Year, by which the cardinal facts and doctrines of the Gospel are annually held forth and commented upon.

Her liberality is further shown by her treatment of other Protestant denominations, *i. e.*, of those who hold with her the grand fundamental doctrines of our most holy faith. She recognizes the fact that the Lord has many sincere and faithful followers in other branches of the church, who are in substantial accord

with her in faith and practice. Our General Synod firmly believes in the "communion of saints" as that part of the Apostle's Creed is commonly understood among English-speaking Christians everywhere. She loves all who love the Lord Jesus, and her Lutheranism does not hinder her from holding fellowship with all Evangelical Christians at the Lord's table or anywhere else. And this, not from any failure to appreciate the importance of the truth as held and taught in her own standards, but from the conviction that her peculiar method of stating and explaining it is of less importance, relatively, than her real and substantial agreement with her fellow-Christians in other respects.

There have, it is true, been periods in the long and eventful history of our Church when she has not everywhere been true to her original faith and practice. But the age of cold and heartless orthodoxy was followed by a glorious revival of deep and earnest piety, when the genuine spirit of primitive Lutheranism once more prevailed throughout her borders. And then it was that the founders of our Church in this country came to our shores, bringing with them the liberal spirit of Pietistic Lutheranism that has heretofore characterized the bulk of our American Lutheran Church, and has from its organization distinguished our General Synod.

III.—HER LITERATURE.

Can any other branch of the Protestant Church compare with her in this respect?

One in spirit with the Christian Church of the early centuries, she rightly claims an equal share with all other Christians in the literature of that age. And, adopting the great œcumenical creeds as her own, she also claims her share in whatever was really valuable in the mediæval scholasticism that was in some sense the natural outgrowth of those early creeds of Christendom.

But she has, beside, a literature peculiarly her own. Starting with the trumpet blast of the *ninety-five theses* on the 31st of October, 1517, and flinging to the breeze the battle flag of the Reformation on the 30th of June, 1530, *the incomparable Augustana*, she has ever since led the van of the evangelical host in the onward march of theological learning. Enter any of the

great libraries of Europe, or even of this country, and view the serried ranks of huge Latin and German folios, the products of Lutheran learning and research during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were giants in those days. A bare list of their names would cumber these pages. What a rich legacy of precious scientific dogmatic literature has been inherited by our Church! Nor has the love for patient and profound research died out among us. Witness the annual exodus of American students, old and young, to sit at the feet of Lutheran professors in Germany. Little do many even of the learned among us here realize to how great an extent English theological literature is the mere echo of German Lutheran erudition.

Our Church has inherited also a rich treasure of *devotional* literature. Many of her profoundest theologians were at the same time models of simple, child-like piety, and have made precious contributions to our store of devotional writings. Arndt's "True Christianity" has secured for itself a place next to the Bible among our pious Germans, and has been made accessible also to English readers; but the ponderous quartos of Scriver's "Seelenschatz," Heinrich Müller's "Liebes-Kuss" and "Geistliche Erquick-Stunden," Porst's "Göttliche Führung der Seelen" and "Das Wachsthum der Wiedergebornen," etc., etc.—these and multitudes of similar works, eminently spiritual and practical, are still locked up in the German and Scandinavian languages.

And what branch of the Church can compare with her in the richness of *hymnological literature*. She has always been emphatically a singing church. Her joyous evangelical faith found almost boisterous expression in the triumphant songs of Luther that so largely contributed to the dissemination of the truth and fairly shook the foundations of the Papacy. Nor has the spirit of sacred song ever departed from her. Prince among her multitude of hymn-writers is Paul Gerhard, and Sebastian Bach among her composers of sacred music. In both departments she stands unrivaled.

IV.—HER MISSIONARY ACTIVITY.

In the words of Doctor Seiss (Ecclesia Lutherana, p. 199): "Modern missions were first moved by Luther. Luther himself saw, taught, and urged the true aggressiveness of the Gospel. 'Jerusalem verily was to be the place where the preaching of the

Gospel of salvation should begin,' says he, 'but it was not to remain there alone. It was also to be carried to the heathen, and preached everywhere in all the world. There is to be no difference as to places or persons. The Gospel is to be promulgated to the utmost limits of the world.'" Gustavus Vasa, the Lutheran King of Sweden, who reigned from 1523 to 1560, has the illustrious honor of instituting and establishing the first effective Protestant missions. To him the various tribes of Lapps were indebted for the diffusion of Christianity among them by Lutheran missionaries; while the Finns owed to him the first works of instruction, bibles, and hymn books printed in their own tongue.

We point, with pardonable pride, to a long line of illustrious European Lutheran sovereigns who distinguished themselves by earnest and energetic missionary efforts. Among them, Charles IX. of Sweden, who reigned from 1602 to 1611, and Christopher of Wurtemberg. Ernst, surnamed the Pious, Prince of Saxe-Gotha, in 1663, sent Wansleben to labor in the Gospel in Abyssinia.

Dr. Kurtz, Church History, II., 251, writes as follows: "Frederick IV. of Denmark (1705) founded the mission at Tranquebar for his East India possessions, for which Francke sent to him two very excellent and zealous laborers, Henry Plützschau and Bartholomew Ziegenbalg. The latter translated the New Testament into the Tamul language (died 1719). This Danish East India mission extended its labors into the English possessions. The Orphan House at Halle contributed to it many excellent missionaries, the most prominent of whom was Christian F. Schwartz (who died 1798), the patriarch of Lutheran missions, who labored almost fifty years as a faithful missionary. In the last quarter of this century, however, the zeal for this mission expired under the influence of rationalism; the connection with the Orphan House was dissolved, and *the rich Lutheran harvest was gathered almost entirely into the garners of the Anglican Church.*"

"Whilst the records of Christianity continue," writes Dr. Seiss, "the names of Plützschau, Ziegenbalg, Schwartz, Egede, Guericke, Gutzlaff, and Schulze will live as the brightest in the constellation of Protestant missionaries. All these were Lutherans—the sons and servants of our Church."

And, I may add, it is from the Lutheran mission houses in Germany that the great British associations now procure many of those whom they send out as missionaries.

"It was the missionary spirit, first of all, that led to the planting of our Church in this country. The Lutherans first came hither chiefly moved with the inspiring idea of planting on these newly discovered shores the pure Church of the living God. The plan was conceived by Gustavus Adolphus, and carried into effect by his prime minister, Oxenstiern. The controlling thought in the enterprise was, by the colonization of Christian people, to establish the Christian religion on these then heathen lands."

Campanius, a native of Stockholm, was the first Protestant missionary among the Indians in this country, beginning his labors in 1646, several years before John Elliott, "the apostle to the Indians." He translated Luther's Catechism into the language of the Delawares (Lenni Lenape) and labored with great success among them.

V.—HER HISTORY.

Age is not in itself a warrant of excellence, nor is descent from a distinguished ancestry a proper ground of boasting. But, when that which is intrinsically excellent is also venerable, it is all the more worthy of respect; and it is, after all, something to have come of worthy ancestors.

Our Church is no off-shoot of the papacy. Her life-current is only the on-flow of the vitality of primitive Christianity. Her healthy growth cast off the accretions and excrescences of mediæval Romanism, and she became thus the *Mother of Protestantism.*

No Lutheran need blush to read the story of her conflicts with the power of Rome in its efforts to regain its lost hold upon the populations of Central Europe, the fearful struggles of the Thirty Years' War, etc., etc.

In this country our Church is most numerously represented in the middle tier of States, and, through recent German and Scandinavian immigration, also in the great States of the Northwest. The earliest Lutheran immigrants to this country were Hollanders and Swedes, and these were followed by Germans from the Palatinate and the Tyrol, near Salzburg. The Hollanders and Swedes were colonists by choice; the Palatines and Salzburgers

were driven from their homes by popish persecution. But all of them were from the poorer class of the population of their respective countries, and began their career in this western wilderness under the most unfavorable circumstances, which greatly retarded their intellectual, social, and religious development. Their tenacious adherence to the use of their native tongues constituted a chief hindrance to their progress in culture and influence, and they thus lived amid their unsympathizing English surroundings almost like strangers in a strange land. It was not until they began to use the English language, and establish literary and theological institutions, that they came into public recognition, and began to be properly appreciated by other Christians.

For a long while the numerical increase of our Church was held in check in this country by the loss of its young membership. Many of the young people, using only the English language, were practically driven from its fold into other churches by the persistent refusal of its pastors to preach in any other than a foreign tongue. This was the case among the Swedes along the Delaware, where now entire congregations, along with their valuable church property, have fallen into the hands of the Episcopalians. And many of the Presbyterian and Episcopal congregations in our large cities are made up to a great extent out of original Lutheran material. The same process is still going on to some extent, especially among the immigrants from Germany. The Scandinavians, as a rule, are less tenacious of their foreign peculiarities and more readily assimilate themselves to their American surroundings. Indeed, upon the whole, we may confidently say that the tide is rapidly turning. The Lutheran Church is now not only in most places holding her own, but (in the Middle and Western States), as she is becoming better understood and appreciated by intelligent Americans, she is attracting all classes of the community to her fold. Take, as an illustration, the following statement that appeared this week (April 29th), in the *Lutheran Observer,* the leading church paper in the General Synod, edited by Rev. Dr. F. W. Conrad, Philadelphia. It is from the pen of Rev. H. C. Holloway, pastor of the Ev. Luth. Church in Middletown, Dauphin County, Pa.

"In a recent large accession to my congregation, there were represented a great variety of Christian denominations. There were no less than nine different

kinds, viz.: Mennonites, Tunkers, German Reformed, Protestant Episcopal, United Brethren, Roman Catholics, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist. Some of these came to us directly by certificate; others indirectly, both their parents or one of them belonging to one or the other of the above-named denominations. All came in a regular way, and from choice, after due consideration.

"Perhaps I hear you say, 'Deliver me from such a mixture!' I would not say so, for these persons are of more than the average intelligence, and of an age sufficient to make intelligent choice. But, whilst all save three of the named churches have existence in this town, and these persons could nearly all have found an ecclesiastical home there, yet they preferred the Lutheran. They gave proof that they had examined our doctrines and liked our form of worship. They are amongst our most useful, devoted, and pious people, and assimilate very well with our system.

"It has been the experience of the writer that whenever intelligent people have brought to their attention the pure doctrines of our Church, and her practices are adhered to, they command respect, and there is a readiness to accept them."

The Lutheran Church, as a whole, outnumbering all other Protestant denominations combined, has been outstripping, in this country, one after another, until now she stands third upon the list. At this rate of increase, the day may not be far distant when she will be first, numerically, among all Protestant denominations here, as she has been for more than three hundred years in Europe!

CHARLES A. HAY.

SERPENT MYTHS.

From out the cloud-like mists which surround the dawn of the religious sentiment in man, starts the strange fauna with which he filled the vacant spaces in his mythical canvas.

Indebted, as they undoubtedly are, to the phenomena of nature for their primary existence, poetic fancy has exaggerated and diversified the attributes of these creations of the imagination, adding characteristics in the luxuriance of its inventive powers, until it may be said that those who repeated these strange stories at the firesides of old, themselves created a character for every member of the animal kingdom, often without the slightest regard to any inherent peculiarities possessed by the objects which they arrayed in these fanciful robes. Thus the bear became the representative of good natured stupidity in spite of his remarkable intelligence, the mouse grew to be a symbol of the soul, the eagle was popularly supposed to possess great knowledge of magic, and the hideous toad bore on his crest a jewel which could ward off the approach of evil; but of all the strange and wonderful transformations wrought by imagination, surely the prismatic and beautiful figure that the ancients conjured up and presented to us as the typical serpent is the most remarkable metamorphosis.

By the power of this magic transformation he vied with Proteus in the multiplicity of his shapes. Now, as the God of knowledge, he taught men all useful arts; again, as in Eden, became a tempter all the more to be dreaded on account of the persuasive eloquence with which his godlike wisdom had endowed him. Sinuous and graceful, wise and tender, ever and anon as the symbol of Æsculapius he healed and blessed man, or, as represented by his legitimate progeny, the dragon, cursed and annihilated him as the truly frightful impersonation of evil. In the early stages of religious development he everywhere appears. As an emblem

of eternity he encircles the Brahmin ideal of the universe. At the root of Yggdrasil, the world upbearing ash, in the Norse legends, he lies, the enemy of the gods, whom he shall survive. Even Pwan-ku, the Chinese Adam, was assisted by a dragon in his mighty work of chiseling a world out of the chaos into which he was born. Probably because of the multiplicity of his attributes, the serpent was singularly fortunate in securing a place in the mythology of all nations, either in the capacity of incarnate evil, or as a representative of some beneficent spirit.

Thus he is held in honor among the Chaldeans, Babylonians, Chinese, Greeks, Phœnicians, as well as in Egypt and India. So great, indeed, was the veneration paid him in the latter country, that at the beginning of the present century, a child having the power of handling venomous serpents with impunity aroused such a degree of religious excitement in certain districts, that the magistrate considered it necessary to keep the government constantly informed of his movements. It was, however, especially in the Nile region that the snake was most highly honored; here, enshrined in the mystic religion of Egypt, he played a dual part, impersonating at once the evil and beneficent principle, the former as the red serpent Set, the slayer of divine Osiris, and personifying the latter in the solar deity Chneph, who was typified by the falcon-headed snake. "The most divine nature of all," says a priest of the ancient religion, "was one serpent bearing the form of a hawk, and also being most delightful in aspect; for when he opened his eyes, he filled all the places of his native region with light; but when he closed them, darkness immediately ensued."

In a description, given by Pliny, of the procession of Isis, he tells of a mystic vase, the handle of which was formed of an asp "wreathed in a knot and lifting on high its streaked, swollen, scaly neck." His account of the statue of Osiris, "carried in the happy bosom of a priest," resembles so strongly a recital of the mystic charms of pantheistic Abraxas, that one is half inclined to hail him as the same deity.

This double capacity in which the Egyptian myth presents the serpent, first as the evil genius Set, depriving the world of the god Osiris, and secondly, as the symbol of Chneph, a beneficent deity, is remarkable, as presenting at once the two antagonistic phases of the serpent's character as depicted by the ancients. Indeed, so prominent a part did the snake play in the pantheon of

Egypt that, unlike some other denizens of the animal kingdom, whose worship was purely local, he was everywhere highly revered, from Pharaoh, who bore the hooded asp upon his crown as a symbol of royalty, to the peasant of Lower Egypt.

Nor were the classic nations alone fascinated by the sinuous grace and brilliant coloring of the snake. Serpent worship in different forms was to be found in many cases among the American Indians, of which the religious dance of the Moquis presents an example, a ceremony probably commemorative of their mythical origin, and which is distinguished by such fearful details that an eye witness has described it as "a drama bearing the lurid tinge of a nightmare." The fearlessness of consequences, the undaunted manner in which the Moquis handle the venomous serpents used in their dance, forcibly reminds one of the snake-charmers of the East, and proves that "a solemn scorn of ills," always a quality especially prized by the gods, was no less acceptable to the sacred snake than to Juggernaut, El, or Odin.

But it was among the savages of Africa that serpent worship attained its completest development; indeed, so mighty an influence did it wield over the religious fancy of the negro that centuries of civilization and Christianity have been unable entirely to eradicate its teachings.

True, the glory of the serpent cult has departed from the United States. The sacred robes that once enwrapped the voudoo doctor have become only the tattered garments of the conjurer, the priestess has sunk to a position little less enviable than that once held by the witches of Salem. Still their power is acknowledged, and a certain respect is still rendered them as skilled compounders of charms and simples, persons whom it is ill to offend. But these honors are paid rather from fear than veneration. It is, however, in Hayti that we must seek the older form of snake worship. There still the serpent cult breeds all the horrors of cannibalism and human sacrifice, the fearful rites with which he is appeased. Children being at once the most helpless and the purest of humanity are, as a rule, selected as offerings, and blood-curdling are the accounts given of the preliminary starvation of the poor innocents in their confinement under the altar, and the subsequent feast.

Among the Southern negroes the serpent worship of their ancestors has suffered the same decadence as did the worship of

the heathen gods; but few are left of its devotees, except the small community who hold their yearly meetings on St. John's eve; its influence, however, is still seen in the abiding fear of being "conjured," which permeates the lower classes, both white and black, throughout the Gulf States. A trace of it is also seen in the belief that a serpent in a bottle buried under the lintel of the door causes blindness.

The voudoo charms are by no means the only African superstitions in which the serpent plays a prominent part. He has also in the negro mind a subtile connection with the Sun, his life being, in fact, inextinguishable until the sinking of his patron luminary. Nor is his power totally destroyed even by death. If hung up by the tail he is a potent charm to bring the longed-for rain, and few are the Southern children who have not been told that the first thunder-storm of spring is the serpent's reveille. The rattlesnake has the additional power of curing neuralgia if his rattles be worn in the hat band of the sufferer. The superstitious also believe in the fabulous "Joint Snake." When struck he flies into sentient sections, which, if unmolested, wriggle themselves together again, and glide away uninjured in the grass. There is a verse which in ante-bellum days was sung by the old nurses to the wondering children, illustrative of the superstition that the serpent held dominion over the frogs:

> "The Snake he bake a hoe cake,
> He set the Frog to mind 'em;
> The Frog he went to sleep,
> And the Lizard come an stole it.
> Bring back my hoe cake you long tailed varmin."

Among the many attributes ascribed to the serpent, longevity is one which has especially fitted him to become the emblem of eternity. Renewing, say the learned in magic lore, his youth with the changes of his skin, accident alone can deprive him of life. A curious superstition connected with this form of the serpent's mythical character is the belief that no inducement, however tempting, can persuade him to enter a circle.

When Gulliver congratulated the Luggnaggians upon possessing in the Struldbrugs, or immortals, an inexhaustible fund of information, he but gave voice to the ancient association of wisdom with longevity. Perhaps it was from this connection of ideas that the snake's form has been so generally coupled with the

birth of knowledge, even in the Divine Book. "The serpent," says Genesis, "was the wisest of the beasts of the field," and to his artful persuasions man owes the woe-fraught knowledge of good and evil.

The demi-god Cadmus, the patron and introducer of letters in Greece, was transformed into a serpent by offended Mars, and in like manner gentle Hea, the Chaldean "Lord of Waters," took upon himself the form of a snake when he instructed man in all useful arts.

The serpents and tortoises, aspirants to the rank of Dragon in China, are obliged to pass through a competitive examination, and can only attain such distinction upon having shown themselves learned enough to justify their admittance into this august body. But it is the seven-headed cobras of the Indian that possess the most remarkable knowledge of the magical arts, which they habitually exert for the benefit of favored individuals; often, as in the tales of "Muchie Lal" and the "Dog-Mother," using their power to reward the good and punish the wicked. To these legends of beneficent serpents belongs also the story of the grateful snakes of Melampus, whose kisses upon their master's ears opened them to the voices of all living things; as well as the quaint legends told in the Russian and German nurseries of the white serpent of which only a morsel need be eaten to enable the happy gourmet to understand the languages of bird and beast. Thus, as the patron of wisdom and the emblem of longevity, the serpent came, by natural development, to be also the symbol of medicine, and the favored henchman of Æsculapius, of which fact the barbers' poles of our day are quaint monuments. The story told by the Latins of his installation among the great doctor's retainers is a pretty one.

The Romans, suffering from the ravages of an epidemic, sent a deputation to sacrifice at the temple of Æsculapius, situated in Epidaurus. They were followed on their embarkation by a snake, which accompanied the returning worshipers until just before they reached Rome, where it slipped into the Tiber, and, swimming to an island, there made its abode. A temple was built to the patron of medicine at the spot indicated by the inspired serpent, whereupon the epidemic ceased.

On the numerous gems representing sacrifices to Æsculapius and in amulets against evil of all descriptions, the snake is ever

present, now uniting head and tail, an emblem of eternity, and again wreathed around a staff, or looking into a cup, but oftenest either in combat with other animals or merging itself into the human figure, as in amulets representing a cuirass-covered man with the extremities of a serpent.

The serpent-entwined staff of Mercury, too, if worn graven on a jewel, has the power to confer knowledge, and is especially beneficial to merchants : whoever wears it is always sure to make the most judicious bargains. On one of the most beautiful of these tributes to the serpent, a youth is engraved holding a snake head downward over a vessel filled with fire, representing, it is surmised, a sacrifice to Æsculapius. Remembering, however, the magic gruel which the mystic sisters prepared for Baldur, over which, too, a serpent was held, that his breath might give such power to the mixture that even the Sun God should be strengthened thereby, we wonder if here we have not a devotee of the healing art preparing a drug by the same formula, thereby establishing another link in the golden chain which connects the denizens of Valhalla and Olympus.

Nor is the mystical link between the serpent and the healing art ignored in the records of Israel. We are told that when the Hebrews were visited with a plague of fiery serpents, it was to a brazen image of their tormentors they were bidden look up and live, after which, so great was the veneration for this symbol, that in the days of Hezekiah he found it necessary to remove it out of the temple and cause its destruction to prevent idolatry among the people. Christianity was also not entirely free from reliance on the snake's healing powers. Occasionally he appears in this enviable capacity in the legends of the saints.

One of the most quaint and charming accounts of beneficent serpents is the story of Nothburga, which you may hear told in the valley of the Neckar, beneath the shadow of the castle which bears her name.

Nothburga, the Christian daughter of a heathen king, persistently refused to accept the husband of her father's choice, alleging as her objection her lover's adherence to the worship of his forefathers. She fled from her enraged father and found shelter in a cavern a few miles down the river. But the king, having discovered her retreat, immediately followed, and in vain sought to persuade her to return; finding, eventually, that his arguments

were useless, in his anger he caught her arm to force her acquiescence; to his consternation the member came off in his hand. In horror he returned to the castle, leaving his pious daughter to her own devices. Hardly had he departed when a white snake appeared and, licking Nothburga's wound, immediately cured the saint, enabling her to go forth and preach the new gospel throughout the valley. Her tomb bears upon it a recumbent figure with only one arm, in memory of the miracle.

The medicinal qualities of dragons' blood were much lauded throughout the middle ages and universally deemed a protection against any weapon, however deadly. The heroes who were fortunate enough to obtain this precious bath were, like Siegfried, made invulnerable.

In the early Egyptian hieroglyphics we find representations of snakes' bodies crowned by female heads; and, indeed, this class of serpents seems to have proved equally attractive to all nations, an evidence of which subtle fascination is that the legends of the "snake maidens" still live in the nursery tales of to-day, perennially young and beautiful as though their birth were not wrapped in the mysteries of a prehistoric age. Of this family came Larnia, the witch of Crete, whose woman's heart rendered her doubly sensitive to the degradation she suffered during her incarceration within her scaly prison; nor did she on renewing the pristine glory of her human form completely lose the essence of her serpent nature. Harmonia, the wife of Cadmus, to be a companion in her husband's misfortunes, also took upon herself the serpent's shape, but being devoid of evil intent, never, it is said, shunned, but rather sought man's presence. Perhaps it is but another form of the classic Harmonia which has become familiar to us under the name of the fairy Gentilla, who, in an adder's shape, sought refuge with Prince Leander from the vengeance of the irate gardeners, but at the end of several days dropped her scaly mantle and, arrayed in supernatural charms, munificently rewarded her protector. In some of the later accounts of Melusina she is cited as a member of this sisterhood. Jean D'Arras represents her as a serpent "enameled blue and white;" thus also did she present herself to the commander of Lusignan, a fortress which she erected in the early days of her wedded happiness. If there be any who wonder that this union of serpent and woman should have proved attractive

to our ancestors, might not the sinuous grace and enigmatical character of our own Elsie Venner plead eloquently for the charms of her myth-born sisters ?

It is not, however, in this fascinating form that the serpent usually presents itself, but rather in the fearful guise of the storm cloud Ahi, which Indra slew, like Red Set, the fratricide, or, again, like the winged dragon, perhaps the most terrible of all the serpent brood. In these evil forms the snake is usually connected, strangely enough, with marsh or water; particularly is this the case in the Hellenic pantheon and in the Northern legends. Is it not probable that, experiencing the evil effects consequent upon a residence in the vicinity of swampy land, and at the same time sensible of the incalculable benefits accruing from an abundant supply of water, the ancients may, on observing how frequently the marsh surrounded a fountain, have represented the deadly mists arising from the former as a dragon, and personified the latter as a captive maiden or a hidden treasure ? The universal attribute of these malign monsters is the capacity they possess to subjugate cities and even kingdoms by their pestilential exhalations. Flying by night over the country, they breathe their poison upon the sleeping world, indiscriminately blasting man and beast.

Sometimes, as in the story of Gundel, they confine their depredations to a particular castle; but usually, like the "Laidly worm of Lambeth," they lay waste whole districts of country, devouring the substance of the inhabitants, and eventually, when their ravenous appetites are left unsatisfied, destroying the impoverished people themselves.

When with the sinking sun the marsh mists begin to rise, floating birdlike on the night air, yet always preserving a serpentine grace, what was more likely than that the mind of our forefathers should have seized upon the death-bringing phenomena, and with the subtle alchemy of poetic thought have transformed the ascending mist into a winged snake, whose poisonous breath should overcome all heroes, be they never so brave and skillful, except only the glorious Sun God, at the first touch of whose golden arrow the monster must take flight.

The Greek mythology is full of examples to support this theory, probably the most prominent of which is the story of Python's death by Apollo's hand, who thereby gave to the world a pellucid

fountain which issued from the monster's body. It will be remembered that Python, like most of his kindred, was a denizen of the marshes. Cadmus, too, found in his wanderings that a clear and beautiful spring was rendered unapproachable by the seven-headed serpent of Mars, and succeeded in slaying him only after the monster had devoured or poisoned all the wanderer's companions. And Hercules, the hero of heroes, in whose adventurous life serpents play so prominent a part, succeeded at last in slaying Hydra, the many-headed serpent which, marsh-like, poisoned the air around the fountain of Amymone, and thereby enabled the people to receive the benefit of Neptune's munificence.

The dragon which started up to devour Andromeda was also water-born and subject to the commands of Poseidon, who sent him to revenge an insult to the Ocean's Queen. But it was especially in the Norse tales that the dragon-myth attained to its fullest development. Here, from the first, Jörmungander lay in the depths of the ocean, girdling the middle world, dreaming as she waited of the twilight of the gods when she should slay and be slain by the mighty Thor.

Siegfried must needs penetrate a black and treacherous fen when searching for the ally of his enemy, the evil smith; he, however, eventually conquered the dragon, and came away victorious in spite of the monster's sickening odor and poisonous exhalations. Beowulf slew Gundel, a dragon who made his home in an adjacent marsh and nightly devoured the guests who lay in Hygelak's castle, and King Ortnit's treacherous father-in-law bade him place the dragon's eggs, which he sent as a fair present, in some damp and marshy place that the heat of the sun might hatch them. To rid his country of the many evils consequent upon the ravages of these monsters, he went out to meet them in mortal combat, but falling asleep in the dragon's demesne, was slain by its foul breath. It resisted all attacks upon its marshy fastness until the coming of Wolfdieterich, by whom it was slain.

In the beautiful story of the loves of Dietwart and Princess Minnie, the unwary maiden, who, in the ardor of the chase, had pursued the wounded stag into the damp and thickly wooded recesses of the forest, was attacked by a monstrous serpent, which, after wounding Dietwart, was at length overpowered by the hero, not, however, without having by its poisonous breath so inflamed the wound that, although a mere scratch to all appearances,

it required the magic balm possessed by the princess to heal it. As the fairy tales of a country are but the small coin of its mythical treasures, the dragons, who, in the story of "The fair one with the golden locks," watched the entrance to the cavern whence flowed the water of life, are perhaps worthy of mention, as well as the monstrous, but lethargic, serpent, who coiled himself around the singing apple, in dim resemblance to the ever wakeful guardian of the golden fruit of the Hesperides.

When the benign light of Christianity illuminated the dark places of earth, the serpent, undaunted, refused to hide his discrowned head, and was rewarded for his temerity, as has already been seen, by his incorporation into the saintly legends ; but this survival is perhaps worse than oblivion, as he usually appears in a most unenviable capacity, representing to St. Anthony the seductive power of evil, banished by St. Patrick to Lake Dilveen, where he impatiently longs for his liberation, or in his dragon's form to be overcome by knightly St. George. It is particularly this last adventure that bears upon the subject under consideration.

The Cappadocian knight St. George came, in the course of his wanderings, to a town of Lybia, which he found plunged in deepest mourning over the imminent sacrifice of the king's only daughter to a ravenous serpent which, having possessed himself of the adjacent pond, not only cut off the supply of water, but when not fed daily with a young maiden filled the air with so deadly a pestilence that "there were not enough living to bury the dead." The Christian hero arrived just in season to save the princess and, single-handed, to vanquish the monster which had successfully withstood the attacks of a heathen army.

A remarkable feature in the histories of these gigantic serpents is the evident pre-ordination of the conqueror. Until he makes his appearance the dragon is invulnerable and irresistible. If, noting this fact, we then examine more closely the physiognomy of the conquerors, we find a marked resemblance between them, a likeness so striking that we are constrained to believe that the sunny eyes of the Greek Apollo beam alike from under the helmet of Beowulf and Siegfried and glitter behind the visor of the saintly knight who betrays his sun-born lineage, despite his many tortures and martyr's crown.

They are all alike untouched by the pestilential breath of the serpent, for what could tarnish the brilliance of the sun ? Alike

their arms penetrate the scaly hide of the monsters where other weapons have proved futile ; alike their efforts are crowned by accruing good to mankind. To compare closely the thousand points of resemblance between these different types is impossible. So many masterly arguments in support of the theory of their unity have been presented that any attempt to re-enforce it seems needless. Taking for granted, then, this unity of personality between these mythical heroes, we have added another link to our argument. The Sun God, in whatever shining guise, is the emblem of light, life, and power, and, therefore, the inveterate foe of darkness and disease.

When, as the ideal of youth and beauty, he stands before us, where could a fitter conqueror be found for the marsh-born monsters, whose scaly hides are vulnerable only to his golden arrows, before whose powerful points the mists melt away in fear. Thus, as we look into the dim past, we see the serpent now shimmering with prismatic colors ; now in sober garb as becomes a student ; now in woman's form ; now raised on high as an all-powerful God ; now swelling with death-dealing poison, or, lastly, winged and mist-like, pervading the religious superstitions of all nations.

VARINA ANNE DAVIS.

CLUBS IN POLITICS.

THE recent National Convention of Republican Clubs, which met in New York City December 15th, 16th, and 17th, was without precedent in our political history. It was an experiment of a very bold character, and its brilliant success, admitted even by its political opponents, has made it the starting point of the organized club in national politics. Sufficient time has elapsed since the convention to consider dispassionately its effect and mission. The assembling of fifteen hundred delegates, representing clubs in every State and Territory, is bound to produce some effect in politics, especially when the object of the convention, namely, the organization of a national league of clubs, was so thoroughly and satisfactorily accomplished as it was on that occasion. It was apparent even to amateur political observers that there were possibilities of danger to the party from such a convention. The presidential campaign being not far distant increased those possibilities. The older and conservative politicians of the Republican party viewed with concern and anxiety its approaching opening. They rushed to New York to restrain the young Hotspurs from platform-making and dangerous utterances. The managers of the different presidential candidates were there early and late to suppress "booms" for rival candidates and to promote them for their own favored leader. But all the fears of the one, and the efforts of the other amounted to nothing. The convention neither pre-empted the duty and privilege of the national nominating convention, nor was it used in any way to further the interest of any presidential candidate. When the name of Blaine was mentioned it was received with enthusiastic applause, and the same followed Mr. Sherman's name. The convention was marked by a distinctively national character; the West and New England, however, furnished the majority of the delegates. There was the

young, active, and enthusiastic Republican belonging to a manhood which has been born since the war, and side by side with him was the venerable veteran who has come down to us from a former generation—and administration. Senators, Congressmen, ex-Cabinet Officers, former Foreign Ministers, and Governors mingled with the beardless and boyish workers of the Republican party. The organization of the convention indicated that it was no common assemblage. The Permanent Chairman was New York's senior Senator, William M. Evarts, distinguished alike for his public service in the Senate and for his standing at the bar. The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions was the Hon. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, who has earned honorable distinction at home as a Congressman and abroad as our Minister to Germany. Ex-Cabinet Officer, and now Senator, William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, headed the Committee on Rules. On the floor of the convention were a score of men of national celebrity who have won renown in peace and in war. The convention which assembles in Chicago in June next will have no more ability or character among its delegates than had that in New York last December.

The result of the convention met the most sanguine expectations of its promoters and friends. All the business which the official call announced as the object of the meeting was fully transacted; all the dangers which it warned against were happily averted. In other words, the following purposes of the convention, as declared in the call, were accomplished:

"The primary object of holding this convention is to consider the propriety of organizing in the various States of the Union a larger number of Republican clubs and to determine the best manner of conducting their work."

"Also to devise some system that will conduce to the efficient co-operation of those clubs in State and National politics, *and the formation of a National League*."

"*The convention shall not name, recommend, or nominate any candidate for office.*"

The real work of the convention was consummated upon the acceptance of a plan of organization of a National League, as presented by the committee appointed for that purpose. Substantially, the plan provides for a national organization of the State and territorial leagues of Republican clubs; it provides for an annual convention of delegates from clubs belonging to such

leagues; it provides for an executive committee composed of one member from each league, and prohibits the League or any club thereof from endeavoring in any manner "to influence the action of any national, State, county or municipal convention; nor shall it indicate, as a League, any preference before any political convention, nor shall it, as a League, recommend any person as an applicant for any official position." Briefly stated, that is the outline of the work of the convention; everything else was simply decorative.

The prospective usefulness of the new revival in politics will better be appreciated when it is known that the Democratic leaders propose to hold a similar convention in the near future.

The question now arises, what good comes of all this? Where are the practical results in politics? In order to answer this, let us clearly understand the structure of this organization. The unit of the National League is the State League; the unit of the State League is the single club. So it will at once be seen that the primary and sole purpose of the national organization is to marshal under one command the numerous clubs of the country. Its mission will chiefly be to issue from its headquarters documents, speeches, suggestions, plans, and outlines of work to the general officers of the State Leagues, which will by them in turn be communicated to the various individual clubs within their jurisdiction. It must be said that the National League will be in its most effective condition during a presidential canvass, the State campaigns having but little place in its operations. So, after all, the question is reduced to an inquiry concerning the worth of the individual clubs as a factor in party management. What of clubs in politics? Do they pay? Are they the best machinery for party purposes? After considerable experience in this matter I do not hesitate to pronounce a well regulated permanent club to be the most effective agency for party work known in politics. Governor Foraker says that in his last campaign in Ohio he found a practical proof of this, for wherever he found a permanent club he saw work and enthusiasm. To the Ohio Republican League he said: "It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of permanent club organization in political work. Such clubs are a continuing nucleus around which to rally the whole party. From year to year, as they make history for themselves, they not only become more and more efficient,

but they naturally beget a pride in their name and purpose which makes them more zealous and determined." In every club there are active, youthful, and enthusiastic forces which could not have been developed but by club association. This is one strong reason for a State League. The system that in one club proves effective is by association communicated to its neighbors, thereby adding strength to the strong and vigor to the weak. Clubs and leagues crystallize the best material in the party; it is thereby organized and utilized. The result is an intelligent leadership, which is half a battle.

In speaking of clubs, of course I refer to permanent organizations. Originally the introduction of clubs into American politics was simply for the purposes of publicly displaying party strength and arousing enthusiasm. Formerly they were confined to presidential campaigns, and first appeared in all their splendor in the famous campaign of 1840, the year of "coon-skins and hard cider," and

"Tippecanoe and Tyler too."

But they were only a temporary effervescence. They died with the canvass of Harrison. Later we find clubs of the same nature transforming the serious campaign of 1860 into a brilliant season of illuminated cavalcades. The "Wide Awakes" and the "Little Giants" rivaled each other in their torches and marches. But all this represented enthusiasm only, and their torches went out with the canvass. These temporary campaign clubs have existed almost entirely as a part of the presidential tournament. The political club of the present and future, under organization, means more than mere display. The consummation of the best generalship of politics has changed their course completely. They are directed toward work and education in the interests of party politics. They have become training schools for the young citizen. In Ohio, where the system has reached the highest stage, the large majority are incorporated; they have stockholders and a permanent club quarters open all the year round. They maintain the interest between campaigns by speeches from party leaders, lectures, and readings. The Ohio Republican League, composed of seventy-five such clubs, and so maintained, is the result of the club movement in politics. New Jersey and New York are similarly organized, and under the recent impetus of

the New York Convention, other States are falling rapidly into line. Permanency is the first requisite of an organization that will accomplish effective work in politics. The club to be successful, permanent, and of use to its party must not become a tool or an engine. This means destruction to the club and danger to its party. It means bossism. It means the introduction into every city of a Tammany and an Irving Hall faction. Whenever a political club fails to act in harmony with the regularly constituted party authorities, it ceases to be a club; it becomes a cabal. Whenever it seeks to control the party conventions, it becomes a machine. In either case it is a failure and a curse. The prime object of clubs is to elect candidates, not to nominate them.

The densely inhabited city is the best sphere of action for clubs. In fact, experience proves that cities are the only place where permanent organizations can be maintained. There is some compensation for this in the fact that there is no other place where honest party work is more needed. The club, which usually contains the conservative and better element of voters, is the most effective instrument of destroying the tyranny and rule of the ward striker and "boss." I see in the well directed maintainance of political clubs in the large cities a very powerful means for municipal reform. No organization properly managed can afford to lend its aid to the election and perpetuation in power of a dishonest ring; the very nature of the club forbids it. Cincinnati a few years ago was held down by a veritable band of political thugs. It finally secured a registration law. The clubs of that city took the matter in hand of securing an honest registration; as a result they obtained, what they did not have for a long time prior thereto, an honest vote, and had it fairly counted. I know that the average New Yorker will read all this with some incredulity. But it must be remembered that the best known New York clubs have been bands of party plunderers and not party purifiers. They have been machines. The club, as it is proposed in politics, bears neither relation nor resemblance to them.

Work, organized work, is what counts in a campaign. While torchlight processions and picturesque displays by clubs all have their effect, the real, substantial warfare must be at the polls. Hence there is nothing so important in an election as to get out the full party vote. There is no agency yet devised by the wit of the political manager that equals for this purpose the work of the

club in politics. The indefatigable industry of young enthusiasm—for the working force of all clubs is in the young men—on election day is worth a thousand speeches from great leaders on the night before the election. If there had been political clubs organized over New York in the last campaign, as there will be in the coming one, Blaine would have carried that State. A compact concentration of Republican clubs, inspired with that enthusiasm and loyalty which such organizations beget, would have secured a full vote on that dreary November day which proved to be a Waterloo for Republicanism. Not even the Burchard blunder, supplemented by the Delmonico *denouement* and the prohibition poll could have defeated us. There were enough votes accidentally remaining away, which organized work could have obtained, to have saved the day. Clubs always produce a full vote. The young men, whose struggles are always so earnest and true, take a pride in work on election day. There is an excitement about it that attracts. This is especially the case in the Republican party. Brave, honest, wide-awake, and loyal, young Republicans make the best political fighters in the world. Blaine, in 1884, expressed this happily, when to the Young Men's Blaine Club, of Cincinnati he said: "The giants of mythology typified the strength of young men, and to-day the strength of the Republican party is in the young men of the country, of whom it possesses a vast majority."

Another feature of club association which lends a practical charm to it, is the social gatherings and banquets which are now becoming so frequent. It is rapidly becoming fashionable in this country, as it has long been in England, for the social meetings of the political organizations to be the centres from which important utterances of party policy are made by our public men. These occasions afford the golden opportunity for political conferences and declarations. They have a healthy and intellectual influence; they bring together the wisdom and statesmanship of party.

I have not in this paper referred to the objections that may be urged against clubs. The reason is that when organized under the proposed methods and restraints of a National League, there can be no weighty objections against them. Of course no club can be better than its individual members; and that feature is not subject to discussion.

DANIEL J. RYAN.

A CHAPTER OF WABASH.

In the North American Review for July, 1869, appeared an article by Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr., entitled "A Chapter of Erie." The article was very vigorously written and its narrative abounded in exciting and dramatic details and personal incidents. Its author was then, in the best sense, a free-lance—a gentleman of fortune and leisure, with inherited independence and force of character, which he had cultivated and indulged on his own account. In that article Mr. Adams sharpened his sharp pen, characterized the transactions which he narrated, and pointed the moral of his tale.

The writer of the present article is a lawyer engaged in the daily practice of his profession, without fortune or leisure. Many of the men whose names appear in the following narrative are his personal acquaintances, and a few are his valued personal friends. For these reasons, and because he prefers to let his readers pass their own judgments, as well as because he feels sure the facts will speak for themselves with sufficient distinctness, the present writer will not indulge in any comments or criticisms of his own, but will limit himself to plain statements of fact. If, therefore, any one whose name appears here shall feel aggrieved, it will be the fault of the facts and not of the writer.

When compared with the "Chapter of Erie," the present article will present some notable contrasts. For example, Mr. Adams has now succeeded to the Presidency of the Union Pacific Railway Company, of which Mr. Jay Gould had control from 1874 to 1884, and his valiant pen and voice have gone silent. On the other hand, Mr. Gould remains the leading figure in this "Chapter of Wabash," as he was of Erie. In the present narrative, the reader will note the relative disappearance of the special forms of judicial usurpation and misconduct which lent such a

lurid aspect to Mr. Adams's story; and in their place will be noted one sweeping judicial act, followed by two or three suppletory acts which accomplished the designs of the actors with complete effectiveness. Much of the vaticination, too, in which Mr. Adams indulged, has now become fact. Mr. Adams dealt with the history of a single line of railroad running from New York City to Lake Erie, and covering, with its branches and dependencies, only 773 miles of road. This narrative has to do with a modern consolidated railway or "system," extending westward from Toledo to Chicago, Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Omaha, made up of vast and intricate networks of roads in the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa, and embracing in the height of its power and expansion nearly 5,000 miles of road. The Wabash thus becomes typical of the great changes in railway development which Mr. Adams predicted in 1869. Almost the only constant factor common to Erie and Wabash will be found to be Mr. Jay Gould. Whether his methods only have changed since 1869 will be seen as our story progresses. Other changes and contrasts, for better or worse, will also appear.

Like Erie, the history of the Wabash Railway has been a checkered one. Its original stem or root was a corporation chartered in 1853, under the laws of Ohio, which, under the name of the Toledo & Illinois Railroad Company, built a road 75 miles in length from Toledo, Ohio, to the State line of Indiana. This line, under other corporations, was extended within the next six years from the Indiana State line to Meredosia and Naples, Illinois, and thence to Clayton and Carthage, in the same State, and in the early part of 1865, the several corporations now referred to were consolidated under the name of the Toledo, Wabash & Western Railway Company, under the laws of the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, a process usually called the re-organization of 1877.

Thus, between 1853 and 1865, no less than ten corporations had existed, which at last constituted by successive consolidations the Toledo, Wabash & Western Railroad Company, owning 483 miles of railroad. These lines thus consolidated may be described as the trunk or backbone of the future Wabash system.

A new process or form of increment now began, the process of absorption—acquisition by purchase of new lines, alternating with foreclosures, consolidations, and re-organizations of old and

new lines. In this process, the Decatur & East St. Louis Railroad Company, chartered in 1867, with its acquisitions, was consolidated with the Toledo, Wabash & Western, which, in turn, in 1876, was succeeded by a new corporation, called the Wabash Railway Company, separately chartered in each of the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and the three corporations were then consolidated, in 1877, under the same name, and became possessed of all the property and rights of the Toledo, Wabash & Western Railway Company, and in 1877, 1878, and 1879 the Wabash Company acquired the property and control of three other railroad corporations.

The eighteen corporations, with their lines as now specified, covering 847 miles of railroad, made up what was called "The Wabash System East of the Mississippi River."

With the North Missouri Railroad Company, a Missouri corporation chartered in 1851, as the stem, between 1872 and 1879, by purchases, leases, and consolidations, twelve original corporations, with about 679 miles of railroad west of the Mississippi River, in the States of Missouri and Iowa, became merged into the St. Louis, Kansas City & Northern Railway Company, making what has been called "The Wabash System West of the Mississippi"; and in the latter year the Wabash Railway Company, owning the lines heretofore described east of the Mississippi, was consolidated under the laws of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, with the St. Louis, Kansas City & Northern Railway Company, under the name of the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railway, the name under which it has since existed. The two systems, now united into one, the product of the union of thirty separate original companies, owned or controlled at this time about 1,526 miles of railroad.

But the process of absorption did not stop here, and between 1879 and 1883 the railroad property of thirty-eight other corporations, including two bridge companies, lying in the States of Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan, was acquired by purchase, lease, consolidation, and re-organization. During this process the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railway Company and its predecessor and constituent companies had built branches and completed or extended its acquired lines, so that in June, 1880, it owned and controlled a total railroad mileage of 3,518 miles. After June, 1880, it acquired 1,296½ miles more, making

a total mileage in 1883 of 4,814½ miles, besides two bridges,—one over the Mississippi and one over the Missouri,—extensive independent terminal facilities in connection with other companies, and large rights of use of other lines connected with its own.

The foregoing may be called the *corporate* history of Wabash. The task of exhibiting, even in brief outline, the *financial* history of Wabash is a most difficult one, and it can be done only summarily within the limits of a single magazine article.

Recurring to the re-organization and consolidation of 1877, we find that prior to that date and contemporaneously with the re-organization, the various original companies and their successor consolidated companies had made sixteen separate mortgages, to secure bonds to the amount then outstanding of $38,179,475.50, which were variously described as "firsts," "seconds," "consolidated" or "consol," "gold," "equipment," "chattel," "funded debt," "graduated," and "graduated scrip certificates;" that between 1877 and 1879, when the Wabash system east of the Mississippi was completed in the first instance, the Wabash Railway had issued and assumed an additional amount of first mortgage and income bonds of $9,274,400; that between 1851 and 1879, when the St. Louis, Kansas City & Northern Railroad Company became consolidated with the Wabash Railway, the lines west of the Mississippi had issued $16,292,500 of bonds.

December 31st, 1877, the company reported its funded debt as $20,311,557.60; December 31st, 1879, as $35,267,250. The common stock of the company was then reported as $20,000,000, and the preferred stock as $20,000,000, a total of capital stock and funded debt of $75,267,250.

December 31st, 1881, the funded debt *and* capital stock were reported as $75,464,550; and December 31st, 1882, the funded debt *alone* was reported as $70,937,854.15; the common stock as $27,140,500, and the preferred stock as $23,034,200—a total of *capital stock and funded debt* of $121,112,554.15, an increase of funded debt and capital stock, in one year, of $45,648,004.15. December 31st, 1883, the funded debt was reported as $76,394,075, and December 31st, 1884, as $76,434,834, the capital stock remaining as reported for 1882, viz.: $50,174,700.

The great stages, or articulating points, in the progress of Wabash will be seen to have been the reorganization and consol-

idation of 1867, which resulted in the Toledo, Wabash & Western; the reorganization of 1877, which resulted in the Wabash Railway; and the consolidation of 1879, which resulted in the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific. Each of these events was the signal and occasion of the issue of general or "consolidated" mortgages, called, respectively, the "consolidated sinking fund" mortgage of 1867, for $15,000,000; the "general" mortgage of 1879, for $2,000,000; and the "general" mortgage of 1880, for $50,000,000. Besides this, in nearly every instance, the acquisition of new lines was signalized by new mortgages on single roads and by "divisional" mortgages, so called, on groups of lines, or roads forming a continuous line. Of the latter phase of railroad mortgage "development" the Wabash presents nine examples.

In 1883 there were on the Wabash lines thirty-one mortgages, not including "real estate notes" and "funded debt" obligations, amounting to over $3,000,000, most of the separate lines being covered by successive mortgages at least four deep and in some cases seven deep.

The "general" mortgage of 1880 deserves further notice. It bears date of June 1st, 1880, recites as its objects "the retiring of specific liens on sections made by corporations formerly owning such sections," "the discharge of indebtedness for equipment assumed by the company," "the extension of the railroad by additional lines," and "the completing, etc., of the road of the company," and provides for the issue for these purposes of $50,000,000 of forty-year six per cent. gold bonds. This mortgage covered all the lines and leasehold interests of the Wabash at its date. Of these bonds, there were issued and sold prior to January 1st, 1884, $17,000,000, but it does not appear that a single prior bond was retired or paid by means of this issue. About $11,500,000 of these bonds was "marketed" in Great Britain, at a price of from 95 to 80 per cent.

In May, 1883, came the mortgage known as the "collateral trust" mortgage, by which was mortgaged, for $10,000,000, a large number of bonds, stocks, and "other securities," the property of the Wabash. Under this mortgage were issued before January 1st, 1884, bonds to the amount of $5,671,000. This mortgage took the form of a tripartite contact between the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific, the Mercantile Trust Company of New York, and the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern Railway, the

Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railroad having been leased April 10th, 1883, to the last named company for 99 years.

December 21st, 1883, was executed the last of the Wabash mortgages, called the "Indemnity" mortgage of the Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific, to the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern, to secure all advances which might be made by the latter to the former company under the lease just referred to.

It appears that there were paid three "quarterly dividends" on the preferred stock of the Wabash, May 15th, 1881,—within less than a year after the issue of the general mortgage bonds,—and again August 15th, 1881, and November 15th, 1881, of 1¼ per cent. each,—amounting to $1,036,539: and under the influence of these manipulations the common stock was carried up from 29 in November, 1879, to 60 in June, 1881, while the preferred rose during the same period from 59 to 96¼.

The *personal* history of the Wabash will next be noticed.

During 1876 and part of 1877 the Wabash was in the hands of ex-Governor J. D. Cox, of Ohio, as Receiver. In 1878, James A. Roosevelt, of New York, was President, A. L. Hopkina being Vice-President, with Solon Humphreys, Cyrus W. Field, A. L. Hopkins, and Charles Ridgeley, of Illinois, among the directors. In 1879 Cyrus W. Field was President, Hopkins Vice-President and General Manager, Messrs. Sidney Dillon, Solon Humphreys, Cyrus W. Field, Jay Gould, and Russell Sage being five of the eleven directors. In 1880 Solon Humphreys, of New York, was President, and Hopkins Vice-President, with Humphreys, Gould, Dillon, Sage, Ridgeley, and James F. Joy, of Michigan, as directors. In 1881 Jay Gould was President, Hopkins First Vice-President, with Humphreys, Gould, Dillon, Sage, Ridgeley and Joy as directors. In 1882 Gould was President, Hopkins Vice-President, Gould, Sage, Dillon, Humphreys, Ridgeley, and Joy directors. In 1883 Gould was still President and Hopkins Second Vice-President, with Gould, Sage, Dillon, Humphreys, Ridgeley, and Joy as directors. During all these changes General Wager Swayne was the general solicitor and counsel of the Wabash down to 1883.

Reference has already been made to the fact of the lease of the Wabash to the St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern in 1883. The Iron Mountain was at this time, and before the lease of the Wabash, leased or owned by the Missouri Pacific. By the former lease, therefore, the Missouri Pacific became the real lessee of the

Wabash, a fact then carefully announced to the world as "giving practical control of the Wabash to the Missouri Pacific." * From 1880 to 1883, and even earlier, Jay Gould was the president and chief stockholder of the Missouri Pacific, and from 1880 to 1884 Sidney Dillon, Russell Sage, and Jay Gould were directors.

The Iron Mountain (St. Louis, Iron Mountain & Southern) is a railroad running south from St. Louis to Texarkana, Texas, with branches to various points, making up a total mileage of some 900 miles. From 1881 to 1885 Jay Gould, Russell Sage, and Sidney Dillon were directors of this company; and from 1882 to 1885 Jay Gould was its President; and from 1883 to 1885 A. L. Hopkins was its Second Vice-President. It will, therefore, be seen that in each of the three roads,—the Wabash, the Missouri Pacific, and the Iron Mountain,—Gould, Sage, and Dillon were directors; and that from 1881 Jay Gould was the President of each of the three roads. It is also a well authenticated and undisputed fact that Gould was during these years the largest single stockholder in each of these roads, and, with his associates, Dillon, Sage, and Humphreys, owned and controlled a majority of the stock of each.

The Wabash having been leased to the Iron Mountain, which in turn was leased to the Missouri Pacific, on May 21st, 1884, a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the directors of the Wabash was held in New York, at which were present, as appears from the minutes of the meeting, Messrs. Gould, Humphreys, Hopkins, Dillon, and Sage. At this meeting a notice was read from the Iron Mountain Company to the Wabash, stating that, under the lease of the latter to the former, the lines of the Wabash had been operated for a period of thirteen months, during which time the net earnings had been insufficient to pay the interest, rentals, taxes, and other fixed charges of the Wabash, and that the Iron Mountain Company had elected to advance the deficiency under its lease of the Wabash. (It should here be stated that under the lease of April 10th, 1883, of the Wabash lines to the Iron Mountain Company, it was provided that if the net earnings of the Wabash should not be sufficient to pay its interest and other fixed charges, the Iron Mountain Company might elect to advance the funds required for that purpose, and such advances

* Poor's Railroad Manual, 1883, 1884.

should become a preferred debt and lien upon the lines of the Wabash; but if the lessee should not elect to make such advances, the lessor might thereupon elect to terminate the lease.) The notice above referred to further stated that the deficit for 1883 exceeded $2,000,000, and that thus far in the year 1884 there had been no material improvement, and notified the Wabash Company that the Iron Mountain could not undertake to continue its advances, proposing that the holders of the junior bonds of the main lines of the Wabash should fund their coupons for such a period as would enable the business "to grow up to the expenses and interest charges." The Chairman, Mr. Gould, then stated that immediate action was necessary in consequence of this notice. Whereupon Mr. Sidney Dillon offered a preamble and resolution to the effect that notice, as heretofore specified, having been received from the Iron Mountain, it became necessary to ask the holders of some of the junior mortgages of the main lines of the Wabash, and of such leased and acquired lines as had not earned interest on their mortgages, to fund their coupons until such time as the earnings might permit resumption of payment; and it was further, "*Resolved*, That in view of this necessity, and for the protection of the property, steps be taken at once to secure the appointment of a receiver." "On motion of Mr. Gould, voted that a committee of two, consisting of Mr. A. L. Hopkins and Mr. J. F. Joy, be, and the same hereby are appointed to carry out the necessary details embraced in the foregoing resolution."

Thereupon, on the 28th day of May, 1884, six days after the meeting just referred to, General Wager Swayne arrived in St. Louis with a bill in equity, or complaint, on behalf of the Wabash Company, which was verified by A. L. Hopkins on the 22d day of May—the day following the meeting already referred to—and presented the same, with an application for the appointment of Solon Humphreys and Thomas E. Tutt, as Receivers, to Judge Samuel Treat, District Judge of the Eastern District of Missouri, a gentleman who had for some time been eligible, by reason of age and length of service, for retirement from the bench. It has also been credibly stated, without contradiction, that General Swayne carried to St. Louis, with the bill of complaint, the bond, already signed, as Receivers, of Humphreys and Tutt, the bond being signed in New York by John T. Terry, a partner of Humphreys, and by Russell Sage and Sidney Dillon, as sureties. For some reason,

Judge Treat, although readily assenting to the appointment of receivers upon the application of the Wabash Company, and also assenting to the selection of Humphreys and Tutt, directed General Swayne to submit the application to the Circuit Judge, David J. Brewer, who was appointed Judge in 1884, and who is a nephew of Mr. Cyrus W. Field. General Swayne accordingly visited Leavenworth, and obtained from Judge Brewer privately the order of appointment of Humphreys and Tutt as Receivers, dated May 29th, 1884, the order further providing for the immediate surrender of all the lines of the Wabash to the Receivers, and likewise directting the Receivers to pay all rentals, accrued or hereafter to accrue, upon all leased lines, and for the use of terminals and rentals upon rolling stock. Messrs. Humphreys and Tutt entered upon their receivership upon the 29th day of May, 1884.

It will be seen at this point that this receivership was ordered by Judge Brewer upon the application of the debtor company itself before a default had taken place, and without notice to any creditor, and that one of the Receivers had, in 1880, been the president of the company, and from 1879 to 1883 continuously a director. It is also an undoubted fact that Mr. Humphreys had been a large stockholder as well as an influential director during all these years. Mr. Tutt, who was the president of a bank in St. Louis, was at the time of his appointment a director of the Wabash, as well as a stockholder. Neither of these Receivers was, in any proper sense, a railroad man, and neither of them had had practical experience in the managemet of railroad properties. Thus this immense property, called the Wabash system, was instantly thrown into the hands of receivers upon an application made solely by the Wabash Company itself, before default, without the knowledge or notice of any one, except the immediate actors ; and one of those most largely responsible for the conduct of its affairs for the previous six years was appointed one of its Receivers, in association with another person, whose connection with the Wabash was only a little less intimate and responsible.

General Swayne has stated in testimony given before the Master at St. Louis, that he applied to the trustee of the general mortgage to take steps to secure the property, and that the trustee declined to do so because no default had then taken place. Thereupon he himself applied on behalf of the Wabash Company. He further stated that the selection of Receiver was previously approved by

the "trustees of the general mortgage, and by the trustees of more than half in amount of the underlying liens." The records of the Wabash case contain no other evidence of the knowledge or assent of any party interested except the Wabash Company acting through their counsel, and it is certain that the bondholders, who were the real parties in interest, knew nothing of the movement for receivers until their appointment was announced.

In the bill of complaint of the Wabash Company, upon which the appointment of receivers was made, it was stated that the Iron Mountain Company was then operating all the lines of the Wabash under the lease of April 10th, 1883; and the bill proceeds thereupon to make the following statement: "That the Wabash Company also issued within the last two years its promissory notes for very large sums of money, and in order to provide means for the meeting of its expenses, and the keeping of its road in successful operation and completing its lines as aforesaid, *induced a number of persons of high financial standing* to become indorsers of said notes, and by means of a credit given by such indorsements was enabled to negotiate said notes for value, and received the proceeds thereof, and that there will be due on said promissory notes at maturity about the sum of $2,200,000." The bill further stated that a floating debt had accumulated against the Wabash, "amounting in the aggregate to about the sum of $4,784,145.01." The bill further set forth that it was very important that receivers should be appointed "to protect the indorsers upon said promissory notes." The notes here referred to bore the indorsements of Jay Gould, Russell Sage, Sidney Dillon, and Solon Humphreys.

On May 30th, 1884, the day after the appointment of receivers, the Wabash Company filed its petition in the Circuit Court at St. Louis, setting forth that "certain promissory notes of the Wabash, amounting to about the sum of $2,300,000, are outstanding, and will fall due from time to time, and that said promissory notes are secured by hypothecation of a large number of collateral trust bonds of the Wabash, and further by the indorsements of sundry individuals of high credit and financial standing." It further sets forth that the Wabash had exhibited "to the attorneys for the defendants . . . . the names of the indorsers of the said promissory notes; but does not embody the names of said indorsers in this application, because of *the personal incon-*

venience and injury which might result to them from the publicity thereby given to their business affairs. Complainant, however, *for the sake of entire frankness,* does hereby disclose that Solon Humphreys, one of the Receivers appointed herein, is an indorser upon several of said promissory notes." And on May 31st, 1884, the court, Samuel Treat, J., entered the following order: "It is ordered that the Receivers herein shall protect, by their obligations as Receivers, the promissory notes of complainant corporation falling due May 31st, 1884, amounting in the aggregate to the sum of $223,333, which notes are secured by the individual indorsements and the collateral trust bonds referred to in the original bill of complaint, and in the petition filed herein May 30th, 1884," and also all similar notes thereafter maturing. Subsequently, by an order dated June 18th, 1884, upon application of the solicitors of the Central Trust Company of New York, the foregoing order was modified by adding thereto the following: "This order shall not be construed as establishing a priority of lien in favor of such Receivers' obligations, or of obligations of said railway company now outstanding, but such priorities shall be subject to the further direction of this court."

Thus it appears that the first action of the Receivers, as well as of the court, was the conversion of the notes of the Wabash, indorsed by Gould, Sage, Dillon, and Humphreys, into Receivers' obligations, the original notes being, of course, only ordinary unsecured debts of the company, and it is worthy of special notice here that the published plan of Wabash re-organization provides for $3,000,000 of *preferred* debenture bonds, to be used to cover the *liabilities of Gould, Dillon, Humphreys, and Sage, on account of the indorsed notes already referred to.*

It has already been stated that the Iron Mountain Company had informed the Wabash, May 19th, 1884, that the deficit in the operations of the Wabash under the lease for the year 1883 exceeded $2,000,000, and that under the lease the Iron Mountain had elected to make advances for that amount. As the Missouri Pacific was the lessee or owner of the Iron Mountain, the advances for this deficit were an obligation of the Missouri Pacific. Accordingly, June 6th, 1884, upon the application of Humphreys and Tutt, Receivers, the court at St. Louis made its order directing the receivers to issue certificates "to an amount not exceeding $2,000,000, for the purpose of paying wages, taxes, mechanics'

liens, and for supplies," these Receivers' certificates being made, in terms, a first lien on all the property of the Wabash Company.

On the 12th day of March, 1885, the Central Trust Company of New York, the trustee under the general mortgage of the Wabash, filed a bill at St. Louis for the foreclosure of that mortgage; and this bill was subsequently consolidated with the original bill of the Wabash Company asking for the appointment of receivers; and the foreclosure proceedings were continued until January, 1886, when a final decree of foreclosure and sale was entered. By the terms of this decree, the entire properties of the Wabash were ordered sold, subject to prior mortgages and to the Receivers' obligations, which latter the purchaser was decreed to pay as the court might thereafter order.

The sale took place on the 26th day of April, 1886, and the entire property of the Wabash was purchased by a committee consisting of James F. Joy, a director of the Wabash and President of the Detroit Terminal Company; Thomas H. Hubbard, attorney of the Central Trust Company, of New York, and the representative of the English holders of the general mortgage bonds; O. D. Ashley, Secretary of the Wabash Receivers; and Edgar F. Welles, of Hartford. This committee, in the summer of 1886, proposed to the holders of the bonds issued under mortgages prior to the general mortgage of 1880, that they should fund into 5 per cent. bonds of the new Wabash Company all their accrued interest and reduce the rate of interest for the future upon their bonds from 7 and 6 per cent. to a uniform rate of 5 per cent. This reduction being in the interest solely of the junior or later securities of the company, particularly the general mortgage and collateral trust bondholders, as well as the stockholders of the company, was naturally refused by many of the prior bondholders, upon whose bonds at that time interest for over two years was due and unpaid.

One of the most noteworthy performances of the Wabash junto now occurred. Gen. Wager Swayne, who had been and still was the solicitor of the Wabash, but who now appeared as counsel for the purchasing committee, repaired to St. Louis, and there obtained from Judges Brewer and Treat the two following orders, dated September 21st, 1886:

"*Ordered,* that from any surplus in their hands, arising from the operation of the property in their charge, over and above

necessary operating expenses, the Receivers herein are authorized, *as to them may seem meet*, to pay in whole or in part such interest coupons of bonds secured by mortgage superior in right to the mortgages foreclosed herein, *as they may be requested to pay by the purchasers at the sale* made under the decree herein, their successors or assigns,"

"*Ordered*, that in case the purchasers at the sale under the decrees herein, or their successors or assigns, shall become possessed, by purchase or otherwise, of any claims or demands against the property in charge of the Receivers in this cause, they shall be subrogated to the rights of the original holders of said claims or demands."

Subsequently, General Swayne, at the hearing before Judge Gresham, avowed his sole responsibility for these orders, virtually acquitting both court and clients of all complicity therein. These orders were characterized by one of the counsel for dissenting bondholders at the same hearing as "the highwayman's clutch on our throat, the robber's demand, 'your money or your life!'" and Judge Gresham felt constrained to say of them that "the boldness of this scheme to aid the purchasing committee, by denying equal rights to all bondholders secured by the same mortgages, is equaled only by its injustice." Seeing no prospect of payment, or of a proper provision for payment, according to the terms of their mortgages, the holders of some of the prior mortgage bonds, in October, 1886, applied to the Circuit Court for the Northern District of Illinois for the appointment of separate and new receivers for the Wabash lines lying east of the Mississippi. Upon this application a considerable amount of testimony was taken, upon which the final arguments were made before Judge Gresham in November, 1886. This testimony before Judge Gresham disclosed many noteworthy facts, among them these: that neither Humphreys nor Tutt had any personal qualifications for their positions as Receivers; that in point of fact neither of them during the receivership, from May, 1884, to November, 1886, had given attention to the practical management of the Wabash properties, one residing in New York City, and only occasionally seeing the property, and the other, with even less railroad experience, confessing on the witness stand that he had never once inspected the road, except as he had passed over it as any other passenger would have done. The evidence likewise showed

that Tutt, just before his appointment, and after he was aware of the purpose to appoint him, being the president of a bank in St. Louis, to which the Wabash owed a large sum of money, forced the company, by reason of its wish to secure his appointment, to pay the debt, and then accepted his appointment; that Humphreys, besides his interest as one of the indorsers of the company's notes for over two millions of dollars, was interested in the common and preferred stock of the company, as well as in the collateral trust bonds and in what is known as the Chicago terminals, and that in pursuit of this latter interest he, while Receiver, had resisted the claims of the bondholders to a mortgage lien on that property.

The evidence also showed that the mines and property of the Ellsworth Coal Company were adjacent to the Wabash Railway; that Gould, Humphreys, Dillon, Sage, Hopkins, and Ridgeley, all directors of the Wabash, were stockholders of this coal company; that Humphreys and Tutt, as Receivers, up to September 1st, 1886, paid to this company nearly $500,000 for coal, besides allowing rebates of freight on coal shipped by the coal company of over $80,000; that the regular tariff freight was $2 per ton, which was reduced to $1.30 for this company's coal, after which 30 cents per ton was allowed as rebate. The auditor of the Receivers also stated under oath that the Receivers had paid out $3,260,519.23 from the Receivers' earnings, on account of liabilities incurred prior to the receivership, and that $500,000 more was due and unpaid; that there had accrued of interest, during the receivership, $4,390,000, which was due and unpaid, and that there was $3,200,000 of unpaid Receivers' obligations, making a total indebtedness accrued, during thirty months of the receivership, of $7,590,000, to pay which the Receivers had then in hand about $290,000.

Upon this evidence, of which the foregoing is but a fragment, the Circuit Court at Chicago, in December, 1886, removed Humphreys and Tutt from their positions and appointed Thomas M. Cooley, of Michigan, as sole Receiver of all the Wabash lines lying in the Illinois circuit. The same order was at once made in the Ohio circuit, and thus all the Wabash lines east of the Mississippi passed out of the hands of Humphreys and Tutt. During October, 1887, Judge Brewer ordered the payment, to Humphreys and Tutt, for services as Receivers, of the sum of $140,000 *on account.*

Such is the history of the rise and fall of Wabash.

The story now told needs only brief epitomizing, thus: The Wabash system arose from the absorption and consolidation of sixty-eight separate original corporations; when thus consolidated the system owned and controlled in 1883 about 4,814 miles of railroad in the six States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa; its capital stock was increased between 1877 and 1883 from $40,000,000 to $50,174,700; its funded or mortgage debt was increased during the same period from $20,311,570.60 to $76,394,075; three quarterly "dividends" were paid on the entire preferred stock in 1881—the year after the issue of the general mortgage in 1880—amounting to $1,036,539; within two years and a half after these "dividends," the company made default on the interest of all its mortgage debt; in May, 1884, the entire property was, on the application of the debtor company alone, secretly placed in the hands of Humphreys and Tutt, two of its former directors and officers, men without any special qualifications for railroad management, and who had been part of the directorate which had brought the system to bankruptcy; immediately after the appointment of Humphreys and Tutt, the Circuit Court of the Eastern District of Missouri directed the issue of $2,300,000 of Receivers' obligations to "protect" the indorsements of Wabash notes by Gould, Dillon, Sage, and Humphreys; the same court, six days later, directed the further issue of $2,000,000 of Receivers' certificates—made a first lien on all the Wabash property—to pay so-called Wabash indebtedness, which, by the terms of its lease to the Iron Mountain, which had been, in turn, leased to the Missouri Pacific, was the indebtedness of the Missouri Pacific; as the result of two years and a half of this receivership, there was paid out of the Receivers' earnings, on account of liabilities incurred prior to the receivership, $3,260,519.23, leaving $500,000 still due; as the grand result of the receivership of Humphreys and Tutt, interest has accrued to the amount of $4,390,000, all due and unpaid, and of Receivers' obligations, $3,200,000, a total during two years and a half of $7,590,000, with $290,000 of cash in hand; the property being sold to a purchasing committee of which the chairman, Joy, was a former Wabash director, and another member, Ashley, was the Secretary of the Receivers, a demand was made of the prior mortgage bondholders to fund into new Wabash bonds their past due interest

and to reduce the interest on their bonds for the future from six and seven per cent. to five per cent.; upon application of prior mortgage bondholders, the United States Circuit Court at Chicago removed Humphreys and Tutt for misconduct as Receivers, and appointed a new and separate Receiver for the Wabash lines east of the Mississippi River.

In closing his "Chapter of Erie," Mr. Adams indulged in this observation: "History never quite repeats itself, and the old familiar enemies may even now confront us, though arrayed in such a modern garb that no suspicion is excited. Americans are apt pupils, and among them there are probably some who have not observed Fisk and Vanderbilt and Hoffman without a thought of bettering their instructions. . . It is not pleasant to take such views of the future; yet they are irresistibly suggested by the events which have been narrated. They seem to be in the nature of direct inferences."

Whether all this would apply with equal or greater force, if the names of Gould and Humphreys and Brewer were substituted for the Erie trio, the present writer leaves to his readers to say, as well as what other views may be "irresistibly suggested by the events which have been narrated."

The "withering satire" of Juvenal gave this warning nearly 1,900 years ago:

> "Dedit hanc contagio labem,
> *Et dabit in plures;* sicut grex totus in agris
> Unius scabie cadit et porrigine porci,
> Uvaque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva;
> *Foedius hoc aliquid quandoque audebis amictu;*
> *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*"*

*Sat. II., 714.

SUNDAY IN CHEROKEE LAND.

It is not from fear of hostile bullets, but of stray bullets and drunken bullets, that the United States army is expected to form itself into a hollow square, inclosed in which, minors, paupers, women, and idiots go blithely to church. A very lively, straggling, and unmilitary hollow square it is--the fair female minors and the blue-coated young idiots developing a constant tendency to stray off by themselves. A by-path, if anything can be a by-path when there is no other, leads across green sward, through wood and ravine, and pits that are now but dust-bins, but in wet weather are pools of mud, past a low, dark, closed, and silent cabin standing sombre on the edge of the wood. My nearest comrade, an officer's wife, stays me a moment before its low-browed gloom: "A little while ago, only a few weeks, one Saturday afternoon, a negro boy came to my house and seemed very earnest that I should employ him I had then no need of another servant, but he was so eager to come that I told him he might come to me on Monday. He was still not quite satisfied, but wished to come that day, and I presently consented. In fifteen minutes I heard a shot and he was killed. They said the bullet whistled past the baby carriage, in which the baby was riding, but I think not. The poor boy (he was but eighteen and not very bright) had incurred the displeasure of his employer by resisting the latter's attempt to cheat him out of his wages. When he came to me he was flying for his life, but I did not know it. Had I known, of course, I should not have hesitated. He came here and they followed him. He was standing on a chair when they reached him. They prodded him with their guns, trying to make him go out. For a time he refused, thinking, probably, they would not venture to kill him openly in the house; but they kept at him, and presently he darted down and made a rush across this path for the woods yonder, with the bare possibility of escape. They shot him dead before the woods could shelter him."

Poor hunted human creature! How frowning, haunted, hopeless looks the black wood! From the Strong Fort, planted on the green plateau, the most inspiring view has been this wild, encircling forest, where the old and the new are yet struggling for the mastery. Seeming unbroken forest and unvexed river, I yet know where the patient Jesuit fathers have planted the seed for future empire, and await now its germination. Yonder is the white gleam of the Methodist church, and on the horizon I can see the outline of the orphan asylum. And so, though the dark, fierce blood is not yet tamed, I knew that the fishers and hunters of men were abroad on the river and in the wood with weapons of Christian warfare, and the light above that beautiful wilderness was light from Heaven.

But now, whenever I look down upon its bewildering beauty, it changes into the gloomy refuge of murder. Assassins are lurking in those green aisles. In every mossy hummock and bright flower, under every green tree, and staining the blue, stainless water, I see the red trail of blood. The one mark of improvement is that the murderers do lurk. Murder has ceased to be an occupation, an honor, and is become a crime. My Cherokee brave admits that too many sympathize with crime to make justice easy. "If the white man is mean to them they *will* shoot him," says my lady squaw, and the half laugh accompanying the words is not so cold-blooded as it might seem. "They hide, and their friends feed them and help them escape the officers. Two of them came here one night. I saw them leaning against the gate, talking to my boy. He came in sorrowfully. 'It does seem hard, Ma,' he said, 'that I can't invite them into the house and give them a supper—boys that went to school with me, and sat on the same bench!'

"'No, my son. Our hospitality is unbounded, but you did right. This house was never made to harbor murderers.'"

The church building stands on the brow of a hill opposite the fort, with a well-wooded valley between. White paint, green blinds, ample windows, long settees, and a plain and decent interior make a seemly New England showing.

It is Easter Sunday and communion Sunday. The communion service is simply and decorously set forth, and a cross of wild flowers pays tribute to the day. A reed organ stands near the pulpit. We enter first, but the congregation rapidly and gently

enough fill and almost crowd the room—a swart crowd. Many of the women are in calico sun-bonnets and gowns; the men in whole and homely garb, with no unnecessary display of *lingerie*. Mothers have taken the entire family, even to the baby in arms, whose voice occasionally utters a sharp protest; but generally the small Indian does credit to his traditional character.

One and another of the women, before the service begins, come up to us with friendly inquiry, showing not only intelligence, but sympathy.

The organ leads the congregation through the familiar hymn:

"One sweetly solemn thought
Comes to me o'er and o'er,
I am nearer my Father's House
Than I have ever been before."

The notes rise full, strong, not soft or musical to my ear, but infinitely pathetic. Partly, perhaps, it is the mood of my own mind. For on that day, one most dear, who had been held in thrall and under threat, had broken the invisible but dreadful bonds, and breathed the long, full breath of life. We thank God blindly, for we know not what, when we thank Him for life, yet the deep love of life is of His planting, and the faces of friends are sweeter than life.

"I am nearer my Father's house
Than I have ever been before."

Sufficient to that day without day its joys; but here the supreme pleasure is to have friends within call, at least, until the years shall gently loosen all ties and earth fall softly from the soul as petals from the rose, which is surely the Divine way. Thus, O God! Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done!

So to my grateful ear the hard, heavy voices rise with a melody of Heaven, if not of earth. Stalwart and swarthy, with firm hold scarcely loosened on bow and gun, still they are in a house of worship, orderly, tranquil, led or listening under the influence of that sweetly solemn thought. With however stronger a flavor of the soil, these earth-born men are children of one Father, blindly seeking him—not less truly because blindly. Looking intent upon these Sphinx faces, I think of those to whom it was given to be the earliest repository of our Word of God—wherein differed they from these? How much more did the old Jews know of the

arts of life, of civilization and refinement, the amenities of home, the decencies of worship, the sacredness of liberty, the service of woman, the intellectual and spiritual life than these men know? Did they know as much? Must not one go far, far lower down the valley than this before he meets the source whence those springs of healing flow? And as I sit in a dream the song ceases, and I am almost startled to hear the minister announce for his reading a strain addressed to the old Hebrews. It is like a voice out of the past answering my thought.

The words have for me at least a new meaning. And then he announces as his text that most radical of pronunciamentos, which at one breath swept away an outworn ecclesiasticism, and announced the entrance of the world for evermore upon a spiritual career—a pronunciamento which as yet is only partially understood, but under which alone the battles of the church are won: *There ariseth another priest who is made, not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life.*

Understandest thou what thou readest? No more than the synagogues of Judea or the pulpits of New England. But the words are there—words of the unseen Universe—and some fragrance of their celestial origin floats into the atmosphere of our souls.

Leaving the rhetorical present and looking upon the cold historical past, I am obliged to admit that the minister preached not over well. He was a "visiting clergyman," a white man, and in "store clothes;" but it was pretty poor preaching. It would have been poor at home, where we have everything to make up for poor preaching and may mind it less. For this remote wilderness, where it constitutes so large a part of what goes to mental improvement, it was still more poor. It was stiff, wooden, as if measured off from a theological hornbook, instead of being flexible to these waiting souls. It was uttered in artificial monotones, drawl and hurry of utterance, rise and fall of undulation regularly recurring, and a steady, meaningless, wearisome tramping back and forth across the platform. Yet through all the imperfection of oratory, and the limitations of the earthly medium, through the very poverty of words and argument, ever and anon came flashing *the power of an endless life.* These men, the pitiful pipe and gun and whiskey laid aside, were held for that one hour to personal responsibility and accountability to a Supreme

unseen Power, to a Tribunal of infinite Justice and perfect righteousness, to an insight which no sin can escape, and an omniscience which no cunning can evade. And as the minister, with rude but real dramatic skill, pictured the contrasted farewell to their dying child of the Christian mother and the unbelieving father, the latter bowing again and again in despairing embrace, "Farewell, farewell my child, farewell forever!" the former with equal grief, but all shining with hope, "Farewell, farewell my child, but *not* forever!" the breathless awed silence of that dark-thronged room told that those hidden hearts were touched, the common humanity responded. We were in our Father's house. However faultily preached, however imperfectly understood, nevertheless these Indians had heard the one Gospel which must save the world—the power of an endless life.

It may be as my soldiers said, that they went straight back to pipe and gun and whiskey cup, but they cannot wholly escape that one hour of silent attention, in which they were brought face to face with the power of an endless life.

The Cherokees were once slave holders, and there is still among them a considerable negro-Cherokee element. After leaving the Cherokee—and white—church, where the half-breed blood seems largely to predominate, we went to the colored church. As we approached the turbulence and noise were so great that it seemed as if mobocracy and mischief must be brewing. But even a coward can face the foe when the United States army floats the flag over his head, and thus a coward dared the hullaballoo and went in. The room was boarded and bare, like a barn, the darkness made weird and palpable by a few candles. At first nothing could be seen but endlessly revolving and commingling circles of half-outlined dusky figures; a dark, restless, moving mass of noise and confusion. In an instant two or three shadows materialized, darting out of the mass to set chairs for all our party, a Christian courtesy which shamed me out of my momentary apprehension; a bit of spiritual order which relieved the whole scene from apparent chaos. Presently one could discover that a large number, chiefly women, were standing in front of the settees which served for pews, while others, chiefly men, were seen pacing in tumbled procession up and down the aisles, all singing at the top of their voices, some one thing and some another, but managing to mass in together on a refrain, and accentuating time with heavy

foot beat. But all the emotional brogans could not overpower a certain thrill of music, and the difference between these soft, swelling, vibrant voices and the hard, inflexible Indian notes we had just heard, was most marked. Why the singing should ever have ceased it is difficult to determine, for the song had no logical beginning or end. Still it did cease and an old man knelt in prayer—a real prayer it seemed—not a perfunctory service.

"O Lord!" he implored in tones not only, but with an affluence of diction born, it would seem, of a profound sense of need, "O Lord! double up our resolution wid a threefold double!" And in the darkness of the room and the deeper moral darkness enshrouding us, I seemed myself to get a needed glint of heavenly assurance in his confident outlook to the endless life: "A few mo' ups and downs and we shall clap glad hands on de sunny banks ob deliverance."

The preaching here, also, was bad enough—very bad; vulgar, eliciting many a laugh apparently from the very sinners at whom it was directed; exciting distrust even regarding the character of the preacher; and yet, thinking it over, what he preached was, however vulgarly, righteousness.

"Now heah, yoh ought to be the humblest people under the sun—jess a little while ago slaves, jess a few years ago slaves, and now yoh's a-walkin' aroun' tryin' to see how big yoh can be, jess tryin' to be like white folks. Yoh ought to behave yerself, not be 'roun drink'n and swear'n! Yoh ought to come to meetin' and try to please your wife. Don't yoh want to please your wife, hey? 'Pears to me yoh don't speak up ver' lively. P'raps it's because I say 'wife'; maybe it ought to be '*wives.*' Maybe yoh got more'n one wife. I've got one wife. Brought her here with me to-night out open. One wife's enough for me. One's more'n *I* can support. 'N yoh ought to be ashamed o' yohselves, 'n turn 'roun and do de right ting.

"Now, what do yoh s'pose I'm heah foh? Do I want to *foce* yeh into de Kingdom? Do yoh s'pose dat what de Lawd want—to *foce* yeh into de Kingdom? No. He want yeh to do jess what yoh like. He set before yoh good and evil. Take jess what yoh like. Some ob yoh have company, and yoh set de table jess like white folks. Yoh put on nice tings, pies and cake an' all sorts o' nice tings, and yoh put on one corner ob de table de cawn cake, an yoh say to your company, 'now help yohsef.' Yoh can take

de pie an' cake and de nice tings, or yoh can take de cawn cake. Yoh dont *foce* nobody to take noting. Jess so de Lawd. I tell yoh what he sarve ye, an' yoh take it or not, jess yoh like.

"S'pos'n yoh don't! What den? What de Bible say come after it? Well, some folks, dey done call it *de place ob darkness.*

"And some dey call it 'de *onknown.*'

"And some dey call it," with a pause before the word and an indescribably contemptuous prolongation of the *a*, which embraced not only the New Departure folks, but the whole troop of revised versionists and old professors in its intense, one-syllabled disgust. "And some dey call it—'Haid!'

"But David," and here his voice rose into a roar of triumphant accord with the unimpeachable orthodoxy of the Psalmist, "But David he call it—HELL!"

Professor Smyth need expect no recruits from that quarter, but no more need Professor Phelps. "Haid" is not good Ethiopian-Cherokee.

And yet the truth was preached. This old ex-slave touched sin with a coarse hand, but it was sin that he touched. And it was not a dead sin, a remote, generic, intangible sinfulness, but a crime against law, a sin against society, which his reference revealed as too common among the Indians—a relic of barbarism, a relic of the beast. He touched it coarsely, as he needs must, but not compromisingly—with unmistakable condemnation. The words and manner of the man were those of a buffoon, and he clamored openly for money. But what he preached was humility, temperance, the domestic virtues and graces, purity of word and life—that is good morality. As for his theology, I have heard worse enforced with all the gifts of oratory and learning. Free will, the reasonableness of religion, the inherent claim of righteousness, an unknown but terrible penalty of sin, the test of a spiritual standard, responsibility to a righteous being who cannot be cajoled—the power of an endless life—surely this, so far as it goes, is sound theology. And it goes a long, long way.

So when the box came up I changed my customary Northern quarter to a half, and dropped it in with a good conscience, wishing it might further a better service, yet feeling that even such service was better than the heathenism which it had supplanted. Box by courtesy. The local attendants marched up the centre

aisle and deposited their tribute in person; but even the United States army had not nerve enough for that, so a small black boy was pressed into service, and passed around his cap to our group—rather stumblingly, as one not used to the work, and not quite sure of his ground.

"Do you want the change?" he whispered, with what seemed almost an echoing, certainly an embarrassing loudness, halting before my piece of silver as it lay in the depths of his headgear, and quite breaking in upon my meditations over the sermon and the surroundings. No, little black brother, honest apostle, I do not want the change, and I sit rebuked before your modesty and scrupulousness with my shallow reflections on your heathendom. For what simplicity of integrity and consideration is this? How large would a contribution have to be in a New England church before the contributor would be given the benefit of a doubt?

Yet, I think, perhaps the unwonted visitors have lent an unexpected vitality to the contribution box, for when the notices are given out there is evidently a new lease of life to the meetings. "Be a meetin' to-morrow night. Some of ye's expected this would be the last. P'raps to-morrow night will be, but can't tell. Have one to-morrow night, shoah! Can't stop the train when she's goin' full speed down grade!"

Yet I do not like to think that the water of life is carried to these shriveled and panting souls only in such very coarse and, I fear, unclean, earthen vessels. If missionary work is merely a matter of taste, there is nothing to be said. Perhaps, in any case, there is nothing to be said. A human life is a human life, and one may surely choose whether he shall further it and minister to its spiritual growth in the old world or the new, at home or in the wilds of the sea or of the land. But is not our first duty always to the nearest of kin? Has a man even the right to clothe his neighbor across the way while the children of his own blood are frozen?

The Indians whom we have displaced, the negroes whom we have enslaved—both our neighbors, our house mates, indeed, our brethren living under one national roof with ourselves—do we not owe them first duty over Chinese, or Hindoo, or Micronesian? Christianity speaks to them through the United States army; they recognize its equity as well as its might. The effect is the effect

of law upon lawlessness—tranquillizing, humanizing. Cannot the army of the churches be brought to bear upon them with equal force, with deeper, more radical influence? If it is they that are sick who need a physician, the need is here; while beyond and above the individual need is the country's need. What has been subdued by force must be penetrated with intelligence and virtue. There is no life worth living for man or nation but the life of reason, which is righteousness.

GAIL HAMILTON.

VICISSITUDES OF THE DRAMA.

AFTER a period of learned indifference and ignorant abuse, and owing to causes flattering alike to the honesty and impartiality of modern opinion, and honorable to the actors themselves, a new kind of attention is being directed towards the theatre. The night of Puritanism is giving way before a dawn of enlightened freedom, and in this awakening the Drama is not a sluggard. The old pleas for the "defense" of the stage are well nigh abandoned. An earnest and loving inquiry is being made by scholars and sincere moralists to learn whether it is not possible to make the Drama an art in harmony with the other forces for man's improvement which illustrate our century's progress.

That the Drama is an evidence of civilization is no longer questioned. In all times, whenever men have gone into communities, putting on the garb of peace and uniting in families and homes, the theatre has formed a part of the public plan, evidencing the romance, the heroism, the poetry, the conquests, or the decline of those communities. Schlegel declares that a high and flourishing theatre testifies to the culture of the nation which fosters it. A slight examination of Greek and Roman history will prove the truth of this. In the palmy days of the Athenian, when his city was the arbiter of taste, the home of painting, sculpture, poetry, and history, the dramatist and the actor were united in the most perfect sense with the masters of these sister arts for the adornment of Athenian culture. In the decline of the Roman Empire, the early church, in endeavoring to expurgate all Pagan literature, outlawed the theatre. The Drama shared in the general debasement of morals during the reigns of the emperors. In the Middle or Dark Ages no public theatres existed. The old Pagan and Greek dramatic literature had fallen into alien hands in the East, and into the close clutches of the church in the West. All cultivation and learning were held by

the hierarchy, and within this exclusive circle the Drama was preserved in the house of its enemies, until the revival of learning and the enlargement of man's freedom in the Renaissance. Then, as if refreshed by a long sleep, the Drama sprang into new life and being, and under the enlightened patronage of the Medici divided with Angelo and Raphael the attention of the learned. The barbarous Turk, casting out the descendants of Pericles and Plato from the houses of their fathers, banished also the remnants of a literature which had, in part, survived the long night of superstition, barbarous wars, and alien beliefs. In the flood of glory thus deluging the Italian republics, the fragments of the Grecian drama came to bear their testimony to the civilization of their era, and to share the glory of the greatest sculptors and painters of antiquity. As orator and actor the name of Æschines emerged to claim a part in the new allotment of honors, side by side with the philosophers, historians, and dramatists of his native land.

From this point onward to the days of the early English drama, the ascent is gradual, but certain. The debt which Shakespeare and his brother dramatists owed to the Italian renaissance of the Drama can be found in the plots of nearly all the great tragedians, and the vivid southern coloring of much of the dialogue of the Elizabethan writings. Historians assume that the glory of the Elizabethan period eclipsed all that preceded it. The Wars of the Roses and the struggles which involved the whole nation in the ways of strife were succeeded by an era of peace and good will through the marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth. During the succeeding reign of Henry VIII., through the liberality of the learning-loving Wolsey, under a régime of material prosperity and freedom from war, the way was cleared for the advent of those literary giants, who sang the glories of their native land in an improved language, and imaged the progress of England's prosperity in celebration of the deeds which had placed her upon her proud eminence. In all the paths of learning and of thought a revival had taken place. While Shakespeare carried on the traditions of the Drama beyond the wildest dreams of the early Greek writers, Bacon was giving to mankind a scheme of philosophy as perfect as that of which Plato only dreamed. Again was seen the intimate union between the great co-workers in art and literature

which had subsisted in the best days of Athens. Shakespeare, the worthy successor to the inheritance of both Æschylus and Æschines, communed with Raleigh, Essex, Bacon, Burleigh, and his Queen, as the Greek had done with Pericles and Phidias. What Marlowe had outlined as the possibilities of our language in versification the genius of Shakespeare perfected and made enduring. Upon the boards of an insignificant inn yard the English dramatist offered with simple adjuncts the fruits of his imagination. A race of actors was soon created worthy to represent and embody the glorious conceptions, and Richard Burbage, the original of so many of Shakespeare's great characters, the companion, partner, and friend of the greatest of living or dead writers, was worthy to sit by the side and share in the triumphs of his most illustrious master. Uninterrupted by sinister events, and suffered to flow on unchecked, it is impossible to predict the result of that movement which had made of all language poetry, and of all people critics. But the dark cloud of Puritanism which had hovered over the last days of Elizabeth's reign, ominously full of baleful promise, burst at last, and overwhelmed at once literature, art, and science. As the early church had at her advent outlawed the theatre, so the victorious Puritan trampled and destroyed the work but lately so prosperous. There was this difference, however, in the two events. In the case of the Roman, a love of learning and a reverence for the past had treasured in selfish secrecy the possessions of the outlawed, so that when the dawn came they were easily reclaimed. In the other total annihilation was the plan. The despised actor, who had mimicked the false face of the hypocrite and held him up to scorn in the theatre, was denied even the rights of citizenship. Before the great works of the Elizabethan dramatists had been secured to posterity in perfected editions, the hand of the iconoclast had thrown down the press and scattered the leaves into the air. Under the sway of the Puritans, the scholar and the artist found no place. Passion and imagination took on the form of fanaticism in religion and austerity in literature.

Blind Milton, whose soul dwelt in the divine companionship, knew too little of man's needs and pleasures to have championed the fallen stage. He only comes to us out of that time to prove that the love of learning had not expired. No poet, save sad Cowley,

the least inspired of singers, found utterance in that night of worse than Cimmerian darkness. One sign, and one only, and that least in keeping with the tyranny of Puritanism over the realms of thought, emerged like a bow of promise to the suffering arts. Liberty of the press, freedom of utterance, began to make way despite even the suspicious guard of the watchful Puritan. Thus the element which has always aided the utterance of the philosopher, guided the instinct of the patriot, and winged the thought of the poet—perfect freedom—was born in the last death agonies of the commonwealth. With the dishonored bones of the dead Protector were scattered all the Dead Sea fruits of his reign. Hypocrisy laid aside her tiresome mask and joined in the general license which came in with the restoration. The Drama and her traditions had been deserted for well nigh thirty years, the calling had been pursued under a ban, secretly and furtively, an act of Parliament made the actor a vagrant, and when the day of restoration came, the stage bore its part in the general jubilee. An era of such wild and unparalleled infamy succeeded as would have made Tiberius blush. A shameless court, a debauched nobility, a contemptible theatre, shared the infamy of public approbation. Much of the literature of Charles is absolutely too loathsome for examination. Unrestrained by any check from the past, uninstructed by any of the old traditions, a new stage and a new drama were created from which the esteem of all good men was withdrawn as from a leprous thing. This is what Puritan watchfulness and tyranny in morals had bequeathed to the last days of the seventeenth century.

With the downfall of the House of Stuart, and the decorous reign of William, the stage speedily showed signs of a healthy revival. Again, as in former times, she united with the writers, the scholars, and the men of taste in Anne's glorious reign in upholding what was noble and pure. The comparison between the theatre of Charles and that of the closing year of Anne will be found highly creditable to the dramatist and the actor. Still suffering under the stigma which the Puritan had affixed to his calling, the actor did not despair of the future. The life of Betterton is worthy to be compared with that of any gentleman of his age, while his genius shed undying lustre on his calling. With the coming of Garrick and the direction which his genius gave to the stage a new era begins.

A great actor, a great scholar, a skillful manager, a poet of no mean ability, he brought back to the theatre the works of the earlier dramatists. He created a school of acting of which our modern style is only the amplification. As a critic he edited many works which would have otherwise been rejected. As a poet and dramatist he wrote many of our best comedies and plays, while as a gentleman he carried into the drawing-room of princes the bearing which won not only respect for himself, but honor for his calling. In less than a century from the day of Cromwell's accession to the advent of Garrick, a seeming total annihilation of the Drama has been succeeded by as baleful a revival, and at last by a triumphant purification. The stage had in turn reflected the license of the restoration, the decorum of the court of Anne, and the splendor of the age of Johnson.

The liberal form which thought has been gradually assuming during the past two centuries has cleared the path to a better feeling for the theatre as an institution, arising out of man's necessity for entertainment. Much of the crudity which belongs to the representations in the time of Garrick had been softened and refined under the sway of the Kembles, while it remained for William Macready to lead the stage up to the high plane of excellence at which we now find it. From the many vicissitudes to which the theatre has been subjected, it will be seen that without organization within her ranks, without cohesive brotherhood in one allotted path, she has emerged on all occasions, not only uninjured, but absolutely fresher and stronger than before. Her many trials may not have entirely purified her, but they seem not to have impaired her vigor. Undaunted by the attacks of the Puritans, undismayed by the ostracism to which bigotry and ignorance have often condemned her children, she displayed at all times a vitality and a persistency which only grew stronger by repression. In all other branches of art and literature a guild feeling had inspired the timid in their dark hour with hope for the future. The Drama had boasted no such bond of union between its fellows. Within the theatre the actors had only such a community of interest as might be broken by selfishness or dissolved by caprice; without, their fellowship bore only the impress of mutual inclination. Under no condition of prosperity or adversity had the actors of England, up to the era of Macready, debated any plan by which their art could be benefited by union, their own places assured by

a permanent organization. With high hope always for their beloved art, with trusting confidence that such a future would come to her, they yet saw no way by which they could advance the work. The theatre, as an organized body, had never looked abroad for help. It had depended upon general patronage for its support. The liberality of Northumberland might relieve the embarrassments of John Kemble as a personal act of favor to his friend, but the general welfare of the arts, the grouping together of the diversified interests of the stage, were not thought of. In spite of this want of union, the English theatre has shown some of the best elements of the sturdy Saxon character. While each age has been conspicuous for the individual prominence of some great actor, the general excellence which would result from an organized and acknowledged school has been in some measure sacrificed. In France, where the theatre has been for a long period the especial care of the whole nation, an *esprit de corps* has grown up, elevating the standard of acting and of criticism under this rule. The genius of Le Kain, of Talma, of Mars, and of Rachel is not so far exalted above the general plane as to be phenomenal. The ground is so fruitful of average harvests that expectancy eclipses wonder. Under the fostering care of the nation which subsidizes and sustains the Drama as a living illustration of the manners of the time, the actors, great and small, pay to their art mother an affectionate and constant devotion, sacrificing at all times personal interest and personal pride to the welfare of the whole.

The Theatre Français, the grown-up child of Molière, dating back to the days of the Grand Monarque, represents approved and worthy aristocracy. The actors are the elected chiefs in one of the greatest of the arts, their fitness their only claim to their station, their presence there an assurance of merit. In England no such plan is possible, none such will ever exist. Subvention dates from the days of patriarchal government, when the ruler was not only lord of the bodies, but of the taste and habits of his people. Under the more democratic form of England's laws all the arts are nourished only by the inclinations of the people unswayed by royal prejudice, unguided by regulated forms. A system by which the best fruits of the French conservatory might be gained, unsupported by government, is within the possibilities of the English drama, and to some such plan the actors of to-day

are looking hopefully, and even seeking the way by which to accomplish their purpose.

While we shall watch with interest this movement abroad, we may be sure that we have no cause to be idle here. In our own land the glories of the English stage have been reflected with undiminished lustre. The seeds which were blown by the breath of the Puritan from the green fields of England were wafted to our shores to germinate in a congenial soil. Against the stage in the early days of our national life, the old prejudices were arrayed as strongly as ever; the jealous Puritan had not forgotten the narrow school within which he had been nurtured and he frowned upon the theatre as darkly as ever his ancestors had done. But with the general awakening of liberal thought the Drama became emancipated from the bondage it had suffered, and after a career of hardly a century the stage of America ranks with its older and more experienced sisters in the old world. Sprung from the same sources, we have inherited the same methods, we live under the same laws as the English theatres have followed, but conservatism no longer cramps our energies or limits our endeavors. We have led the van of improvement in our model theatres. We have drawn alike from the English and Continental literature in our plays. We have created an American style of acting. But with our rapid growth, with the great demand for material which has sprung out of our increasing population, the necessity for organization has become more and more pressing. While the *personnel* of the theatre threatens to decline in character under the strain of demand and the absence of organization, with the enormous resources at the disposal of the American drama, it will be strange if some plan cannot be formed which shall not only succeed in meeting the increasing demand for actors, but will also raise the standard of merit. All the signs of the times point towards a higher office for the theatre, and a large usefulness.

Divines and scholars hopefully regard the future of the theatre as a grand helpmate in the education and culture of the nation. A willing hand will be given to any scheme which promises to give us an improved theatre, to elevate the standard of the art. The munificent support given by the people of England to Henry Irving, the loving estimation in which our own Edwin Booth is held by our own people, the sympathy which the public seems eager to extend to any of those who carry their ermine un-

stained, are indications of the popular feeling. It is the duty of the actor to meet this feeling at least half way, to give his hearty aid in any movement which looks to the improvement of the theatre, and by his own life to echo the good thoughts which are born of hope in the general heart. Many schemes suggest themselves, but the length of this article prevents their mention here. The simplest plan will be the best, the plan which leavens our ranks from below. We must, by a caution in the admission of unfit or unworthy members to the novitiate, create an *esprit de corps* which will be jealous of the purity of the whole order and cause each actor, high or low, to share the artist feeling. We can thus lay a foundation deep and broad, by which we shall not only preserve what is good of our traditions, but render it impossible for future evil to creep in. All true lovers of art will aid us, a liberal public will gladly sustain us, and we shall have shown the lovers of the theatre that we are not indifferent or careless where the interests of the Drama are concerned.

LAWRENCE BARRETT.

THE POLITICAL EFFECT OF THE MESSAGE.

To the close observer of events there has been in the phenomenal public career of Grover Cleveland nothing more marked than his swift development into a politician of the highest order. In the progress of every great reform it is probably inevitable that there should be much cant. The enthusiasm of zealots has, as doubtless no other force could, wrought a very great and a very needed change in the administration of our public affairs, but it has tended at points to destroy what it essayed to build up. In making the term politician odious, it has crippled the hand of the man of affairs, who alone can work out the results of theory.

Eight years ago President Cleveland was a not particularly conspicuous lawyer of Buffalo, with probably little political ambition, and certainly no apparent prospect of a political future. He was a remarkably conscientious lawyer though, and devoted himself to his law books largely to the exclusion of reading matter of any other sort. When, for instance, he was nominated for Governor of New York in September, 1882, it may reasonably be asserted that he had never read a book upon political economy, and that the intricacies of the tariff question, as applied to this new country, with its entirely novel requirements, were to him as mystical and unsought as the resultants of the dreams of Swedenborg. That was six years ago. The other day he wrote a message concerning the tariff, upon the broadest lines of the great subject, and expressed his views in such simple and straightforward fashion as implied the fullest knowledge, and, apparently, the closest study of every authority. It is he only who knows a subject *à fond* who can write of it simply.

Nor had Grover Cleveland occupied himself up to that date of eight years ago with the study of men, except as they presented themselves to him in groups of twelve. Following that date he was made Mayor of Buffalo. The broader and new opportuni-

ties seemed to him at once an inspiration. His communications to Councils became familiar to us all in that heated contest of 1884. They were appeals, over and beyond Councils and Rings and Political Machines, to the great mass of the people. And he carried the people with him.

So, when he was named as a candidate for Governor in the chaotic state of political affairs that confronted the people of New York in 1882, this quality of mind and indifference to the political machine, as opposed to the interests of the people, made him easily the candidate of the party. Samuel J. Tilden, the ablest politician this country has ever produced, was already a recluse at Greystone. It is doubtful if Mr. Cleveland knew him, or his processes of mind and action, except by general hearsay; but, whether or not he had learned the lesson of political success from that able leader, he has conducted himself upon that leader's one line of conduct—that what is right, with absolute certainty wins in the end. As Governor he followed this course of action with straightforward determination, and appealed at every exigency from the Machine of the Legislature and of the Metropolis to the million of citizens. His quality as politician it was that taught him what the people wished, and he responded to it with acute intelligence and entire courage.

Inaugurated President, Mr. Cleveland, at the beginning, departed somewhat from his instincts as leader. He was elected as the exponent of certain principles. In the sense of executive officer as to the mere machinery of government he was expected to be "the President of the people, not of a party." But, as representative of the expressed desire of the people for a change from a policy and methods of which they disapproved, it was his duty to see to it that by every legitimate means the change was made permanent. As a Democrat and representative of the principles of the Democratic party he could, loyally to himself or to Democratic principles, make no compromises whereby those ideas of government could be overthrown by the triumph of the opposing party. Robert Toombs, impulsive always, and misguided through a fateful period, but always a pure patriot at heart, was addressing a gathering of his fellow-citizens after the disastrous result of the election of 1872. "They say," he cried, "that the Democratic party is dead. When you come back from the funeral, my friends, take not off your habiliments of mourning, for you will need them at the

death-bed of the Republic." A partisan and hostile postmaster in the city of New York in 1884 would have brought about the defeat of the Democratic party. In the selection of his officials of great influence throughout the country, therefore, it seems an axiom not worth discussion to those who believe in the principles of the party that a Democratic President should choose lieutenants for the influential public offices entirely and with enthusiasm in accord with the principles he represents. As a loyal representative of those principles, he could but select men of such character as would serve the people with as entire fidelity in official matters as they should serve their party in political.

But, again in touch with the expressed sentiment of a majority of the people, President Cleveland has re-asserted himself as the exponent of their thought and the director of their action. It seems now that nothing short of his death or a misadventure hardly to be considered in view of his past will prevent his being again the candidate of the party. Yet his tariff message, only a few weeks back, was a bold and direct proclamation of a principle which, although truly the very foundation rock of the party, has been in effect denied by it for nearly a quarter of a century. As leader of his party, then, and politician, did he err in the matter of expediency? As statesman, expressing clearly, forcibly, and truly the cardinal principle of his party, no Democrat can deny him the place.

Assuming the paramount importance of continuing the control of the Democratic party in the general affairs of the Government, the President would have erred in springing the issue on the country on the eve of a Presidential campaign if the people were not ready to settle it definitely, or did not wish for its immediate consideration. Was he mistaken in believing them ready and desirous to settle it now? When Congress convened on the first Tuesday of December he was reasonably sure of a renomination upon existing issues, and of a re-election. He seized the opportunity of his first message to the new Congress to present the issue of tariff reform as the one issue of the time. He made the question the sole subject of his message. Had his party been unwilling or afraid to second him, and to adopt the issue he had offered them, his act could readily have been accepted as his own political suicide. The leaders of his party in State Governments and in Congress had been, to all appearances, radi-

cally divided on this issue. There was, indeed, an outcry at the first. Yet to-day there is but one conspicuous man within the Democratic ranks who is recognized as irreclaimably hostile to the President's policy, and the leaders elsewise have declared themselves, with an almost extraordinary unanimity, as his enthusiastic supporters. There can be no valid explanation for this unanimity except that their constituents have warmly indorsed the outspoken declaration of the President that tariff reform is the one great issue of the day.

The truth seems to be that we have all been hopelessly groping in the dark during this last decade as to the real sentiment of the people on this subject. In our elections, except in sporadic instances, it has not been made an issue. Democratic platforms have had a conventional declaration for tariff reform, but Democratic leaders afterward ignored the declaration except when they apologized for it. The platform of 1880 did express itself vigorously, and General Hancock was defeated in this decisive State of New York by a plurality of 21,000 votes; but the party leaders in that case, having committed themselves to an economic revolution, with extraordinary lack of judgment as well as of courage absolutely failed to justify the faith that should have been in them. They feebly retreated their lines before the enemy's attack without so much as a shot in reply. A change of 11,000 votes would have carried the State of New York for Hancock, and would have elected him President. The party suffered all the consequences of its declaration upon the tariff issue. Not a vote that was to be lost because of it was not cast against the party in November, 1880. There is little doubt, in fact, that, if a manly and effective defense of its declaration had been made, the Democratic party would have won the 11,000 votes in this State.

More absorbing issues occupied the attention of the people in 1884. Yet there were significant facts in that election which have not been brought to the attention of the public, but which have a most material bearing upon the question now before us. It was an almost unknown episode of the closing days of the campaign that Governor Cleveland made a speech in New Jersey which very distinctly foreshadowed his tariff message of last month. New Jersey is a State which the timid Democratic managers have believed most sensitive to the question of tariff reduction. It was Senator Randolph, of that State, who procured from General Han-

cock the tariff letter which probably did more than all else to compass his defeat. Yet New Jersey gave Grover Cleveland a substantial majority four years later, after he had expressed himself with perfect clearness and vigor upon the issue which Senator Randolph had so timorously deprecated.

The State of Wisconsin had been a Gibraltar to the Whigs and Republicans since it was admitted to the Union, until the election of three years ago. It gave to Blaine a plurality of 15,000 votes. It gave to Garfield a plurality of 30,000. There was, to all seeming, but one reason for this change. The chairman of the Democratic State Committee in that campaign was Mr. Anderson, an enthusiast on tariff reform, as well as a man of the greatest energy and power of organization. To the National Democratic Committee Wisconsin seemed hopeless. No attention whatever was paid to the welfare of the party in that State. If I am not mistaken, not a dollar of money, a single Democratic speaker, or half a hundred documents were sent into the State. Mr. Anderson was left to conduct the campaign as best he might, and in his own way. Enthusiast that he was, he tried an experiment. In some fashion he obtained the means to have printed great quantities of tariff reform documents. With these he flooded the State from the Illinois border to Lake Superior. Tariff reform was practically the only issue in that State, and the Republican plurality of four years before was cut down by just one-half.

In a less degree, but still a very marked degree, the issue was also the question over in Michigan. When James F. Joy nominated Blaine in the Chicago Convention in 1880, he assured the convention, with some enthusiasm, of Michigan's loyalty to the Maine chieftain. "Yes," answered Senator Conkling, with fine scorn, when he nominated Grant afterward, "any Republican can carry Michi*gan!*" In the campaign of 1884 Michigan also was left to its own devices by the National Committee. Chairman Barnum, protectionist to the degree that James G. Blaine himself is, owned large tracts of mineral lands in the Upper Peninsula, and the company that he controlled employed thousands of men. To a request of the State Committee that he should write a simple letter declaring that, in his opinion, the business interests of the country would not suffer by the election of Grover Cleveland, he returned, so the Committee assured

me at the time, no answer. The Committee made tariff reform its chief issue in that campaign. Ex-Mayor William G. Thompson, of Detroit, and others canvassed the State from limit to limit, and tariff reform was the burden of their speeches. It happened that, in the performance of my own professional duties, I accompanied Mr. Thompson on a part of his tour. The town of Flint is the centre of what, I was informed, was the largest wool district of the country east of Colorado, and of the largest lumber district in the United States. Mr. Thompson was introduced to a great gathering that filled the largest hall in the town, by the candidate for Congress, who was making his own canvass upon a strictly low tariff platform, who had voted against the Converse bill restoring the duty on wool, and for the Morrison bill, admitting lumber to the free list. That candidate, Mr. Winans, was re-elected to Congress in the following election, and never in my own professional experience have I known more enthusiasm in a public gathering than greeted Mr. Thompson's demand for a radical reduction of tariff duties. What was the reason for this apparent anomaly in a community supposed to be wedded to protection? I do not venture to say with authority, except to express the belief that the party managers have made a mistake in assuming that fair discussion anywhere of a cardinal principle of the party would result in losing votes, instead of gaining them.

It is certainly not without significance that in three Congressional districts, assumed to be strongly protective, outspoken tariff reformers were returned at the last election. John Jarrett, the protectionist organizer from Pittsburgh, was sent into the Erie district to oppose the election of Wm. L. Scott. Mr. Scott appeared himself at the Jarrett meetings, and asked for a division of time. When granted he met Mr. Jarrett's arguments seriatim, and made tariff reduction practically the sole issue of his canvass. Upon his counsel and information the President largely relied in preparing his message, and Mr. Scott, as a member of the Committee on Ways and Means, will assist in making the bill to largely reduce tariff duties. So John E. Russell was elected in the Worcester district of Massachusetts, and Leopold Morse from Boston, both taking strong ground for tariff reduction. It is also noteworthy that Republican Congressman Knute Nelson, of Minnesota, is as outspoken for tariff reform as is Chairman Mills,

and that many Republican Senators and Congressmen from the West and Northwest are very doubtful as to the expediency of committing the party, as Mr. Blaine and Mr. Sherman would have it, to the policy of protection, regardless of the surplus. Senator Allison, of Iowa, has definitely declared that "the necessity for a revision of the tariff is great," and Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, refers almost with contempt to Mr. Blaine's proposition to distribute the surplus among the States. "None of the propositions," he said in an address to the Providence Board of Trade, "to collect a revenue with a view of dividing it among the States or distributing it by extraordinary expenditures, are, in my opinion, defensible," and added: "It is substantially agreed by all parties that the revenue must be decreased."

But the more significant fact still is the attitude of Republican newspapers of great circulation and influence. The Chicago *Tribune*, the St. Paul *Pioneer-Press*, the Boston *Advertiser*, and the Providence *Journal* take direct issue with the party leaders. Col. A. K. McClure, of the Philadelphia *Times*, himself popularly supposed to lean toward the dominant idea in Pennsylvania, said to an interviewer the other day:

"On a tariff issue as presented by Mr. Cleveland in his message, Massachusetts and Illinois will be about as certain to vote for Cleveland as Missouri, and the approval of the message by such representative Republican journals as the Chicago *Tribune*, the St. Paul *Press*, the Boston *Advertiser*, the Providence *Journal*, and the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, should admonish the Republican leaders that our present oppressive tariff policy cannot be maintained and that the party attempting to maintain it will be defeated."

The Democratic press is practically unanimous in support of the President, and the fact that a newspaper of such great circulation as *The World*, for instance, finds hardly a dissenting voice among its hundreds of thousands of Democratic readers to its earnest advocacy of tariff reduction, is particularly significant as to the sentiment in the party.

On this issue, indeed, it is the Republican party that will be on the defensive in the coming campaign. An extortion of over one hundred millions a year from the pockets of the people will be hard to defend. The Republican leaders seem as hopelessly divided now as were the Democratic leaders four years ago. "I know of no intelligent protectionist or Republican," said Senator Aldrich, "who is not in favor of reducing the annual revenue to such a sum as shall be required to meet the current expenses and

the maturing obligations of the Government." Yet Mr. Blaine, in all probability the next Republican candidate, would reduce taxation only to the amount of the twenty millions or so collected upon tobacco. Opposed himself to free ships for Americans, he actually used as an argument against the Democratic party that "if to-day we had by any chance even such a war as we had with Mexico our enemy *could procure iron-clads in Europe* that would menace our great cities with destruction." Why then should we not be allowed to defend our great cities by iron-clads also freely purchased in Europe ?

The manifold and absurd inconsistencies of the tariff will be sufficient material for Democratic speeches before November. The President has made the issue and the party has to all seeming accepted it with unanimity and enthusiasm. The lines are sharply drawn, and it seems only necessary that the organization on the issue which was utterly lacking in 1880 and in 1884 should be made complete for 1888. As I write, a dispatch from Chicago appears in the afternoon papers. It says: "The Executive Committee of the Democratic State Central Committee (of Illinois) met in this city yesterday. The organization of a Northwestern association of tariff-reform Democrats was urgently advocated. From information already received, it was announced that the States of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Kansas, Indiana, and Missouri were fully prepared to join a movement of this nature, and it was decided that such State should be represented by one State Committeeman, to be hereafter selected, whose duty it should be to collect and collate such information on the tariff question as should most thoroughly instruct the workingmen of the country upon this most important question." This is the work that, undertaken as vigorously in every State and Congressional district as is the organization of the Protectionist propaganda, may give the party the electoral votes of Massachusetts, and perhaps three Western and Northwestern States.

One thing, however, is supremely necessary : A protectionist should not again be Chairman of the National Democratic Committee. The President has not only given the party an issue : he has furnished it a leader, and he and his friends will doubtless see to it that the party is not again handicapped by its lieutenants.

BALLARD SMITH.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

FOOT-PRINTS OF CREATIVE POWER.

DR. HENRY M. FIELD, in his "Last Word to Col. Ingersoll," says that he is as much compelled to believe in the existence of a Supreme Being as Robinson Crusoe, when he saw the print of a human foot on the sand, was compelled to believe that some human being had visited his island. Why then does Dr. Field express himself thus: "So when I discover in the world (*as I think I do*) mysterious foot-prints that are certainly not human, it is not a question whether I shall believe or not; I cannot help believing that some Power greater than man has set foot upon the earth?" I have italicized the words to which I wish to call attention. Dr. Field only says here that he *thinks* he discerns mysterious foot-prints. But if Robinson Crusoe only *thought* he discerned the print of a foot in the sand, he could not have felt certain, though he might have feared or hoped—considered it more or less probable—that a human foot had made that mark. Dr. Field must, therefore, either recall those words, or his whole argument falls to the ground. It is *not* impossible not to believe in a thing the main proof of which is only a matter of more or less probable supposition. Of course I freely grant that we all often believe on evidence that is far short of demonstrative; and if in the present case Dr. Field believes on such evidence, let him say so, and not claim that his belief is forced by such evidence as that which confronted Robinson Crusoe. The latter did not say: "I think I see a human foot-print," but "I see a human foot-print." There is a world of difference between the two declarations.

W. D. LE SUEUR.

II.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT BY ELECTRICITY.

I CHEERFULLY comply with the request of the editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for a brief statement of the work of the Commission of which I have the honor to be Chairman.

The New York State Commission on Capital Punishment has summed up its labors in a voluminous report which, after reviewing the history of judicial executions, closes by recommending the substitution of electricity as a means of death in place of hanging. The result of the application of electricity is not simply to produce instantaneous death; the effect of the current upon the heart is so completely to disorganize the muscular tissues as to prevent the possibility of resuscitation. The report suggests changes in the methods of execution which will, if adopted, do away, it is believed, with much of the glorification of murderers which is apt to attend our present mode of executions. The Commis-

sion have also made some suggestions as to deterrent effects, which, it is believed, will merit the approval of the Legislature. The report is quite extensive, and annexed thereto is a bill designed to carry into effect the recommendations of the Commission.

ELBRIDGE T. GERRY.

III.

A PLEA.

COLUMBIA, large hearted and tender,
Too long for the good of your kin
You have shared your home's comfort and splendor
With all who have asked to come in.
The smile of your true eyes has lighted
The way to your wide open door;
You have held out full hands and invited
The beggar to take from your store.

Your over-run proud sister nations,
Whose offspring you help them to keep,
Are sending their poorest relations—
Their unruly, their vicious black sheep.
Unwashed and unlettered you take them,
And lo! we are pushed from your knee;
We are governed by laws as *they* make them,
We are slaves in the land of the free.

Columbia, you know the devotion
Of those who have sprung from your soil;
Shall aliens born over the ocean
Dispute us the fruits of our toil?
Most noble and gracious of mothers,
Your children rise up and demand
That you bring us no more foster brothers
To breed discontent in the land.

Be prudent before you are zealous—
Not generous only, but just;
Our hearts are grown wrathful and jealous
Tow'rd those who have outraged your trust.
They jostle and crowd in our places,
They sneer at the comforts you gave;
We say, Shut the door in their faces,
Until they have learned to behave!

In hearts that are greedy and hate-full,
They harbor ill will and deceit;
They ask for more favors, ungrateful
For those you have poured at their feet.
Rise up in your grandeur, and straightway
Bar out the bold clamoring mass;
Let sentinels stand at your gateway,
To see who is worthy to pass.

Give first to your own faithful toilers
The freedom our birthright should claim,
And take from these ruthless despoilers
The power which they use to our shame.
Columbia, too long you have dallied
With foes whom you feed from your store;
It is time that your wardens were rallied
And stationed outside the locked door.

ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

IV.

REMARKS ON BALLOTING AND COPYRIGHT.

ALL people interested in purifying our politics must realize that one of the questions that demand immediate attention is the substitution of some system akin to that obtaining in Australia for our present methods of printing and distributing ballots at the expense, and by the agents, of the various candidates and political organizations. The ballots should be printed by the State, a sufficient guarantee being required of those who ask that a given set be printed, so as to prevent a needless multiplication of candidates with little or no support; and they should be distributed without the intervention of ticket peddlers and the like. Each voter should have the various sets of ballots put into his hand, and then should be obliged to rely on his own knowledge in choosing out the individuals for whom he wishes to vote. This, by the way, would provide a very practical "educational test," not only for the illiterate, but also for very many of those who pride themselves upon being "intelligent voters," and who are, nevertheless, afflicted with a singularly dense and profound ignorance of all that goes on in their own districts.

Anent another subject, permit me to record my regret that when we seemed on the eve of at last winning a victory for honest copyright, Mr. Pearsall Smith should have started in to make what I trust will prove to be an ineffectual diversion in favor of the enemy.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

V.

GENIUS AND IDIOCY.

NEARLY every lover of music who can command the requisite entrance fee has within the past few months listened to the performance of a lad not yet in his teens upon the most elaborate of modern musical instruments. Without comprehending the rules of composition, he composes correctly, he improvises, he interprets, and, in short, does an amazing number of things difficult for any one, and which he has no business to do according to any established precedent. It is no wonder that every one with music in his, and especially in her soul, should be enchanted by his unaffected ways, childlike simplicity, and wonderful natural endowments.

Contemporary with this boy, though his senior by many years, is another musical genius. He played the piano by instinct at as early an age as did young Hofmann. With infinitely fewer advantages he developed a facility quite as wonderful in its way. Blind he is too, and born a slave with a black skin. It is not our purpose to compare Blind Tom with the gifted young Pole, but the two afford such a parallel of oppositions that the contrast and the likeness provoke reflection.

Here are two human brains, both endowed with what we call genius. In one case it was developed amid the congenial surroundings of an ancient European city—a musical centre of some repute. In the other case it simply "growed," like Topsy The two infantile brains are so nearly alike that no one can say which of them is, or was, originally superior to the other. But the white boy possesses what we call reason, while the black boy is practically an idiot. How narrow is the margin that differentiates the two intelligences. A trifling protuberance on the inside of the negro's skull may make all the difference between them. In his uncared for babyhood he may have fallen down the kitchen stairs and bumped that extraordinary head of his just hard enough to knock the sense out and leave the music in. A like accident might have wrought a like change in the case of young Hofmann, or, indeed, might have had a reverse effect, eliminating the music and leaving only the common sense. The child of European culture would then never have been heard of, and the half-witted negro, slave-born, only two or three removes from an African kraal, would have remained almost, if not quite, the most remarkable instance of unadulterated, uninstructed, musical genius that the world can show.

ADRIAN REXFORD.

VI.

MOHAMMEDANISM IN AFRICA.

No little excitement has made itself felt among a small circle of religious writers and their readers in the English periodical press lately concerning the respective usefulness of Mohammedanism and Christianity in civilizing the African heathen. The ball of controversy was set in motion by Canon Taylor, of York Cathedral, who produced a paper going to show that not only were Mohammedan missionaries more alert and successful in Africa,—successful in making converts,—but their converts, when made, were decidedly better, even mentally and morally, than the Christian converts are. So marked was the contrast drawn that it amounted to saying that Mohammedanism in Africa is an almost unmingled and beneficial success, while Christianity there is an undoubted failure.

Of course so startling a statement from a Christian minister of high rank, who must ardently wish that what he utters on the subject should have proved otherwise, could not be otherwise than exciting. Probably his going out of the way, too, to deliver a certain amount of *obiter dicta* in direct and voluntary eulogy of the morality of Mohammedanism was not calculated to make his general utterance particularly palatable. Canon MacColl, therefore, as well as others, have set up replies to this view of religious and moral evangelizing in Africa, and what is curious about them is that, mingled with much asperity of statement, they partly admit what Canon Taylor was frank enough to say.

Mr. Bosworth Smith, for instance, who is supposed to be an expert (if that word is allowable here) on the qualities and tendencies of Mohammedanism, says, in his *Nineteenth Century* paper, that Canon Taylor has "rushed with headlong heedlessness" upon dangerous statements. But then he adds—and this is the curious part of his position—that "the views which he thrust upon a sensitive and excited audience were, as nearly as possible, identical with those which, thirteen years ago, I had promulgated in my book, 'Mohammed and Mohammedanism.'" His chief objection to them seems to be that they were slightly exaggerated by Canon Taylor, and were offered to a "sensitive and excited audience."

In one respect, no doubt, as the controversy shows, Mohammedanism is valuable to the African heathen. It carries with it a Koran Temperance Society, while the commercial Christians—the traders—flood the dark continent with the

things that intoxicate. In adaptability to the mental measure of the Africans, Mohammedanism is, no doubt, first, while its ritual and its power to interest and divert are also superior to anything which Christianity has to offer. But this is not saying that, in an absolute sense, the doctrine of Mohammed surpasses that of the New Testament. Its superior success is rather owing to the fact that it is not, when applied, quite so spiritual and lofty, but rhymes better with the material and practical advances which touch the crude African mind, and which it is within his power to accept and illustrate.

JOEL BENTON.

VII.

THE TECHNICAL STRAIT-JACKET.

THE now familiar fact that invention is the legitimate offspring of necessity, was, no doubt, originally discovered by a very primeval person. He did not formulate the well-known proverb on the instant; æons of profound research passed before that was effected; but he recognized necessity, and straightway did what she required of him, thereby inaugurating the noble profession of engineering, which is only another name for ingenuity. Never in history has the engineering instinct developed so rapidly as within the present century, and nowhere has its advance been so marked and general as in America. The reason for this is not far to seek. To the narrow strip of sea-coast first occupied by Europeans there came only the adventurous, the energetic, the self-reliant of all the maritime nations; sailormen most of them, than whom there are no better practical engineers on earth.

The conditions of life were such as to stimulate all the inventive mechanical faculties in a very high degree, and especially was this the case where a sterile soil and a rigorous climate offered little in the way of gratuitous favors.

New England parents, whose brains were ever intent upon surmounting the obstacles and making good the deficiencies of their rough surroundings, naturally begat children even more fertile in expedients than their progenitors, and the records of the Patent Office show how intensely active has been the New England mind in this direction—so much so indeed that the phrase "Yankee Notions" has found a place in the dictionaries.

Such a school could hardly fail to be prolific of natural engineers, and while they may have made mistakes that a more elaborate technical training would have enabled them to avoid, their inventiveness, their fertility of resource, and their tireless energy were everywhere conspicuous.

But civilization sometimes dwarfs the individual. It savors of Philistinism to say it, but the influence of a too elaborate technical training upon many minds is to fix them unalterably in certain grooves.

For the plodders, who are usually in the majority, this may do well enough, and to their careful work we must look for the stability of our bridges and the trustworthiness of our dams and viaducts. There are gifted engineers, however, whose genius is only cramped by too much school tradition. It were easy to multiply instances where amateurs have set at naught the predictions of carefully trained engineers; but let the case of the late James B. Eads and the Mississippi jetties suffice. His failure was predicted with great unanimity by the United States corps of engineers, but the increased depth of water at the mouth of the great river is evidence of his superior insight.

Our purpose is by no means to throw discredit upon the schools. They doubtless raise the general average of efficiency, but they should studiously guard

against doing so at the expense of individual genius. An instructor ought to see after a year's observation of a student whether the treadmill of the regular curriculum is best in his case beyond a certain point. It is by no means easy to plan a course of instruction so that it shall meet the requirements of all cases. Technical schools call for rare endowments on the part of instructors, but it would seem that something more might be done than is done to avoid reducing the American engineer to the level of a well-constructed automaton, like too many European engineers of the present day. Such a state of things is the necessary result of centuries of development on fixed lines, and it must in due course come to us; but we have special climatic and topographical conditions here that call for special treatment, and we are not yet prepared to say precisely what line of instruction is, upon the whole, best for our peculiar requirements.

EDWARD COGSWELL.

VIII.

IMMORTALITY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

IN your last number Mr. Ingersoll's reply to Dr. Field contains the following upon the subject of immortality: "How is it that there is nothing in the Old Testament on this subject? How do you account for the fact that you do not find in the Old Testament, from the first mistake in Genesis to the last curse in Malachi, a funeral service? Is it not strange that some one in the Old Testament did not stand by an open grave of father or mother and say: 'We shall meet again?'"

Many are in the habit of flippantly asserting that the Old Testament does not teach the doctrine of eternal existence. But how, if that be so, can we interpret the yearnings and longings of people in those days for a "righteous death?" Many passages in these writings have no meaning except upon the basis of belief in immortality.

It is a matter of history that the question of a future life was the dividing line between Pharisees and Sadducees.

There are also direct statements:

"Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it."—Eccles. xii. 7.

"Thy dead men shall live; together with my dead body shall they arise."—Isaiah xxvi. 19.

A wicked prophet besought that he might "die the death of the righteous." It was, no doubt, because he believed in what was expressed by Solomon:

"The wicked is driven away in his wickedness, but the righteous hath hope in his death."

Of similar import is the language of Daniel (xii. 2): "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt."

The alleged absence of a funeral service is a mistake. The solemnities attending the burial of loved ones may not be rehearsed in detail, but they are abundantly implied, especially in such passages as Genesis 50th chap., and II. Samuel iii. 31, etc.

There is good reason to suppose that upon many such an occasion the certainty of meeting again was as clearly announced as it was by David in the 12th chapter of II. Samuel: "While the child was yet alive I fasted and wept, for I said, who can tell whether God will be gracious to me, that the child may live? But now he is dead, wherefore should I fast? Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me."

I am aware that all these passages have been subjected by some to a torturing process, but unless taken in a non-natural sense they are a complete reply to Mr. Ingersoll.

T. G. DASHIELL.

IX.

START INCUBATORS EARLY.

AN "esteemed contemporary"—devoting its columns to the discussion of religious questions and topics of interest to agriculturists and country people generally—advises its readers to "start incubators early." The many persons who have experimented with those wonderful machines, which (according to circulars and advertisements) supplement the maternal instincts of the female of "Plato's man," will at once admit that one cannot learn the methods of operating incubators any too soon. As the paper from which I have quoted suggests, "Nothing but experience can teach one how to run them successfully."

Now, I would respectfully but firmly offer the same advice to the politician, "Start your incubators early."

The politician must (like the agriculturalist who goes into the chicken business) first catch his egg. This, in political matters, will be a young man with a shell of ambition and a purse well filled with white silver and yellow gold—and now is the time to look up such specimens. A little later the time will come when he will have to be put into the political incubator, the nominating convention. During this latter period he will have to be looked after, every now and then, and perhaps held up to scrutiny as the embryo chick in the hen's egg is; but if he is not "sterile"—that is, if he has the germs of feathers worth plucking—he will be pretty sure to develop into a fowl that can at least be sold (out).

I am not a betting man, but if I were, I should bet that my advice was worth following. It was suggested by a religious newspaper; and an ecclesiastical wire-puller can, I think, give odds to any politician who ever manipulated the strings of our marionettes in public life.

It may be objected that nominating conventions will not be held for some months yet; but the wise farmer never puts the first egg that his hens lay into his incubator immediately it is laid. No, he collects the eggs one after another as they are found and keeps them in saw-dust or salt or some preservative mixture until all the places in his incubator can be filled. The experienced politician will have no trouble in keeping his embryo candidates fresh. A continually favorable mention in the newspapers is warranted to preserve the freshness of every embryo candidate.

I am sure that if politicians will only ponder over this advice they will perceive how wise it is, and will speedily proceed to "start incubators early."

OLNEY SEARLES.

X.

GEORGEISM MAKING THE RICH RICHER.

I SHOULD like to ask Mr. Henry George this question: Suppose his theories should be embodied in the laws, would not then the wealthy real-estate holders of our great cities have advantages over their poorer fellow citizens far greater than they possess now? Would not the real estate Crœsus of the metropolis then pay a much smaller proportion of the taxes than he does to-day? A lot of ground, value say $10,000, on which he builds a house costing say $30,000, would be taxed

on a valuation of $10,000 in place of $40,000, for Mr. George would let all the taxes fall on the land only. Their residences, the tenements they build, their factories, etc., would go free. Would not thus the rich grow richer?

BARCLAY ADAMS.

XI.

COMMUNISM AND PROTECTION.

IT is a historical fact that Communistic theories of robbery had but little foothold in this country prior to the inauguration of the present protective tariff policy. Is their prevalence now a coincidence merely? Or is there any necessary relation between Communism and tariffs for protection?

Communism, Socialism, Henry Georgeism, and all that family of dogmas, have, among their adherents, one common essential principle—that it is the right and the duty of Government to seize, by law, the fruits of the labor of one man and divide them with others.

Tariffs for protection have for their essential and fundamental principle the right and the duty of Government to seize, by law, the earnings of one man and give them over to another.

The advocates of Protection and the Socialists both not only claim this common fundamental right, but both base their claim upon a patriotic regard for the general welfare, the difference being mainly in the character and influence of the men who advocate the one or the other.

In a speech delivered by Mr. Blaine in August, 1886, at Lake Sebago, he boasted of the enormous growth in wealth of those States which had availed themselves to the greatest extent of the Protective Tariff within the past twenty-five years. And he sustained his boast with an array of figures that were startling.

It is to be regretted that this distinguished gentleman did not dwell with equal emphasis upon the want of even normal growth in what I may be permitted to distinguish as the consuming States, at whose expense this abnormal growth had been effected. As Mr. Blaine is not ignorant of the economic fact that not the increase so much as the distribution of the wealth of a nation is the true measure of its prosperity, his boastful spirit might have been somewhat dampened if he had sought far enough to find that while there had been a congestion of wealth in the manufacturing States, there had been a corresponding depletion in the consuming States. The earnings of the latter had been seized, by law, and handed over to the former.

One of the pyramids of Egypt, a useless tomb of a despotic monarch, cost the labor of 360,000 men for twenty years. At the same rate of wages that an American laborer receives, this would have cost about three thousand millions of dollars, or about twenty times as much as the assessed valuation of the whole State of Arkansas. The royal residence of Peru cost the labor of 20,000 men for fifty years, while that of Mexico cost the labor of 200,000 men.

It was once the wont to point to these immense expenditures as evidence of the great wealth of these nations. Yet it may well be doubted whether any one of them, in its palmiest days, was equal in wealth to the single State of New York. But the enormous wealth of the king and nobility was at the expense of all the rest of the community. The laborers who built the pyramid received as their share of their own earnings, we are told, less than two cents per day.

In the one case the Government seized, by law, the just earnings of the

masses and appropriated them to the king and nobles. In the other case, the Government seized, by law, the just earnings of the consumers of our country and appropriated them to the manufacturer and his factory hands.

The Protectionist press and stump orators are accustomed to appeal to the selfishness of the factory hand and of his employer, urging the one to use his ballot and the other his purse, to perpetuate the protective policy, lest the wages of the one and the profits of the other be diminished. The journals and the men who make these appeals represent large wealth and intelligence and influence. What wonder that the less educated Communist should reason that if it is right to use the ballot for taking, by law, the property of the consumer and giving it over to the manufacturer and his workmen, it is equally right for the poor to use their ballot to take from the rich and give to the needy.

W. M. FISHBACK.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE LABOR QUESTION.

In Mr. Gunton's recent work* we note a pronounced departure from established economic doctrine, the purpose being, as its title implies, to show that wealth and progress are not incompatible, but are the inevitable accompaniments of each other.

After previous and prevailing economic teachings, an apparent inconsistency in its doctrine may at first strike the reader; but if he give a fairly careful reading he will find that, however novel and startling his propositions, Mr. Gunton does not content himself with assertions, or ask the reader to accept his word for any of his conclusions. If for anything, the book is conspicuous for the close backing of all theory by practical demonstration.

The relation which labor and capital sustain to each other in production is carefully considered, and the fallacy of the often-heard assumption, that labor creates all wealth, clearly shown. For an example of the condition under which labor creates all wealth, he goes back to the time of the primitive savage, and reminds us that never since that time has the laborer created his wealth without the aid of capital (machinery), and never since that time has he created so little—been so poor.

On the other hand, he holds that the basis of the prosperity of the capitalist is the consuming power of the masses; a fact which has been continually overlooked by political economists, who have failed to see that "the extent of the market is mainly determined by the consumption of the laboring class, who, it is estimated, consume about 80 per cent. of the machine-made products of the world," an error which arises from "regarding the laborer as only a factor in production, and ignoring him as an element in consumption."

After touching upon the inadequacy of certain proposed schemes for raising wages, such as redistribution, the regulation of profits, money values, etc., Mr. Gunton states his law of wages. The conclusion that the price of labor (wages), like that of any other commodity, is determined by the cost of its production, *i. e.*, the cost of the laborer's living, and that this price is increased and can be indefinitely increased in proportion as his standard of living is raised, is reached by a line of reasoning which cannot fail to impress a principle which is carefully shown to be so fully sustained by historical fact, so completely consistent throughout, so entirely applicable in explaining the causes of the variations of wages in

* "Wealth and Progress. A Critical Examination of the Labor Problem." By George Gunton. D. Appleton & Co.

different times, conditions, industries, and countries, can hardly be regarded as a mere theory or creation.

If this principle, that the price of labor and the extent of the market are determined by the consuming power or standard of living of the masses is understood and accepted, the importance of a reform measure which tends to elevate this standard will readily be felt.

Increased leisure for the working classes Mr. Gunton regards as the most effective means.

In support of his proposition for an eight-hour system—the vital question of the book—he gives much convincing evidence of the good effect of reducing working hours in factories in England, and its recognition by leading statesmen, showing that, as a result of this policy, wages have risen and prices fallen without in the least injuring the profits of the capitalist, while as regards the social progress of the people, sufficient statistical evidence is given that this reform has been followed "by the increased intelligence of the masses and the decrease in pauperism and crime."

A chapter in which the industrial progress of England and the United States are compared, and in which is made the statement, sustained by many telling facts, "that during the last 35 years the laboring classes in this country have actually made less progress in social well being than those of monarchical England," gives much food for thought.

II.

THE NEW ASTRONOMY.

DR. LANGLEY has placed the general reading public under obligation to him for the exceeding bright and able treatise * just issued in beautiful form by the Ticknors. The contents of this readable book comprise chapters on the Sun's Spots, the Surroundings and the Energy of the Sun, the Planets and the Moon, Meteors, Comets, and the Stars, and a very complete index to the whole. The work is addressed, not to the professional astronomer, but to that educated public on whose support he is so often dependent for the means of extending the boundaries of knowledge. In this connection the author makes a plea for the New Astronomy, which he intimates, as compared with the Old Astronomy, is almost left unaided, while munificent endowments, private and public, are at the service of the latter. Perhaps a little more explanation on this point would have been acceptable to the general reader, who may be assumed to be very much in the dark as to how he may aid and countenance the study of any particular branch of astronomy, and as to the schools which make a specialty of the New Astronomy or the science of Celestial Physics. If by buying and reading such books as this one of Professor Langley encouragement can be given to investigations which have for their object the solution of problems connected with the structure of the stars and planets, then we should, on this ground alone, hope that such books will command a very large sale, and if in any other way the pursuit can be aided the public should be advised. It is certainly one of the most fascinating subjects on which the ingenuity and industry of the human mind can be engaged. Vast strides have evidently been made within the compass of the present generation towards the answering of questions which everybody feels closely concern our race; great improvements

* "The New Astronomy." By Samuel Pierpont Langley, Ph.D., LL.D., Director of the Allegheny Observatory, Member National Academy, Fellow Royal Astronomical Society, etc. Ticknor & Company.

have been made in astronomical instruments, and who shall say that improvements may not still be made? It is somewhat tantalizing to be told that the stars are unquestionably like us—having the same material elements as are contained in our own bodies and in our own Earth, and yet to be in ignorance as to whether sentient and rational beings may inhabit them, and, if so, whether it be possible for us, with greater knowledge, to hold communication with them.

Professor Langley has not in this book cleared up the mystery of the sun's spots or of the sources of solar heat. His theory with regard to the latter is well known and is admirably stated and defended, namely, that the heat given out by the sun is caused by the gradual shrinkage or settlement of its gaseous substances toward its centre. A contraction of three hundred feet a year would, he states, be more than enough to cause it to give forth all the immense flow of heat we now see, and yet would make so slight a difference in the apparent size of the sun that it could scarcely be noticeable through the most powerful telescope. If this shrinkage is going on at the rate and for the purpose here stated, it is satisfactory to be assured that it will take from five to ten millions of years for it to become solid and cold; for in that case all life on the earth must soon cease to be. Whether there be any way by which the vast quantities of heat radiating in all directions from the sun may be returned to it, is an admittedly open question, but Professor Langley quotes Professor Young on this point to the effect that all analogies in nature, so far, seem to point to the law of a beginning and an end, and that "the present order of things seems to be bounded both in the past and in the future by terminal catastrophes which are veiled in clouds as yet inscrutable." Our author makes all allowance for the falling in of meteors into the sun as a probable supply of heat, but argues that the main origin of the heat is the contraction of the sun's substance, and that, from all data obtainable, the sun's life is covered by about thirty millions of years, of which four or five millions, or possibly as many as ten millions, may yet be in the future, and then "the end will come."

III.

BOOKS ON COLORADO.

COLORADO is so youthful a member of the happy and United family of States glorying in the Stars and Stripes, and is so closely connected in the thought of our people with interests and amusements anything but sedentary, that the appearance of books with the imprint of a Denver publishing house* upon them naturally causes a little flutter of surprise. And yet when one counts the years and reflects upon the wonders of Western enterprise, the sober second thought comes in that, after all, this is just what might be expected. So much light and heat are radiating from these Eastern centres that, if some of it does not come back to us in the shape of printed books, we may begin to fear that our condition of intellectual warmth and energy is due, as in the case of the sun, to a process of contraction only, and may some day cool off with more or less of a catastrophe to mark the end. Be this as it may, we welcome all indications from our sister cities of the Great West of the formation and growth, within and around them, of literary tastes and habits. The West is a great market for books, and is destined no doubt, to be a great producer, though at present, and for many years to come the tendency of life in a State like Colorado must naturally be somewhat opposed to the formation of any distinctively literary or author-producing class.

*"Mountain Trails and Parks in Colorado." By L. B. France. Chain, Hardy & Co.

"Mountain Trails" is not a matter-of-fact descriptive work, but a journal of vacation travels and incidents. Such, at least, is its purport, and the author is evidently a man of healthful tastes and genial disposition, fully alive to the charms of mountain and sylvan solitude when these luxuries are shared by good companions and trusty friends. No one must read this book with the idea of getting facts and figures about Colorado, its mines and minerals, its population and resources. The author takes his gun and fishing rod and makes for the wilderness, here telling us what he saw and heard and did or failed to do, as a sportsman and tourist. Types of frontier character, sketches of life and scenery, titbits of adventure and experience, and a large amount of dialogue, in which the vernacular holds a prominent place, form the main characteristics of the book, which will be read with pleasure by all who have tasted frontier life or have friends roughing it, as well as by those who are fortifying themselves for the glorious excitement of a similar trip. The book is illustrated by a large number of sketches from nature.

The first glance at the title-page of "Letters from Colorado,"* which, by the way, was forwarded to us by the Denver house of W. H. Lawrence & Co., though the book has the imprint of a Boston firm, would naturally lead one to expect a series of prose compositions, and we imagined ourselves about to be enlightened on many points of present interest as to the natural struggle for existence and supremacy in a young community. We were disappointed to find ourselves face to face with a volume of poetry, for our critical tastes are somewhat surfeited in that direction; but we soon discovered that even in the poetic dress the subject matter of the book claimed attention and awakened interest. Mrs. Wason, for we understand that the author is a lady, has chosen the poetic form of expression—a dangerous attempt, let us say—and has proved herself, if not a poet, a very bright and clever woman, with a quick observant faculty and the power of attractively describing what she sees and hears. The reader need not fear dullness or sentimentality—attributes very common to poetic people, and, of course, entitled to all due respect. No one capable of conceiving the idea of writing poetry can be otherwise than dull and sentimental at times, at least in the opinion of ordinary people, for the poetic mind is unfathomable—so Tennyson—and a great deal of poetry, or what passes for such, is either too high or too deep for comprehension. There is none of that kind of poetic excellence in this little book, but only the bright and rippling outflow of womanly ideas touching matters and things entering into the life of a wide-awake person in a new and strange country writing home to a college friend. And yet, despite a suspicious kind of horror at the mere suggestion of poetry, we must do the author the justice to say that there is some remarkably good descriptive poetry here. Every reader of Byron knows the fascination of a vigorous descriptive style in poetry, and there are many passages here which awaken that feeling.

> Fate led me to a stately Spanish Don
> With two young daughters, brilliant as the sun,
> But full of Eve as are those impish creatures,
> Branded with all perfection in the features.
> Nature must mete her favors with some grace;
> Who gifts of wisdom have, show few of face.
> No leopard in the brake was slimmer, neater,
> Than she called commonly La Signorita.
> And, like a leopard, she had talons hid
> For such as failed to do her will when bid.

*"Letters from Colorado." By H. L. Wason. Cupples & Hurd.

Here is a capital touch of Nature, descriptive of the experience of a person who has learned horsemanship in a riding school with a "bronco":

One used to riding very seldom halts,
And without thinking in the saddle vaults,
From force of habit touches with the spur,
Which trifling act is apt to make a stir.

Then, too, the bronco never deigns to start
Like well trained horses in the city mart.
But makes an aimless lunge, describes a curve
That shoots electric thrills thro' every nerve,
Leaps wildly in the air, bound after bound,
Ten feet, *often fifteen*, above the ground,
Descending, with his tail spread on the breeze,
An angle forms of forty-five degrees;
Places his head between his stiff fore-legs
Which, when he lights, are rigid as iron pegs;
Plants all his feet together, lifts his back,
And you beyond it with a spiteful thwack;
Suddenly changing from his line of base,
Leaves you suspended, wildly clutching space
'Till gravitation kindly aids your case.

In such catastrophes a sufferer knows
How little sympathy his audience shows.

A somewhat similar scene is sketched in prose by Mr. France in "Mountain Trails:"

"Stepping up to *Breckenridge*, I put my foot into the stirrup and swung myself upon his back, my right leg, in the orthodox method, hugging down his off side, until my toe found its place. This took, perhaps, two seconds; then I wished I had waited until next day, or some other time a long way off. In my seat I was less than five feet from the ground. I felt something swell and rise under me, the five feet lengthened to ten; then, I thought, to twenty. When I came down to the original five my head seemed to be sinking a prospect hole and had got somewhere in the region of my stomach, while my toes, also doing development work, but in the opposite direction, were tunneling my legs. I felt about half an inch high and five feet ten inches in circumference. Being in good condition to roll off, I thought I would; but before I could give the intention shape, I felt the swell again, and the ground was further away than ever. . . . About the time *Breckenridge* struck ground again, I dreamed I was standing on my head somewhere on the side of Mount Bross, the doctor was upside down with the fence on top of him, the Grande was flowing towards its source, and *Breckenridge* was walking off with his feet in the air."

Mrs. Wason, in her "Letters," disguises her individuality and the reader supposes that the author is a being of the sterner sex writing letters to a college friend who publishes them without permission, and, of course, without the author's revision. The style is therefore unconventional and colloquial, and if there is no sentimentality there are bits of true sentiment among the simpler descriptive pieces:

Who leaves a world behind him
To seek a restful land,
Will find a poet's haven
Beside the Rio Grande.
His heart will throb exultant,
All carking care repressed,
When he can hear the river
Chanting a hymn of rest.

Here is a little of the true Western grit :

> You smile; but Western life is earnest, real.
> We need a creed we can apply and feel ;
> · · · Our rugged life
> Is a continuous war, a savage strife
> To grasp requirements for our daily needs.
> We find sparse time to jangle over creeds,
> And blest is he to whom one God remains ;
> Who from his soul can say "Jehovah reigns,"
> When he has wrenched away those early chains.

It would be easy to go on quoting from this charming little book, which, if not altogether poetic according to the conventional standard, is full of the spirit of poetry, lightened by a vein of quiet humor, and possessing the added grace of a simple fidelity to nature in the descriptive passages, which will at once commend it and give it permanent interest to those familiar with the scenes described.

IV.

SLAV OR SAXON.

THE average reader may be inclined to dissent from the general proposition of Mr. Foulke's new work* on Russia, viz., that a great struggle for supremacy is imminent between England and Russia, despite the positive opinion of so good an authority as Mr. Gladstone, which introduces the book. A careful consideration of the status of the European powers leads Mr. Foulke to the conclusion that only the two named have a future. An immense country, occupying one-sixth of the land on the earth's surface, with her possessions constantly increasing by conquest and colonization ; with such inexhaustible resources, agricultural and mineral, that, were every nation closed against her, she would be less conscious of loss than any country in the world ; with a hardy, patient, vigorous people trained to endurance, a territory so situated that maritime powers could scarcely reach her, and an army larger than any other in the world; with a climate so severe that foreigners cannot long endure its rigors ; with a lack of populous centres, making a lasting conquest of the country almost impossible, Russia certainly presents a formidable front to any hostile nation.

The hundred millions of people to-day subject to the Czar consists of about eighty different races, speaking nearly all languages, and of many religions and pursuits. The native Russian is impelled by many circumstances of his nature and surroundings to emigrate. We quote from Rambaud : "The mountain keeps her own, the mountain calls her wanderer to return ; while the steppe, stretching away to the dimmest horizon, invited you to advance, to ride at a venture, to go where the eyes glance. The flat and monotonous soil has no hold on its inhabitants ; they will find as bare a landscape anywhere. As for their hovel, how can they care for that, it is burned down so often ?"

Mr. Foulke's conclusions concerning the military autocracy do not seem to us fully warranted by the facts. True, on the accession of Anna Ivanovna, an attempt to limit the authority of the sovereign was opposed by the masses, but the terrible record of the intervening years has left its traces even on the Russian peasantry, and it may fairly be questioned whether a similar attempt to-day would be unsuccessful.

The ambitious attempts of Russia to enlarge her boundaries have been on the

* "Slav or Saxon." By Wm. D. Foulke, A.M. Questions of the Day Series. No. XLIII. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

increase since the days when Catherine the Second planned to divide the Turkish Empire, and her recent policy toward Bulgaria shows her insatiate greed of power.

In his closing chapters the author gives an interesting résumé of Russian history, a page thickly blotted with acts of injustice and cruelty; an account of the reforms of Alexander II., and of the present despotic system. He echoes the sentiment of the reader at this point, when he says: "One would think that the more intelligent people of Russia would abandon a country thus infected; but even this poor privilege is denied them; they cannot lawfully leave the empire, nor even their own town, without the consent of their government. Every Russian found without a passport is an outlaw, to be hunted down by the authorities."

The outcome of the struggle between the Slav and the Saxon depends, according to our author, on two things. First, the scope and strength of disintegrating forces in the British Empire, and second, on social and political changes in Russia which may possibly remove aggressive motives.

The whole question appears to Mr. Foulke less remote from American interest than it seems. Russia now desires our moral support, and asks that her political fugitives be surrendered. Some claim for our friendly consideration is found in the friendly attitude of the late Czar to our country during the Civil War.

To combat the false sentiment which would lead us to an act of foul injustice this work has been written, and the author's aim is laudably accomplished.

V.

PATRICK HENRY.

AMERICA is indebted to Prof. Moses Coit Tyler for an excellent contribution to the American Statesmen Series, in the form of a life of Patrick Henry,* the first and only one founded on original investigation since that of Wirt, in 1817. Since this date, a mass of official documents, private correspondence, diaries, and personal records of various kinds, all relating to the times of Henry, have been published, and other unpublished material has become available.

The personal element enters largely into this life, and adds greatly to the reader's interest. Instead of a stately figure-head calmly sailing through the troubled sea of national affairs, as portrayed by the ordinary biographer, we gain a good idea of the man, first as the dreaming, frolicsome boy, "with a mortal enmity to books, supplemented by a passionate regard for fishing-rods and shot-guns; . . . a roamer in woods, a loiterer on river banks, having more tastes and aspirations in common with frontiersmen than with the toilers of civilized life; . . . making small and reluctant progress into the mysteries of reading, writing, and arithmetic." Again, one year after failing in the business of a country store, "having attained the ripe age of eighteen, and being then entirely out of employment, and equally out of money, Patrick rounded out his embarrassments, and gave symmetry to them, as it were, by getting married . . . to a young woman quite as impecunious as himself." Later on, a trio of illustrious horsemen ride slowly into Philadelphia on horseback to attend the First Continental Congress. Besides George Washington and Edmund Pendleton, there is a man looking like a half Quaker in his suit of parson's gray, "in religious matters a saint, but the very devil in politics; a son of thunder," destined hereafter to shake the Senate; or, "traveling homeward along the dusty highway, at once the

* "Patrick Henry." By Moses Coit Tyler. American Statesmen Series. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

jolliest, the most popular, and the least pretentious man in all Virginia, certainly its greatest orator, possibly even its greatest statesman."

Throughout the book Patrick Henry is the central figure, never yielding his place to minor characters. The digressions are few and brief, never extending beyond the necessity of the case, and the strictest rules of biographical writing are carefully adhered to.

Among the important manuscripts recently brought to light of which the author makes interesting use, are certain old fee-books carefully and neatly kept by Mr. Henry from the beginning of his law practice to the last years of his life. From these we learn that during the first three years of his professional career, from 1760 to 1763, a period in which he is accused of living in idleness at the house of his father-in-law, fees were charged in 1,185 suits, besides others for preparing legal papers out of court. Referring to the published misstatements of Thomas Jefferson on this subject, Mr. Tyler says: "This competent and diligent young lawyer (Jefferson), whom, forsooth, the rustling leaves of the forest could never for once entice from the rustle of the leaves of his law-books, did, nevertheless, transact, during his own first four years of practice, less than one-half as much business as seems to have been done during a somewhat shorter space of time by our poor, ignorant, indolent, slovenly, client-shunning, and forest-haunting Patrick."

Most of these suits involved a knowledge of general practice which he was not at that time supposed to possess. But his genius was intuitive; "by a glance of the eye he could take in what an ordinary man might spend hours in toiling for. All his resources were at instant command; . . . he was also a man of human and friendly ways, whom all men loved, and whom all men wanted to help." The celebrated Parsons case, in which the young lawyer made the foundation of his successful career, is treated in a picturesque and graphic style which brings vividly before us the great audience from all the surrounding counties, the twenty learned clergymen on the bench, the magistrate, Mr. Henry's own father, in his chair almost ready to sink in his embarrassment when the awkward youth stumbles carelessly through the opening of his plea, but with cheeks moistened by tears of ecstacy as the young lawyer's face "shone with a nobleness and grandeur it had never before exhibited," and in all parts of the house men were "stooping forward in death-like silence," to catch each word of the wonderful speaker.

The stirring oration before the Virginia convention, memorized by school-boys even to this day, the battle in Virginia over the new constitution, and the closing years of the busy life, though often told, breathe a new interest in this volume. In the words of Mr. Bancroft, the historian, "It is thoroughly and excellently well done." The pages are not marred by elaborate foot-notes, but all authorities cited are named, with editions used, at the close of the book, and a carefully prepared index completes this symmetrical volume.

VI.

A NEW ENGLAND IDYLL.

ALTHOUGH as a rule people born in Boston need not be born again, the writer of this piquant book* has a pretty tale to tell of the mental and ethical phases of a girl of that habitat. This is not Miss Curtis, who is old, but Olive, who has been sufficiently fed on philosophy to discover somewhere between childhood and young-ladyhood that she is "a potentiality and a conscious personality." Her

* "Miss Curtis." A sketch by Kate Gannett Wells. Boston: Ticknor & Company. 1888.

earlier motto, "Do all I don't want to do," leads to a very wearing "notion of accountability to everybody and everything," but she is presently found writing a composition on the right to go to parties while yet at school. Though reprimanded by her instructors she was unchanged; she "openly declared her belief in the German as preferable, in its effect upon the character, to the study of mathematics or historical dates. Boys were not dangerous, she argued, and there was no harm in accidently meeting them in the recess; they did not divert the mind from lessons, but acted as stimuli." When it is suggested by the lady principal that she will enjoy life better if she waits till she is older and knows more, Olive retorts: "I don't care to know a great deal. I rather know how to make the most of a little. I want to be happy instead of being ambitious." Miss Curtis is introduced to us as an irritable and irritating spinster of fortune, fond of experimenting on people; once she proposed to invite poor children to her house and leave things about to see if they would steal, a scheme prevented by Olive's brother sending her a cream cake stuffed with red pepper, having a grievance of his own to satisfy. Miss Curtis fixes the remnant of her once disappointed affections on Olive, on whom also are set the dutiful inclinations which perform the part of affections in the breast of a young minister fresh from the neighboring Divinity School. This Rev. Mr. Kimen, who "had become that uncomfortable product of himself, a dead-in-earnest man," was anxious that Olive should "develop properly." (He had no idea what he meant, but the phrase strengthened his desire.) Once, when on their way to church, he ventured to intimate that his sermon might help her. Olive answered—"You think sermons reach us girls! It is partly so, but it is more the 'extempore listening' we do, as Mr. Fordher calls it. Some sentence hits us and off we go on our own thoughts, which are like small shot in the way they take the conceit out of us." And when Mr. Kimen asks the use of ministers, "Use?" she exclaimed. "Why, a real minister, who is better than we are, who is elegant and powerful in his manners, and who has got the soul of the world in him, and can bear the burden of the nations, and take it away like the paschal lamb from wearing out the rest of us,—why, he is like Browning and the Bible put together, and we grow better every minute, and ——." She paused, for they were near the church door. Mr. Kimen's church bells never celebrate his nuptials with Olive, the story having indeed other aims than to follow any character to commonplace felicities. It turns out that Miss Curtis had inherited a fortune from her father in a certain village which was aggrieved that the money had not been left to its charities and institutions. The lady, however, proves in the end to be a very good institution to them, with the help of her friend Olive, and the "sketch," as it is modestly called, passes into a pretty and pathetic New England idyll. The village "Baptism," in the river; the "Candy-pull," and other scenes are described with delicate art. Mrs. Wells has put some terse phrases in the mouths of her select circle which deserve to become proverbial; and indeed she may be fairly congratulated on the truth and beauty of this her first venture in the field of imaginative art.

VII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MR. VAN DYKE'S "Principles of Art"* is a concise, readable presentation of a subject not too often treated acceptably. The first section, which is classified as Art in History, might well be termed a History of Art. The attempt to introduce

*"Principles of Art: Part I., Art in History; Part II., Art in Theory." By John C. Van Dyke, Librarian of the Sage College, New Brunswick, N. J. Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

a mass of historical matter gives one the impression that the author knows quite as much of history as of art, and weighs somewhat heavily on the general theme. Many well-worn topics are unnecessarily elaborated, yet, on the whole, the book is of considerable value, and sufficiently comprehensive to satisfy any but a very profound investigator. An excellent index of the old-fashioned, particular sort, makes the volume a handy book of reference for the busy art student.

If the word poetry be employed in its correct sense as rythmical, metrical, having true poetic essence, and addressed to the feelings, very little of Mr. Stevenson's verse can be regarded as poetry. A vigorous writer of fiction and delightful essayist is not, of necessity, a first-class poet. Of the half hundred selections in this pretty volume,* the last sixteen are in the Scotch dialect, mildly imitative of Burns, though doubtless not by design, and of the others, many are addressed to persons. The language is often very choice and true poetic feeling is by no means wanting. But what shall be said of the poetry of such lines as the following, easily selected at random :

"Out in the city, sounds begins,
Thank the kind God, *the carts come in.*"

. . . . . .

"Dear Andrew of the *brindled* hair
Who glory to have thrown in air
The trembling reed."

True, Macbeth's witch uses this adjective, but with a difference : "Thrice the brindled cat hath mewed."

What shall be said of this same Andrew "*endowed* (by the Creator) with inkpot and with rod."

Of the "ink," which, by strained metonymy, "sings of Helicon."

Of the "strenuous family, which dusted from its hands the sand of granite" preparatory to emigration.

Or of the metre and rhythm of these lines :

"So went the fiat forth, and so
Garrulous like a brook you go."

. . . . .

"My fancy soars like to a kite
And faints in the blue infinite."

. . . . .

"Yet shall your ragged moor receive
The incomparable pomp of eve."

These are a few of the many metrical, rythmical, and grammatical errors strewn thickly through the book, which even the broad mantle of poetic license fails to cover. There are dainty fancies and pleasant lines in this book, but at present we hesitate to accord him a high place among the tuneful brethren.

A little volume† from the pen of a less noted author contains some genuine poetry. Some of it is rugged and obscure, possibly because the poet essays a

* "Underwoods." By Robert Louis Stevenson. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
† "Poems." By David Atwood Wasson. Lee & Shepard.

flight beyond his powers, yet the struggles are plainly seen and one feels that in time, they might have ended in victory. The sonnets and briefer poems are superior to those of greater length, and many of them, especially those pertaining to nature, evince the poet's deep insight into the meaning of creation, and breathe the true poetic fervor. Of especial excellence are the two semi-metaphysical, yet wholly human, conceptions entitled "All's Well" and "Seen and Unseen," the former of which had a place in Emerson's "Parnassus."

The hand that penned these verses has finished its work, and the collection, from various papers and magazines, was entrusted to a friend who sends them forth in dainty form and with an appreciative preface.

Whether Mr. Stevenson writes* of college days, the characteristics of the canine race, recollections of an old graveyard, or the latest French novel, he is always graceful, original, and vivacious. Many of the essays in his latest volume are autobiographical in their character, while the subjects of others are drawn from such a variety of sources as to render classification difficult. In the "Foreigner at Home" he aims a square blow at Mr. Grant White for his inexcusable Yankee provincialism, while admitting "the grand, tree-like self-sufficiency" of the Englishman. The sketch of his early literary attempts is both entertaining and instructive, and introduces us to a man whose acquaintance we are glad to make. He found diaries "a school of posturing and melancholy self-deception," and gave himself to writing descriptions, dramatic dialogues, and "innumerable gouty-footed lyrics." A delicious account is given of a college magazine, to whose editorship he was invited by three distinguished and revered students, and which lived to see three or four numbers. The first copy, submitted to the lady of his heart, was passed over by her in silence, and he professes that he always thereafter had increased respect for her taste. The essay on "Talk and Talkers" is somewhat Emersonian in style, while others remind one of Lamb's happier moods. In writing of subjects for conversation, he wittily says, "No human being ever spoke of scenery for above two minutes at a time, which makes me suspect we hear too much of it in literature. . . . The weather, the dramatic element in scenery, is far more human, both in import and suggestion, than the stable features of the landscape." Mr. Stevenson often wanders away from the track in which he started, but his detours are always pleasantly suggestive; the return path has a certain bright ease which charms and refreshes, and his well-rounded closing periods more than make amends for minor delinquencies.

Less delicate in expression and choice of subject, yet similar in general effect, is the "Virginibus Puerisque" by the same author. His fancy trips rather too lightly over serious themes, his premises are not always correct, hence the conclusions fall short of exactness. Yet there is a vivacity and freshness in these minor sketches which will charm away many a pleasant hour. The author confesses that only a portion of the volume answers to the long projected title, and that whereas he began to write as the *Advocatus Juventutis*, age crept on apace, the old ruddy convictions of youth deserted him, and not being able to remain forever at twenty-five, "the shade of the prison house has fallen" over the latter portion of his work.

When a busy physician, whose mind is supposed to be saturated with drugs and hardened with plasters, indulges in fiction, we have come to expect something excellent. Dr. Weir Mitchell,† who has so well met this expectation in "Hepzibah

* "Memories and Portraits." By Robert Louis Stevenson. Charles Scribner's Sons.

† "Prince Little Boy and Other Tales out of Fairy Land." By S. Weir Mitchell, M. D. J. B. Lippincott Company.

Guiness" and "In War Time," now puts on his thinking cap and tells a series of funny fairy stories to the children, and names it "Prince Little Boy." They are not just like any other fairy stories, except that the scheme whereby Fuz-Buz, the captive fly, and a Spanish fly at that, tells stories for his life to Mrs. Spider Grabem and her voracious offspring reminds us of the plot of the "Arabian Nights." The Trained Bear, returning to his forest life and astonishing his friends by his tricks, Prince Lazy Bones and his Peck of Troubles, which he tries to lose; the Wolf that Wanted a Doctor, and the Great Giant Smokey-Pokey, with a half dozen others, furnish whimsical themes for the amusing and bright little stories which all wide-awake boys and girls will thoroughly enjoy.

Of the many contributions to Shakespearean literature, some aim to display the author's erudition, others are mere *replicas* of the text with obvious annotations, while still others enable us to gain a clear insight into the world of Shakespeare's fancy and sensibly broaden our comprehension of his work. To the latter class emphatically belongs the compact little volume of Lowell Institute lectures,* seven in number, which were delivered in Boston by Mr. Henry Giles, some years ago, on "Human Life in Shakespeare." These are now reprinted with an introduction by John Boyle O'Reilly, and will be heartily welcomed by all lovers of Shakespearean study. The topics treated are "The Growing and Perpetual influence of Shakespeare"; "Human Life in Shakespeare"; "Man and Woman in Shakespeare"; "Shakespeare's Comic Power, his Tragic Power, and his Personality." The lectures possess intrinsic value for their enunciation of the principles by which creative effort should be estimated, no less than for the appreciative perception of the inner life, the methods and motives of the great poet. By careful study of Stratford in its industries, institutions, and general conditions, Mr. Giles has evolved for us a real personality, a substantial and satisfactory citizen, instead of the shadowy and unreal Shakespeare of the popular fancy. We cannot too highly commend these valuable and delightful lectures, which were so popular at the time of their delivery that they were repeated each day to accommodate the overflowing audiences. They are not too abstruse for younger readers nor too simple for the learned, and this universality of interest doubtless arises from the permeating influence of the subject.

A volume of essays and sketches† from Mr. Scudder's pen promises an agreeable literary repast, with some of the substantials as well as the delicacies of such a banquet. There are a dozen brief sketchy chapters about Elisha Mulford, Dr. Muhlenberg, F. D. Maurice, Emerson, and Anne Gilchrist and others, which contain discriminating analyses of character and of literary effort. Some of these are brightened by personal reminiscences, one of which we quote from the chapter on Elisha Mulford: "At the end of an evening, when one was laying aside books and papers, a ring at the bell would announce a caller. Enter Mulford, very doubtful about putting aside his hat and coat: he had come in merely for a moment; he could not stay. Then one would put more wood on the fire and settled one's self to that three or four hours' talk which was sure to follow, with good byes at last under the stars at midnight that seemed nearer than before." Longfellow and his Art are ably discussed, and the anatomy of "Excelsior" is

* "Human Life in Shakespeare." By Henry Giles. With Introduction by John Boyle O'Reilly. Lee and Shepard, Boston, and Chas. T. Dillingham, N. Y.

† "Men and Letters. Essays in Characterization and Criticism." By Horace E. Scudder. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

revealed in a study of two drafts of the poem, with corrections as they came from the hand of the poet, which are found in the Harvard College Library. Other very readable and carefully written essays fill out the volume, and Mr. Scudder may feel assured that whenever he sees fit to "come out into the light" and suffers "the ghostly voice to become articulate," his thought will find ready acceptance and appreciation.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Men and Letters: Essays in Characterization and Criticism. Horace E. Scudder.

Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters. John Bach McMaster.

Patrick Henry. Moses Coit Tyler.

D. Appleton & Co.

The Divine Man: from the Nativity to the Temptation. George Dana Boardman.

The Lawyer, the Statesman, and the Soldier. George S. Boutwell.

Weather. A Popular Exposition of the Nature of Weather Changes from Day to Day. Hon. Ralph Abercromby.

Little Peter. A Christmas Morality for Children of any age. Lucas Mallet.

Ticknor & Co.

The New Astronomy. Samuel Pierpoint Langley, Ph.D., LL.D.

Chain, Hardy & Co.

Mountain Trails and Parks in Colorado. L. B. France.

G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Life of George Washington Studied Anew. Edward Everett Hale.

The Story of Ireland. Hon. Emily Lawler, with some additions by Mrs. Arthur Bronson.

T. Y. Crowell & Co.

A Russian Proprietor and other Stories. Count Lyof N. Tolstoi.

The Vagrant and other Tales. Vladimir Korolénko. Translated from the Russian by Mrs. Aline Delano.

Woman's Temperance Pub. Association.

Boys and Other Boys. Lucy A. Scott.

Riverside Press.

Gravitation, the Determining Force. E. S. Chapin.

M. T. Wynne.

How to Paint Tapestry. M. T. Wynne.

Samuel Huebsch.

Volapük. A Guide for Learning the Universal Language. S. Huebsch.

Charles Scribner's Sons.

Memoir of Fleeming Jenkin. Robert Louis Stevenson.

Funk & Wagnalls.

The Works of William Shakespeare, in reduced fac-simile from the famous first folio edition of 1623.

Boston Public Lib
DORCHESTER BRAN

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLXXVI.

MARCH, 1888.

PERMANENT REPUBLICAN CLUBS.

THE organization of Republican clubs, forming a compact body from the local club up through County Leagues and State Leagues, and then into one National League, has an underlying method and principle which is perhaps better adapted to the Republican party at this time than to any other body or at any other time. Every one who has thought out the subject recognizes the power and usefulness of union and joint action; and by all is admitted the great value of a headquarters open every day and evening, where stated meetings are held and papers read and speeches and discussions had. But one thing is not generally recognized, and it would seem as if it were not fully believed by a large mass of our citizens, and that is the fact of every voter having a personal and direct interest in the result of every election, and hence his duty to array himself on one side or the other of every question forming party issues in a great campaign. How often is an election spoken of in slurring, jesting, even scoffing words, as if the depositing of a single ballot was of little or no value, and the final result of electing somebody to office would not, after all, materially affect anybody, because the country is too large and the various industries too great and well established to be disturbed or broken down by any official, whatever his proclivities or character. This tendency to ignore the value of citizenship is quite as great among the poorer as among the richer citi-

zens; it prevails among all the classes of voters, and hence it is that this year is a valuable time and opportunity to show the people the necessity of intelligent action on the questions before us.

Take the tariff direct to the 17,000,000 of workingmen and show them how their wages are dependent on the result, and no one can believe they are going to vote against themselves. Then the use of money for illegal purposes will die a natural death, if a campaign on vital questions is started in the right way and at the right time. Bribery of club members is an unheard of thing; in fact bribery is more prevalent when stagnation among the citizens is the rule, than when they are all alert and each striving to do his best for a given result.

The use of clubs can be great to prevent the disgraceful slanders and libels and mud throwing so freely indulged in during certain campaigns, and it is not too much to say that a united effort of the 1,500 Republican clubs now in existence (1,000 of which have been formed since the national convention of clubs), could put an end to the unjust and outrageous attacks on the private character of the candidates. Aside from questions involved in this present year, there is no good reason why the Republican party should not be organized as a National party on a permanent basis, and continue to exist as such, like any order of fraternity or secret society, or the church denominations. It is waste of time to be getting up new parties for a single question; let the existing bodies take up the new questions as they present themselves, the individuals remain the same and the human desires and plans remain unchanged; and under such a plan of organization, it would be like other societies where members come and go without destroying the main body itself.

It is said the mission of the Republican party ended with the war, but this assertion is made not by the friends but by the enemies of the party, while in truth the mission of the Republican party will end only when the Government itself is ended; and club organization can perpetuate the party, especially if they will become incorporated bodies under the State laws, such as were passed in New York last year. Where such laws do not exist, it behooves the clubs to have them enacted.

JAMES P. FOSTER.

NEW YORK.

The political clubs are needed as store-houses for gathering and distributing Republican truths. These truths now-a-days are not moral but economical. No man can comprehend them on a simple statement. They must be studied. The old kind of questions—slavery and disunion, for example—are so nearly questions of right and wrong, that any man could answer them, so soon as put. But the questions of to-day, protection and free trade, universal or restricted immigration, and the like, can be answered only after investigation. The citizen must first inform himself, or be informed. With the old-time questions it was enough to give notice that they were at issue, and then to kindle the zeal of the voter to settle them. For these two purposes the Campaign Club was sufficient. It stirred men's souls. But it is useless to try to stir men's souls to enthusiasm for economic truths, until you have convinced men of the value of them. This is the function of the permanent club. It gathers facts and draws conclusions from them. Scattered over the State, each naturally gives peculiar attention to the particular industry of its own section, and elicits special facts. Two incidents, which happened last week, illustrate better than argument what we mean. In a club at Paterson, a busy city, where iron is an absorbing industry, Dr. Murray Butler, to exhibit the crudity of Mr. Cleveland's claim, that the duty is added to the cost, said: "Our Pennsylvania road has just ordered 50,000 tons of steel rails at $31.50. The cost in England is $24. Add to $24, the duty, which is $17, and the freight and other charges at $4, and the cost in America, if Mr. Cleveland was correct, would approach $45." The same week, Hart Brewer, always a potter, and sometimes a Member of Congress, in Trenton, where potteries are the industry, told how the prices of pottery had been so reduced to consumers, that now, when a 50 per cent. tariff was ruling, the wares sold for half the price they did when the duty was only 24 per cent. Add to such facts those elicited in agricultural counties, which demonstrate that New Jersey's soil became more valuable than the soil of any other State, acre for acre, because the scattering centres of manufacturing industries made it so, and one begins to get some idea of the value of the permanent club to New Jersey Republicanism.

WILLIAM WALTER PHELPS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW asks my opinion on the importance of permanent organization of Republican clubs in Michigan. Now, in the first place, I cannot expect to suggest a thought upon this subject that has not occurred to every one who will give the time to read this communication; and, second, whatever applies to Michigan will, of course, hold good in every State. Every old soldier well remembers the difference in strength and efficiency between a well organized and thoroughly disciplined military force, from an army down to a squad, compared with the same troops at "mustering in." So, too, every man who has had experience in organized business or labor knows well the strength of united effort to carry out a single purpose. Thus the forming of clubs with the one object to distribute all information concerning the principles of *all* parties that can be obtained, will, without doubt, result in turning over this government to the Republican party again, where, for the benefit of the whole country, it should be and remain. The Republicans have voters enough to accomplish this, and if thoroughly organized, as they can best be through the united effort of these clubs, there can be no doubt as to the results at the coming election. As before suggested, every argument advanced by *all* parties, and every fact that can be obtained from any source bearing upon national questions, should be gathered and laid before every voter in the country, where they can and will judge between them. If this is done the Republican party need not have any fear as to the outcome. Let that party take a fearless stand upon every question that relates to the best interests of the whole country, and there form its line of battle, and it must win. Courage is the one indispensable qualification for success in every avocation in life, be it religion, business, or politics.

R. A. ALGER.

DETROIT, Mich.

Political conditions in Virginia are so different from those existing North that it would be difficult to argue in favor of any particular line of organization here because it had succeeded there. There is no section of the country except the South in which either party is every day presented to the white voter as the malignant enemy of the white race; or in which opposition

to either party is raised by incessant appeals to passion. Southern Democracy is not formed on the advocacy of any principle. It embraces men of every variety of views upon every political question. It represents the agglomeration of prejudices against the Republican party for its past record and against the negro as a political power. Whatever tends to show the active presence of Republicanism; whatever makes the negro prominent as an organized political worker, is calculated to excite the passions of the Democracy here and inflame them to greater activity, rather than to enlist their attention and inquiry as to whether Republicanism may not be right after all. What is known as "still-hunting" in politics has been found much more effective by the Republicans in Virginia than ostentatious display of organization. Active, silent work, earnest appeals to the reason of the voter, and quietly disabusing him of his sectional and race prejudices, always produce good fruit on election day. On the other hand, the organization of clubs, their meetings, parades, and signs of vitality generally serve as a red flag to the Democratic bull and rouse him to the fury desired by Bourbon leaders. Another difficulty is this: the object of the club is naturally to gain adherents from the white Democracy. The blacks are already Republican. If the club is organized with both blacks and whites, the presence, and, perhaps, the preponderance of black members, repels new converts with old prejudices. If the club is organized of white men only, the exclusion of the black would justly give them great offense. The poverty of the party in Virginia is such as to preclude the idea of a dual organization of clubs. Clubs organized as they are throughout the North undoubtedly do great good in disseminating our principles, especially on the tariff question; that question has excited a great deal of interest in Virginia and gained the Republican party a great many white converts, but the good accomplished by clubs here would be nothing like as great as in the North, because the classes reached by that means here are not near so intelligent or well educated as there. On the whole, my conclusion is that, considering all things, the organization of permanent Republican clubs in Virginia on the scale and with the object contemplated by your query would be disadvantageous rather than beneficial.

JOHN S. WISE.

RICHMOND, Va.

To determine what is the use in New Hampshire of new clubs such as were recommended by the great and inspiriting Republican Club Convention, which met in New York, December 15th, 1887, it is necessary to understand what is the present Republican organization in that State. Its merit and success arise from its completeness and from the soundness of the principle on which it is based, namely, that political organization should begin at the bottom, with the voters in their primary meetings, and proceed upward ; and should never begin at the top with a few high officers attempting to secure organization by issuing orders downward. In 1856 the first Fremont Club was formed in Concord, and was followed by the organization of similar clubs in the other towns and in the wards of the cities. These clubs came to be the regular organization of the Republican party. The statute laws require, before elections, a universal registration of all the voters in the State ; and the lists thus made are used at the Republican primaries to prevent fraudulent voting, the only danger necessary to guard against being, in a few of the cities, the casting of votes by Democrats. The town and ward clubs elect delegates to each State nominating convention and at that convention the delegates from each of the ten counties choose members of the State Committee, which consists of about one hundred. But at the meetings of the State Committee the leading Republicans of the State ordinarily gather, are cordially welcomed ; and uniformly all Republicans present are invited both to speak and to vote. This broad custom has worked most beneficially, and by reason of it no complaint has ever been made of the State Committee. There are 235 towns and 37 wards in the State, and our printed list shows none without a Republican club. Three names are printed for each town and ward : First, the president ; second, the chairman of the executive committee, and third, the secretary. From the headquarters of the State Committee, at Concord, nine-tenths of all the clubs can be reached by circular letter in one day and all the others within a day and a half. There have been at times differences and rivalries in the Republican ranks, but in none of these have serious complaint been made of any unfairness in the principles or methods of the party organization, of which, as a whole, the Republicans of New Hampshire are justly proud.

It may be asked then, What is the need of additional clubs such as are now proposed ? The answer is, to supplement the

existing organizations and lift them out of their ordinary ruts, to set on foot more discussions of vital principles, to arouse and interest the younger voters, and to inspirit in various ways all Republicans to meet the impending conflict of 1888, and those which are to follow. Auxiliary clubs are always helpful and should ever be encouraged by the regular organization of a party whose members need to be aroused so that the full vote may be brought to the polls. Space enough is not allotted me to argue this point, but I speak from experience. In any canvass if three men alone wish to organize themselves as a Republican club, one to be president, another secretary, and the third treasurer, by all means encourage them to do it. Their work may, in addition to their own votes, secure three more, which may save the election.

There is little danger that these new clubs will clash with the regular organizations. (1) All are working for a common purpose and will endeavor to avoid conflict. (2) The regular organizations will call all the meetings for the election of delegates to nominate candidates. A fundamental principle of the new organizations is that they shall not undertake to influence or control nominations. So long as they observe this principle it will not be harmful, but helpful, if by their zeal, manifested by holding meetings, by opening reading rooms, by circulating documents and by bringing to the front new men in politics they stimulate to more vigorous activity the older and regular organizations of the party.

In New Hampshire a State club was organized as early as November 30th, 1886, called the Lincoln Club, of which Governor Sawyer is president. Other local clubs have been organized in Concord, Nashua, and other places. How far, in view of our present superior organization, it will be deemed advisable to push the new movement beyond the organization of the State League, which will be done by the Lincoln Club, February 15th, remains to be decided; but already we have seen good results from the organization of our own clubs and from the zeal and enthusiasm which went out from the New York Convention. From the foregoing it can be seen that I heartily favor the permanent organization of Repulican clubs; in each State according to its own special needs and circumstances.

WM. E. CHANDLER.

WASHINGTON, D. C

It is difficult to overestimate the good which may result from such organization. If it be said that it creates a machine, the answer is that it is the control of the machine, and not the machine itself, which is to be feared. What is known as "Bossism" may justly be condemned, but not efficient organization for the purpose of carrying out the wishes of a majority in accordance with party principle. Even the "Independent," whose cry for independent voting and emancipation from party thraldom has been so loud in the past, knows that no great change can be brought about except through party organization, so he forms a party and denies independence to the individual, either by using his organization as a balance of power, or by alliance with some other party, to accomplish his ends. Strangely, too, these ends are generally just as personal, just as selfish, and, perhaps, just as corrupt, as those of the party he seeks to defeat. In Indiana we have seen some of the results of club organization. In 1880 "Young Men's Republican Clubs" sprung up throughout the State, held a State Convention, and effected an organization whose influence has been powerful for good in all subsequent campaigns. Following upon the close of the successful campaign of 1886, "The Lincoln League" was formed, not for the purpose of usurping the place or functions of any other club or association, but that all might be brought into more intimate relations with each other by means of a central organization in which all could have a membership. This League is now in successful operation, and during the coming campaign will have auxiliary clubs in every important town in the State. Of such an organization, State or National, the Republicans of Indiana have no fear. To them it means the diffusion of the latest information in political affairs, intelligent action upon the information, promptness and uniformity of action, better and more general knowledge of the wants of the party and the means to supply them, and such intelligent work as will insure the best results. "Bossism" is thus reduced to a minimum, and the collective judgment of the party attains its maximum strength. An organization which invites, collects, and disseminates the best thoughts of the best elements of the party, crystallizes them into declarations of principle, and brings about the most effective methods for instilling these principles into the minds of the people, is far more conducive to the best welfare of the nation than the organization which, in secret

caucus, plots measures to thwart the will of the people, by fraudulent voting, ballot-box stuffing, tally-sheet forgeries, and refusing to recognize the results of elections.

R. S. ROBERTSON.

FORT WAYNE, Ind.

The idea of a system of permanent Republican clubs is new in this country. The plan contemplates their organization in every township; these local organizations to constitute State leagues, the State leagues the National League. Their purpose is to teach Republican principles and strengthen the Republican party. A broad distinction should be at once drawn between these and campaign clubs. Campaign clubs are for temporary purposes. They seek to arouse enthusiasm, stimulate partisan spirit, poll the full vote, elect the ticket. Election over, their functions cease. To secure permanency in political clubs, their point of objective interest must not be the offices and elections, except as they serve to insure the application of correct policies and principles in government. Clubs can only sustain a continuing interest in politics by studying present political issues, reviewing political history, holding regular discussions on pending and proposed legislation. If permanent, they must become centres of political education and exchange. Upon the politics of this country the salutary influence of such a system, carrying forward such a work, can barely be suggested within the limits of this article. These organizations will attract the best material in the party. They will insure individual research, and a practical understanding of legislation and of the affairs of government not heretofore attained. Both within and without they will emphasize the sense of obligation and personal responsibility in making and administering the laws. Such clubs cannot be used as machines for individuals or factions. Wherever they are actively maintained, political slates will be shattered and political bargains fail of consummation. Cliques and rings thrive upon the citizens' indifference to the plain duties of representative government. They cannot co-exist with the persistent, continuous, intelligent personal interest of the individual voter. The clubs will instruct at a time when it avails. In the heat and fever of the campaign correct premises are branded as assumptions, correct reasoning

regarded fallacious, logical conclusions viewed with fear and suspicion. These organizations will work in seasons when the people can deliberately judge the reasons on which parties urge their claims to administration. Permanent political clubs will introduce in some measure new elements into the campaign. They will furnish a matured judgment of principles and parties, create sentiment for the right measures and the best men, train local speakers, and prepare the way for a profounder discussion of real issues. They will do much to substitute intelligent interest for unthinking enthusiasm, the lamp of reason for the torchlight, earnest conviction and wise leadership for the party whip and the party boss.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The system of working politics under club organizations has been revived, and is attracting attention and exciting comment in political circles. History teaches that some of the most brilliant victories in American politics have been won through the agency of local club organizations. Notably that of 1840, when Log Cabin clubs sang the Democrats out of power, and the echoes of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" resounded from Maine to Louisiana and from Montauk to the Mississippi. Then again, in 1860, the Wide Awake and other clubs bore a conspicuous part in overthrowing the Democracy and seating Abraham Lincoln in the presidential chair. Civil war followed and the management of the political campaigns of the Republican party was intrusted to its National, Congressional, State, and County committees, a policy that has since prevailed. Last autumn the club spirit manifested itself afresh, and culminated in a convention of clubs in the city of New York. This convention was composed of delegates from nearly every State and Territory in the Union, including the District of Columbia. That body was enthusiastic in a high degree, and gravitated into a national organization known as the Republican League of the United States, with subordinate organizations in each State and Territory. The magnitude of this spontaneous movement has challenged both attention and comment, in view of the established usages of the Republican party, which have heretofore consigned to the National com-

mittee the responsibility of managing Presidential campaigns; to the Congressional committee the Congressional elections, and to the several State committees the conduct of their respective State canvasses—these several organizations acting in concert. The new organization, coming spontaneously and abruptly to view, very naturally gives rise to the inquiries, Are the existing committees to be continued? If so, what occasion is there for supplementing their functions with another national organization, ostensibly to hold court over the same field and share the duties and responsibilities of the committees so long trusted with this service? These questions are to be settled by the recognized authorities of party organization when the usual time for action shall arrive, and it is neither wise nor needful that they should be discussed at this time. Of the organization and utility of local political clubs as aids in advancing the Republican cause, I can speak without a doubt. They are inexpensive and efficient agencies. They are spontaneous in creation and zealous and efficient in action. They supply local wants where the national organization, be it ever so efficient, cannot reach in detail, and where voluntary labor must be relied upon to fight battles and win victories. In local effort there is no danger of an excess either of machinery or labor, for the people are actuated entirely by a love for the cause and a patriotic desire for its success.

A. M. CLAPP.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

That political parties are strengthened, improved, and made progressive through the agency of permanently organized, active clubs, in the same way that the standard of great armies is raised by well-drilled, disciplined soldiers, has long been recognized in the larger centres of population, but never in the history of American politics has such a gigantic plan of widespread organization been attempted, as that mapped out by the recent New York Convention of Republican clubs. That the Territory of Dakota was represented by the writer in the deliberations of the convention in question is sufficient apology for the views herein expressed. And for what reason is Dakota interested in such a movement? Why should she, a mere satrapy of a great nation, the political asylum of the dominant party; denied the right

guaranteed by the ordinance of '87, and vouchsafed by that constitution which twenty-five thousand of her loyal sons fought to sustain; refused self-government, slandered by the press, railed at by a political party supposed to represent the principles of Thomas Jefferson—why should she, denounced on the floor of the American Congress as an ill-tempered wench who knoweth not her own mind, lift up her voice and ask to be heard in a convention of Republican clubs, and in the great city of New York? Why indeed! Simply because she has a right to be heard in national councils wherever held. Because, after vainly knocking for a decade at the oaken panels of her father's house, she hears the welcome invitation, "come hither, daughter," from a council of kings. Here she could have a respectful hearing, aye more, though denied her constitutional rights by that same party which sought her life ere she had acquired territorial organization, she could lift her tear-dimmed eyes to that assembly, and command a nation's attention, a nation's sympathy. These are some among the many and, to me, cogent reasons why this fair damsel, without a birth-right other than the precious memory of her sainted god-father, tender, loving old father Abraham, should feel a mighty interest in every organization, convention, or conclave called and met together in the interest of a just administration of governmental affairs. A grand, glorious commonwealth, for twenty-seven long years condemned to wear the same scant, ill-fitting garment with which she left the nation's cradle; in behalf of such a commonwealth, whose tapering spires of kirk and school-house first greet the eye and are never beyond the limit of vision to her remotest inhabitant, I say all hail! to those who conceived and carried to a grand success the worthiest scheme of unified political organization ever laid before a free people.

A. B. GUPTILL.

FARGO, Dakota.

The importance of sincere unity and active co-operation of all Republicans in the impending campaign is obvious. No work that involves the co-operation of men with the same principles and measures of public interest at heart, which cover a continent, can be well done without the closest sympathy and co-operation.

It is, therefore, I think, of the utmost importance to the success of the Republican party, and so to the welfare of the Republic, that the Republican organization should be made universal and complete to the last detail. In the present state of things it is, I think, clear that such an organization must depend for its success in the struggle upon a cheerful and hearty unity which sinks out of sight and thought any supposed claims or any ambitions of particular men, and it must look for its victory to the selection of candidates who, being personally free from reproach or suspicion, or even hostile and unjust prejudice, will command the cheerful and earnest support of *all* the voters in the country who really believe in Republican principles and who are not actuated by any selfish or other personal motives. Thus thinking, I hope that Republicans will organize everywhere upon the principles and with the objects I have stated. So doing, I confidently believe our party will achieve the success it deserves. Failing to do so, it is, I think, most certain of defeat, and in such a case it would, perhaps, deserve it.

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Too much importance cannot be attached to the permanent organization of Republican clubs. The Republican party, to be successful, must be organized into clubs in every city, village, and hamlet, until the working of the party machinery represents the action of the human body. As the pulsation of the heart sends vigor and life blood to every portion of our physical frame, so should it be when the official head of the organization of the National Republican Clubs takes patriotic action. This official impulse of patriotism, acting through the club organizations, should move every Republican voter to renewed efforts for the success of his party. By permanent organization of clubs there would be a concentration of unlimited political power, and these organizations would mold the opinion of the party in advance of conventions. Such clubs in cities, where reformatory work is needed, should maintain their activity throughout the year. They should enroll among the members all Republican voters, and especially the young men. Proper places for meeting should

be provided, at which all political questions should be discussed. Through these clubs there should be a conference of ideas, and all opinions upon every national question should be thoroughly ventilated. Thus the people will be informed upon any issue that may come before them, and no convention will be able to throw a platform of disastrous resolutions before the intelligent voters. More than a century ago, Benjamin Franklin, with only five others, composed a club which discussed, and to a large extent determined, the course which was pursued by our continental fathers in the victorious conflict for American Independence. By the action of the Union League Club of Chicago the State of Illinois adopted an honest election law, which places that State, so long as present parties exist, in the Republican column. Their power and influence being clearly shown, the Republican clubs should be so numerous and universal as to take in every active Republican voter. Then there will be no one left to raise the absurd cry against the "machine," which has its effect upon unthinking voters, and in certain localities is detrimental to the success of the party. The campaign of 1888 will be conducted on the theory that politics is the science of human government, and stands next in importance to that science which determines our eternal welfare. It will be demonstrated that the Republican party, with its club organizations, is stronger out of power than it ever was whilst in power.

D. HARRY HAMMER.

CHICAGO, Ill.

The importance of organization for the accomplishment of any great ends in National or State affairs is so apparent, even to the casual observer, that it is only necessary to inquire as to the best manner in which such organization can be effected, to secure the ends in view. In advocating the permanent organization of Republican clubs in the several States, working in harmony under the National League, it is by no means intended to supplant, but rather to supplement, the regular National State and County organizations by and through which the Republican party has heretofore voiced its sentiments, and it is hoped that through its clubs the great underlying principles of the party may be continually kept in view, that through their potent influ-

ence the younger voters may be taught the "true faith of their fathers," and kept from the political heresies, which have caused so much trouble in the past, which are still a source of danger, and which must be met and overcome in the future. We believe there is a glorious future for the party which safely and securely conducted the country through a quarter of a century of her most eventful history, and which devised and put in motion the vast machinery that has filled her coffers to overflowing; and that the same steady brain and strong arm must be applied to the solution of the greater problems yet before us, conspicuous among which is the one now most pressing, the happy solution of which will make us a nation of producers for the markets of the world, instead of a nation of consumers of foreign products and an absorbent of foreign pauperism. The club will be the school in which the voter may be prepared to discharge intelligently the obligations growing out of his possession of the right of franchise. The great principles of the equality of all men before the law, protection of American industries, preservation of the purity of the ballot, and the cardinal principle, that we are a nation, will thus be held up directly and continually to the rising generation, and through the social features of the clubs the leading minds of the country can and will be brought into contact with each other. The result can only be beneficial in its influence on the party at large. Our efforts will be less spasmodic, and the club will become the nucleus, around which political thought will centre, and from which will radiate light to illumine the pathway of the "Old Party" as she steps proudly forward to the full accomplishment of her great mission.

W. W. JOHNSON.

BALTIMORE, Md., February 4, 1888.

The fact that localities which have been, until quite recently, Republican in sentiment and in majorities, are now as likely to be Democratic as Republican, has led those who are most interested in Republican supremacy, viz., the young men of our party, who have the battles and victories of the future to fight and win, to make careful inquiry into the causes that have produced this changed condition. This inquiry shows that the

change is due in one section to a revolt against bossism; in another, to carelessness or over-confidence of party managers; in another, to weak nominations, and in others to factional warfare, waged by the so-called great men of the party, and their personal followers, who forget that the Republican party as a political organization is greater, and entitled to more consideration, than any single individual and his supporters within its ranks. The permanent organization of Republican clubs, as outlined by the New York convention, will tend to dethrone the bosses; not that there will not always be leaders in politics: there is need for them, but the National and State leagues, composed of representatives of individual clubs from all over the country, whose sole object is Republican success, need no bosses to indicate to them in what or whose interest work must be done when there is a Republican ticket in the field. The important fact with respect to this scheme of organization in its relation to local, State, and National politics, is that intelligent co-operation is hereby secured. The services of every member of every club can and ought to be actively enlisted in furtherance of one object, and that assuredly is not the election of some "good fellow" on the Democratic ticket. While the constitutions of most of the clubs with which the writer has acquaintance preclude them from naming candidates, yet their pledge to support the party tickets will force their members to attend caucuses and primary elections, which, except in particularly disreputable wards, in a few of our largest cities, can easily be managed by the better element within our party, thereby insuring the nomination of good men to office. If, then, the presence of good men at caucuses and primaries can by this agency be induced, good nominations consequently secured, and active and earnest co-operation had among the members of these organizations, to elect the party nominees, much of the factional strife that has reduced our majorities will cease. There is inspiration in organization; organization in politics means success, to which the magnificent young commonwealth of Nebraska will contribute her share.

RALPH W. BRECKENRIDGE.

OMAHA, Neb.

The movement for the formation of Republican clubs, having in view the promotion of party activity and the improvement of

party organization, cannot be too strongly commended. Apart from the general and obvious advantages to be secured through these clubs, they can be made an effective agency to appeal to the considerable number of young men in every community who, while naturally in sympathy with the aims and policy of the Republican party, are, at present, for various reasons, indifferent to their political obligations. To secure the active co-operation of this class would insure for our party the vigorous and successful prosecution of the approaching Presidential contest.

NELSON W. ALDRICH.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The importance of permanent organization of Republican clubs in Maine cannot be overestimated. Fixed club life of any kind is unknown within our borders, outside of the cities of Portland and Bangor. The one great need of the Republican party to-day is thorough discussion of the tariff. The permanent club will occupy to the Republican party the relative position that the Sunday-School does to the Church. It will be the training school, the great volunteer army, the party organization representing the regular army. The club will fill a long-needed want; organized as it is to be, for the purpose of electing the party candidates, and not dictating its nominations, it will not savor of bossism or machine. It will be the rallying point for the enthusiasm of youth and the conservatism of middle age ; it will be the means by which and through which the people of the State may become thoroughly educated and instructed on all political questions ; it will be the debating club in our long winter evenings for the discussion of Republican principles, and, upon election day, will be the rallying committee, whose duty it will be to see that every Republican elector votes. No party can hope for success without thorough and perfect organization. The club system will do valuable and effective work, which party committees could not hope to perform. It has long been knownthat the regular party committees could not reach a large class of voters; the club can, through its general and popular organization, accomplish this object. The club will not in any way diminish the work or restrict the duties of the party committees, but will supplement and make more thorough party work. The Republicans are a reading and a thinking people, and

a large class of them do not interest themselves in party contests, unless some great principle is involved. The club will have this field to cultivate in disseminating proper literature upon all economic and political questions, by the circulation of newspapers, the distribution of public speeches, and the encouragement of public discussion; work in the broad field of educating the people on the great questions which should absorb their interest. Our State is especially adapted for its work; reaching cities, towns, and large villages, the club will add to the strength, vigor, power, and increase numerically the Republican party in Maine.

JOSEPH H. MANLEY.

AUGUSTA, Me

The movement for the organization of permanent Republican clubs, National, State, and local, is important, in view of their power to accomplish something for the good of the country, the party, or the members. Clubs so organized will be political schools where principles, methods, and measures can be considered and discussed. They will furnish unequaled facilities for the distribution of political literature, as they will deliver it directly to the individual. The association in club meetings will awaken and stimulate a desire for political information and lead to the collection and exchange of books and periodicals treating of public affairs. Such clubs cannot fail to be beneficial to the party. It is not now, as formerly, bound solidly together by a single great national principle. What was won by the bullet must be maintained by the ballot; but that idea alone will not keep the party intact. Party ties have gradually weakened. These clubs will revive interest, adjust differences, and by the exchange of opinion show the wavering person that while he differs from the party on some points, he can find no other party from which he does not differ more, and he will again act with the party which most nearly represents him. The greatest influence of the clubs, however, will be on the young men just assuming the duties of citizenship. The club opens up the way for them. Realizing that they can take an active part and not be merely passive followers, they will take a lively personal interest in the campaign. They will see that they are recognized as members of a great party made up of individuals like themselves, and that as

the individual is so will the party be. Such an organization as is contemplated widens the outlook and broadens the sympathy of its members. Personal acquaintance among the adherents of the party in different States will not be confined to prominent politicians, nor will the wants and interests of the party and people of California or Kansas be unknown, or a matter of indifference, to the Republicans of Massachusetts or Connecticut.

J. G. SLONECKER.

TOPEKA, Kansas.

The effort now being made toward the organization of young men's Republican clubs throughout the nation is a move in the right direction, and of great moment to the party. Nothing will better secure harmony, effectiveness, and victory. With but a partial organization in Kentucky, fifty-six out of one hundred and nineteen counties, at the last August election, the Republican vote was increased nearly thirty-eight thousand over that in the Gubernatorial race four years before, and the majority of forty-five thousand reduced to only a little more than sixteen thousand, and this, too, in the face of the bitterest and most determined fight ever made by the Democratic party in the State. With a club of energetic young men in each of the sixty-three counties that had no organization, the State would have gone Republican by a handsome majority. Indeed, the result of that contest has satisfied the most observant and sagacious politicians in Kentucky that a thorough organization will, in the approaching Presidential canvass, bring Kentucky into the Republican column. Without concerted action "one man's business is every man's business," and in such a case, each relying on another, all fail; on the other hand, when all attempt to accomplish what one might readily do, inextricable confusion results. Organization brings discipline, without which no party can reasonably hope to succeed. It causes an interchange and comparison of ideas, thus combining the wisdom of the many against the opinion of the few. Constant discussion begets profound interest, resulting in mental improvement and the acquirement of indispensable political information, while it simultaneously fosters friendly intercourse and inspires a confidence that knows no doubt and entertains no fear. For years many young men inthe South have been driven into the

Democratic party on account of the failure of the older Republican leaders to turn young enthusiasm to account, also by the taunt of Democracy that the Republican party was a "negro party." Prompt and effective party union, the organization of these young men, and the advice of party leaders would go far toward preventing their desertion of Republican principles. Much, indeed, has already been done in this direction. Through these clubs sound political literature can be most effectively and thoroughly distributed. The policy of protection to American industry and the prospect of national aid to education, which are to-day rapidly revolutionizing politics in the South, can thus be brought to the attention of all, and when this is done tens of thousands of accessions to the Republican ranks are assured. No other organized body promises so nearly to accomplish the results outlined herein as the Young Men's Republican Club, and Republicans everywhere could not engage in a more praiseworthy and patriotic service than that of actively laboring for the prompt enrollment of the bone and sinew—and brains as well—of the party, preparatory to the great battle which shall be surely fought and by them as surely won in 1888.

W. O. BRADLEY.

LANCASTER, Ky.

The Republicans of Iowa feel the need of a more effective mode of permanent organization, and are adopting the club form. In its early years the party did not need organization. It sprang into existence in response to a popular demand, when the American conscience turned in revolt against human slavery, and came with such vigor of infectious courage that it swept forward to its great duties, scarcely needing to organize or to ask for recruits. It was vitalized then with the energy and force of an errand to save the Nation's life, and illuminated itself with such courage of conscience and deeds of daring as made it attractive to all people capable of good sentiment and patriotic purpose. The people came to it, and gave it sufficient strength. As the war has receded, and the issues of a time of conflict and great events have cooled, the party has come forward to peace issues, and has had to learn to rely on its own daily strength of Republican or partisan sentiment, as distinguished from the spontaneous moral

support it received from all patriotic people when engaged in suppressing treason and healing its wounds. The heroic days are over, and the unheroic days succeed. The war is nearly twenty-five years away. A million first voters, to whom the war is history and not a personal experience, are added to the voting population every four years. They are not swayed by sentimental issues nor the historic grandeur of the Republican party. They turn to the future and want to fight present politics on present issues. They are the life, enthusiasm, and active power of any party. The old State and county committees have proved too cumbrous and slow for quick motion and direct application. Young men love organization which has a social side to it, and can embrace large numbers. The club supplies this, and the more active agency so much needed. It also supplies a means for debate, so popular with the young, affords a reading-room, a place to meet and confer, and creates a social and active centre in politics. It aggregates the enthusiasm and fighting and recruiting power of the party. It is capable of large membership, which the committee is not. It provides a system for maintaining the strength and evenness of settled opinion as to party principles or public issues, as against the sudden change or oftentimes artificial decision of a convention or mass meeting. It is a checkmate and challenge to the growing indifference to politics among the better class of men. It is the means by which the hand of organization and appeal can be laid on the shoulder of every voter, and the right path of good politics and good fellowship pointed out to him.

J. S. Clarkson.

Des Moines, Iowa.

The organization of permanent Republican clubs, federated into State and National leagues, is the best working medium yet devised for the advancement of the principles of the party. These federated clubs will create public sentiment, crystallize that sentiment into principles, and will make a knowledge of these principles a common heritage. Young men will catch the enthusiasm of their fellows, and before business and domestic cares have had time to engross their whole life, they will learn that practical every-day politics are a necessity, and that each one of them has

a vital personal interest in the welfare of his country; and so all will work with the organizations for the success of their party. Permanent Republican clubs, leagued into a great federation, working in a common cause, every organization stimulated by the efforts of every other organization, cannot but raise the plane of partisan politics—*partisan* politics, if you please, for I am one of those who think no other practical—to a higher and broader plane than ever before. The partisan who has heretofore measured everything by the footrule of local prejudice will become imbued with broader and national ideas—will break the bonds of local circumstance and environment, and rise to the full stature of national citizenship.

JNO. A. CALDWELL.

CINCINNATI, O.

Minnesota, prior to 1886, was overwhelmingly Republican. A nomination by a Republican convention was equivalent to election. The first sign of party disorganization appeared in 1886, when the Republican nominee for Governor received but 2,600 plurality, a falling off, when compared with the presidential vote of 1884, of over 40,000. What is the cause of this change? Have the people ceased to be Republican? No. Minnesota, properly organized, is to-day as strongly Republican as ever. Little attempt has been made to encourage thought among the people upon the principles of the party. The party has, to a large extent, been divided into factions, each of which spent its best energies in attempting to control nominations. The voter, who was not interested in this contest, finally became suspicious, then indifferent, and party lines in a great measure disappeared, with the above result. Organization is, therefore, now necessary. The people propose to effect this by means of the permanent Republican Club. It is a people's movement and already promises grand results. During the past month nearly two hundred clubs have been organized, and on the second of February, six hundred delegates, representing these clubs, from every county in the State, met in convention at Minneapolis, and organized a State Republican League upon the plan adopted by the National League. These clubs are to play a very important part in the future politics of the State. In every

school district clubs are to be organized, not in the interest of any candidate or faction; they are to go beyond the individual, and build their foundations upon principles, not men. They are to be more than an organization of politicians, they are to reach out and embrace the people who do not make a business of politics. They are to be permanently organized for the purpose of promoting good government and become the schools where the voter shall receive his political education. These clubs will be the agencies for the distribution of sound political knowledge among the masses. The principles upon which the party stands shall be there discussed and their soundness tested by the sovereign judgment of the American voter. Every voter will become a student, opinion will follow study, and conviction take the place of indifference. The discussions of these clubs will reach every home in the State. Opinion will become crystallized. The representatives of the people, both in legislature and convention, coming under the influence of these clubs, will bring with them the intelligent opinion of their neighbors, and that opinion will assert itself and appear in the acts of the legislature and the platforms of the conventions.

T. E. Byrnes.

Minneapolis, Minn.

The utter disregard for party discipline characteristic of the Republicans of the Pacific slope has been the cause of well-grounded uneasiness. Where the annual crop of Independent voters is as magnificent as any other California production, and where political heresy commands a premium, here is felt most keenly the want of permanent organizations intended not only as factors in approaching campaigns, but as well schools wherein the ideas of Republicanism may be expounded and party discipline favored and furthered.

The late State campaign in California witnessed the creation of a new party. The salient feature in its platform was the restriction of undesirable immigration. Whether the device of the opposition or the expression of a sincere patriotism, the result was that the American party, led by a hitherto pronounced Democrat, polled six thousand votes, chiefly Republican. The Republican candidate for Governor was defeated by less than a thousand

votes. The restriction of undesirable immigration is an essentially Republican sentiment. Had there been in existence clubs and organizations through which the necessity for a new party advocating this doctrine could have been refuted, whose authority would have given weight to the argument, California's electoral vote would not now be considered doubtful.

Such permanent organizations, composed of the rank and file of the party, would form a tribunal whose decrees measurably would determine matters of policy, and conclude factional differences, to the ultimate benefit of the Republican party in national, State, and municipal affairs. Leaders of cliques would find that their personal ambitions must yield to the larger interests of the party.

To illustrate again: The Republican State Central Committee of California urged by malcontents, in the opening of the late State campaign, usurped the functions of the County Committee of the city of San Francisco, invented cumbersome machinery for primary elections, and organized a Star Chamber court called "The Committee of Ten." An appeal was made to the State Convention, which unhorsed the political guerrillas; but the existing animosities were fanned to a fever heat, and an overwhelming opposition municipal victory resulted. State conventions meet biennially: there is an ever-present necessity for a regulator on this machine of politics; it must be supplied by permanent respectable Republican clubs, which shall control political sentiment and party action.

MORRIS C. BAUM.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.

The rapid and increasing formation of Republican clubs and their recent consolidation in a National League are political facts of great interest. To the Republican party this club movement is of especial importance if it is rightly carried on in the spirit in which it has been begun. In a time when public questions are largely social, economical, and administrative, political interest is awakened with much more difficulty than when some abnormally intense moral question, like slavery or secession, stirs popular feeling to its depths. Yet the questions of to-day are very grave in import and far-reaching in their effects. It, therefore, be-

comes highly important to keep alive with a vigorous vitality political interest and most particularly among the young men. It is impossible to do this properly by means of the regular party machinery and by eleventh hour discussion on the eve of election, when men have become too fixed in their indifference to move. The clubs make political discussion and political association among a large body of voters, whose primary interest is not in politics, permanent instead of spasmodic. They supply a powerful organization for the constant instruction of voters and for the all important work of reaching them and bringing them to the polls. They stimulate enthusiasm and give an opening to young men for the active work for which they are the best fitted, that could not be obtained in any other way. This great movement, as it may now be called since it has assumed such large proportions, is capable of achieving great results. But its success depends, as it seems to me, on the rigid observance of one condition. The work of the clubs must be given to the party and its principles, and to nothing else. The moment the league or any considerable number of the clubs advocate the selection of any particular candidate, whether State or National, their power for usefulness in the only true sense of the word is gone. From a declaration in favor of some individual the descent to the level of a mere personal faction is only too easy. It is not necessary that the clubs should pass any "self-denying ordinance," but it is essential that their leaders and officers should be neither holders nor seekers of political office. The strength of the clubs lies in their disinterested devotion to the party and its principles and policies, and so long as they continue in this way as they have begun, they offer the surest pledge that can be given for the success and the enduring soundness of the Republican party.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JUDAS THE ISCARIOT.

To every human consciousness is opened a sense of the two possibilities of our existence—the higher and lower—commonly termed good and evil. Heaven and hell, zenith and nadir of the spiritual universe, are represented in an ethical classification of forms and forces, whose scientific completeness is hidden under the absurdities of mythology. In the ages before science discovered to man his heritage of animalism, from which he can no more be detached than he can "jump off his shadow," the contrast between the sensual and the ideal self was inexplicable by any natural hypothesis. Though primitive philosophy had held that the same tree bore good and evil, religious sentiment interpreted that as meaning the knowledge of good and evil,—these being separated into the Twins, white and dark, found in every theology. In all fable and folklore these white and dark spirits have their respective incarnations, in harmony with observable facts.

There are forces in men which in some primitive phase of society acted organically, but survive in a further phase, where they act inorganically. Their ancient motive or cause being extinct, these inorganic (*i. e.*, anti-social) forces appear diabolic—evil for evil's sake. Hence the notion of incarnate fiends. Incarnation is no mystery. By purposed selection man breeds in a bulldog an exaltation of ferocity only ideal in himself; that thoroughbred brute will hate without motive, and cannot be drawn from the improvised foe by torture; he will often die rather than let go, a martyr of self-sacrificing ferocity. This creation by man of an evil genius outside the normal self-preserving instincts, is paralleled in survivals of brute craft, cruelty, and lust, in the human shape, thereby invested with a refined apparatus for evil unknown to any animal. This evolved inhumanity, personified as the Adversary of God, has in every age been seen in evil in-

carnations confronting the incarnation of God. Thus side by side appear Jesus and Judas. While looking on the Oberammergau Passion Play I thought Judas the most phenomenal of the figures. By a local survival of the fittest for this all-absorbing enterprise of the region the sacred pictures of church walls are made flesh. Judas' face is his fortune. His make-up is from the diabolic wardrobe of ages. I found him personally a gentle and pious man. Could we meet the original Judas a like respect might ensue. But he has been conventionalized by centuries. The Beloved Disciple is reported as almost seeing Satan enter Judas during the Last Supper, and it is artistically added, he "went out, and it was night." This "night" was easily spiritualized, and a later writer knows that "Judas fell away, that he might go to his own place." Thus Judas was made the infranatural counterpart of a supernatural divinity. Judas's gratuitous villainies were easily explained as mysteries of preordained diabolic purpose; doubts as to whether Christ would have chosen such a disciple, or intrusted him with the common purse, leading him into temptation—were silenced by reference to the incomprehensibility of divine counsels. In the apocryphal "Gospel of the Infancy," it is related that a demoniacal boy, brought to the child Jesus, strikes him, whereupon Jesus weeps, and Satan comes out of the boy in the form of a furious dog. This boy was Judas. According to another legend, Judas's mother had a dream before his birth that her son would murder his father and sell his God. To avert this the child was sunk in the sea, but was cast on shore. He was adopted by a king and queen, who had a son, whom Judas slew. He fled to Judea, became the page of Pilate, and, after the predestined murder of his father, learned from his mother her dream. In terror and contrition Judas hears of a prophet who forgives sins; when he throws himself at his feet, Jesus, recognizing his predestined betrayer, accepts him as a disciple, and intrusts him with the purse so that Judas's avarice might be excited and the plan of salvation not fail. Judas thus became Heir Apparent to the infernal throne, and in mural pictures of Eastern churches he appears seated on the knees of a majestic Satan. But in western Christendom the idea long prevailed that Jesus was moving invisibly about the world, keeping his eye on every movement of mankind

until the day when he should judge them; Judas appears to have been resuscitated in some regions for a counter-wandering, but the exigencies of Roman Christianity demanded a less localized and less penitent devil. Thus Judas was superseded by Antichrist, and his story became threaded on the continuous line of undying wanderers. Since writing my monograph on "The Wandering Jew," I have found reason to suspect that the eternal wanderer of our European legend, Ahasuerus, derives his reputation of having been a shoemaker, who struck Jesus with a last, from a popular derivation of the word "Iscariot" from Hebrew *scortea*, "a leathern apron."*

Disraeli's championship of Judas, as a self-sacrificing disciple willing to be accursed through all time in order to complete conditions necessary for human salvation, remains a monument of his audacity and Christianized cynicism. His remorseless logic, however, has long been felt. Various theories have sought to vindicate the divine purity from the appearance of having prearranged and required such baseness and treason for its ends. These are signs of the advancing ethical spirit which is humanizing Christianity. The enthroned Christ seems to be laying aside the crown once more, and becoming a plain workman. His human life, sympathy, radicalism, are dwelt on. As Jesus has been reinvested with humanity, so may the diabolized figure of Judas; the same humanity includes him and the Teacher he is said to have betrayed. An artist once painted a lovely child

*Possibly this leathern apron suggested as its holy counterpoise the apron of St. Veronica, which retained the portrait of Jesus when she wiped his brow, just after Ahasuerus had struck him on his way to Calvary. Goethe recognized the poetic value of this subject, and designed a poem in which the shoemaker Ahasuerus is a sort of Socratic Hans Sachs, at whose shop Pharisees and Sadducees, and Jesus with his disciples, would often stop. Being interested only in the world, Ahasuerus yet loves Jesus and tries to persuade him to stop going about with idlers, and drawing people away from their work. Jesus tries to inspire him with his own aims. After the condemnation of Jesus, Judas rushes into the shop of Ahasuerus in great distress; he relates that being fully convinced that Jesus would declare himself regent, he had incited the priesthood to an arrest for which they had not courage. He says that the disciples were all armed and all would have gone well had not the Lord given himself up. Judas goes off and hangs himself. Ahasuerus, as the sufferer passes, vehemently reproaches him for his folly, when Veronica covers the fainting man's face, and on her apron Ahasuerus beholds the features not of the sufferer of the moment, but of the same transfigured. He hears the words, "Over the earth shalt thou wander till thou once more see me in this form." (Dichtung und Wahrheit, xv.)

as an infant Jesus. Twenty years later, having to paint the Last Supper, he found a model for his Judas in an imprisoned murderer. As he scrutinized the face of his Judas it grew familiar, and he ultimately found that his Jesus and Judas represented the childhood and the manhood of the same person.

It is a notable fact that, while there have been historic doubts as to the existence of Jesus, few have questioned that of Judas : so pessimist is the world ! Those who resolve Christ into a solar myth might find much support in the burials of Judas as "Winter" in some remote parts of Europe, and the Good Friday scourgings of his effigy in Spanish countries. Although there is in the case suggestion of an onomatopoetic myth, "Judas," being the Greek form of "Judah," a possible personification of the Jewish race betraying their Messiah to the Roman, yet in a fragment of the lost Aramaic Gospel there is mention of "Judas the Iscariot." This supplies a strong probability of the existence of a disciple so called. But personally he seems lost in a labyrinth of contradictions. He is said, in the fourth Gospel, to have been the purse-bearer of Jesus and the Twelve, also to have taken money from the bag dishonestly—statements unsupported by the other Gospels. If Judas had such a good position for the exercise of thievish industry, would he have terminated it for twenty dollars ? Matthew alone mentions the amount of the bribe, with suspicious exactitude, one hardly sufficient to purchase a cemetery for strangers, as others state. Matthew and Mark say Judas kissed Jesus ; Luke says he approached for that purpose ; John says nothing about a kiss, but represents Jesus as hastening to surrender himself to the soldiers, among whom was Judas. As to the end of Judas, it is variously stated that he hanged himself; that he bought a field and fell down dead in it; that he threw down the money before those who had bribed him. To those unable to harmonize these things by an act of faith, the following considerations may be of interest.

The title of Judas "the Iscariot" has from earliest times been variously explained. There are six theories of the word (1) From Kartan, in Galilee (Josh. xxi. 32). (2) From Greek *kariotides*, date-trees. (3) Iscariot has been derived from Hebrew *scortea*, a leathern apron, as already stated ; "Judas with the apron" was applied to him as bearer of the bag or scrip.

Lightfoot, on the authority of Rabbi Nathan, describes the scrip as "a kind of [leather] apron with divers purses or pockets made in it." As Jesus forbade the disciples to carry purse or scrip, Judas, if he did so, must have been an official exception; but is it not more probable that his alleged office, unknown to the earlier evangelists, is a legend grown out of this derivation of Iscariot from *scortea?* (4) Iscariot has been derived from Hebrew *ascara,* "strangling." Is this etymology the real basis of the death by hanging? (5) Iscariot has been supposed equivalent to Issacharite. The transliteration of the usual Hebrew of Issachar is *Yissâsekâr.* One need only search accounts of Issachar to find suggestions of the Iscariot legend. Issachar means "he takes up his wages." (Gen. xxx. 18.) "And Leah said, God hath given me my hire, because I gave my bondmaid to my husband: and she called his name Issachar." The significance of the name labeled the tribe (Gen. xlix. 14).

> "Issachar is a bony ass
> Couching between two sheepfolds:
> He saw rest, that it was good,
> And the land that it was pleasant:
> He bowed his shoulder to bear
> And became a tributary of labor."

Issachar, legendary offspring of a hired husband, might readily be recalled by a name so near his own as Iscariot, who in turn would have to bow his shoulder to bear the Issacharite legend. Iscariot couches between the Judaic and Christian sheepfolds; desires the inner rest, but also the land (bought with his bribe); becomes a slave unto tribute.

(6) It is now generally agreed among Christian scholars that Iscariot is from Heb. *Ish K'rioth,* "man of K'rioth," a town in the south of Judah. Learned Jews, however, says Iscariot means "of the tribe of Issachar." In this case the legend that Judas became the slave of hire, and bought land, is mere mythopœic growth from an innocent tribal distinction. If the epithet means "man of Kerioth," all the other derivations are fictitious, mere similarities of sound. The legends that Judas was a purse-bearer, that he couched between two parties, bought land, took up his wages, and was strangled, may all have come out of unconscious puns on the word Iscariot!

As to the origin of other details of the story the candor of

Matthew has not left us ignorant. In anticipation of a doubt that the police of Jerusalem could hardly have needed to bribe any disciple to point out a notorious public teacher, Luke and John suggest that the authorities were afraid of the people, and paid Judas to guide them to a secret retreat; but Matthew finds his adequate explanation of all anomalies in the necessity that prophesies should be fulfilled. This writer even seems to explain the matter to Jesus, who says, "I sat daily in the temple teaching, and ye took me not." But, adds Matthew, "all this is come to pass that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled." The very words ascribed to Jesus, "He that dipped his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me. The Son of Man goeth as it is written," etc., point with precision to Psalm xl., where it is written, "Yea, mine own familiar friend, in whom I trusted, which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me." There is here a foregone necessity of treachery on the part of a disciple, and of one who partook of the Last Supper. And that no sign of the expected Messiah should be unfulfilled, the thirty pieces are introduced: "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the prophet, saying, 'And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was priced,'" etc. The passage is in Zachariah, not Jeremiah, and no straining can make it refer to the Messiah.

It will thus be seen that every item in the confused legend of Judas is mythical. There is left only a probability that some action on Judas's part caused these sinister significances to be given to his innocent title, Iscariot. What that action was cannot be ascertained, but withdrawal of the Iscariot-mythology leaves untouched a few points of interest. There is nothing improbable in the assertion that Judas protested against Mary's waste on Jesus's feet of costly ointment that might have been sold for the poor. He may have given voice to the "indignation" of other disciples. This would show Judas as a rather hard type of radical, no doubt; were he in New York he would protest against building a six-million cathedral amid suffering thousands. It is the misfortune of such men that they are not always able to except from their humane secularism the value of a sentiment such as that which filled not only the house of Simon, but the Christian world with the perfume shed by Mary on the weary feet of Jesus. Mary's kisses on those feet may possibly have suggested the tra-

dition of her reprover's treacherous kisses. Nevertheless, Judas may have so greeted Jesus at the time of his arrest. The 'hail Master' and the kiss may have been genuine. He might so have initiated a predicted crisis. Jesus had kindled high hopes among these humble and oppressed Jews; nor were his plans peaceful. "Ye which have followed Me, shall sit upon twelve thrones." "I came not to send peace, but a sword." "He that hath none, let him sell his cloak and buy a sword." "They said, Lord, here are two swords, and he said, it is enough." That, in the revolution to which these and other sayings pointed, the Messiah might be slain, was an idea no Jew could conceive, even had Jesus not declared that no man could take his life. The disciples had shown impatience, and asked "When shall these things be?" Jesus had assured them "This generation shall not pass away till all these things be accomplished." Perhaps Judas, with the fanatical faith of John Brown, challenged a collision with enormous odds, never doubting that twelve legions of angels would appear if necessary. He may have led the soldiers to the retreat beyond Cedron. Several of the disciples were armed, and may have shared Judas's hopes. Indeed, John will not admit that either Judas or the soldiers had any power over Jesus: the Lord advanced and said, 'I am He,' and the officials all went backward and fell to the ground. But the disciples were in dismay. The theory of treachery is hardly consistent with the subsequent action attributed to Judas, so far as this has not been shown mythical. Where he had looked to see a triumphant Messiah, he saw now an innocent man—a beloved friend and teacher—led away under arrest to probable execution. "When he saw what he had done," so terribly in contrast to his expectation, he repented of his impatient action. He had taken the metaphors of Jesus too literally; his imagination was not equal to all eventualities; but all the more can such take to heart the thing seen and realized. When the rest of the disciples "forsook him and fled," when Peter denied him with oaths, Judas alone seems to have confronted the chief priests and elders and testified to the innocence of Jesus.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE PRESIDENT'S PUZZLE: THE SURPLUS.

WHAT a magnificent example the Republic was setting to the nations only three months ago! How changed all is to-day.

Her enemies were grievously disappointed when she proved that she could and would fight in the defense of the Union. That fact having been settled, their hope and prediction then was that the vast armies that had been created would remain a menace to the civil power; that danger being averted, there remained for them but the consolation that she must fail to stand the supreme test of popular government. True, Democracy had fought; but, said they, it would never pay. The debts incurred in a period of enthusiasm would certainly be repudiated. The Republic set out dispelling this last aspersion, and nothing in her history has ever created such profound impression abroad as the manner in which she has from month to month reduced the vast load of debt with which she was burdened at the end of her struggle for national existence. What the capitalist of the world now thinks of "the government of the people, for the people, and by the people"—and the capitalist is the shrewdest and most calculating of men—is found in this fact, that the public debt of the United States ranks the highest in the world. From her great motherland, hitherto the first in public credit, she has wrested the golden round of sovereignty. The consols of Great Britain, perpetual in duration, rank second in the estimation of the world to the bonds of the Republic, which are redeemable in a few years. Consols of the Republic—a government of the people—similar to those of Great Britain, would rank much higher than those of the monarchy, the government of a class.

I shall never forget when a Cabinet Minister of Great Britain, of the first rank, asked me if there was not grave danger to the existence of Republican institutions when the dispute between

Tilden and Hayes arose, in regard to the Presidency. I said to him, "Have you noticed what American three per cents are this morning?" "No," he said, "What are they?" "Higher than yours," was the reply. There ensued a silence that could be felt. The American citizen, traveling abroad, as he picked up a newspaper in the café which told him that the debt of his country had been reduced during the previous month ten millions of dollars, looked around that café with the air of a man that belonged to something. He called his English, German, Italian, or French acquaintance to his side, pointed to the paper, and said, "Yes, that is how *we* do it; the country we fought for we are paying for. And we mean to keep on paying until our Republic has not a dollar of debt."

Every statesman, every financier in Europe received new light in regard to this Republic, its people and its doings, from this unique monthly bulletin. The word "American" means more, fills the breast fuller, and rolls more roundly from the tongue, since America presented to the world the spectacle of a nation wiping off its debt every month by millions. One of the hopes in which I have often indulged is that one day I should stand in Washington and see the last obligation of the Republic burned amid public rejoicings. All this was possible, probable, three months ago. What has arrested this triumphal march and relegated our country to the position of the debt-ridden governments of Europe? We have no more monthly bulletins showing payment of debt.

One would imagine that to arrest a great nation in such a glorious career there must be a lion, indeed, in the path. But there is no lion, it is a very small mouse which has done this mischief. A Secretary of the Treasury, new to his functions, expresses a doubt whether he has power to purchase bonds with the surplus revenues. That is the whole of it. He admits that he has the power to purchase bonds for the sinking fund; but he doubts whether he has the power to purchase bonds for redemption. A former Secretary of the Treasury points out to him that his power is undoubted to do both. But assuming that the present Secretary of the Treasury is correct, a word from the President, or from him, to Congress, and a bill giving explicit power would be the result in a few days and all difficulty would vanish, and the Republic would continue its declared policy of wiping out the

debt and begin again to astonish the world with its monthly bulletins.

What would the purchase of bonds involve? Only the payment of a small premium above their face, for two years, when the remainder of the two hundred and thirty millions mature and could be purchased at par. This premium would be a decreasing one from month to month, as the interval between the purchase and the right to cancel at par lessened, and it would only be paying their value. But instead of asking for this authority the Secretary of the Treasury gives away to banks, free of interest, the surplus revenues of the nation. The loss upon this operation, if continued, will not be less, if any, than that which would be incurred in the purchase of bonds above par; while the doubt and uncertainty surrounding the future action of the Secretary in regard to these loans, hanging over us like a cloud threatening to burst at any moment, will cost the country far more than any possible premium, and may involve it in commercial disaster.

We hear much of a surplus; but how can there be a surplus when we have a thousand million of dollars of debt outstanding? When we have paid off that debt, and not until then, can there be any true surplus whatever. The reduction of taxation, internal or external, will then be in order, but not till then. This country has now a golden opportunity; never was it so prosperous, never did it accumulate wealth so fast; the load of taxation which it has is as a feather weight upon its back. India has not yet completed its railway system, nor has Russia introduced improved methods of handling and transportation; the markets of the Old World for her produce, cotton, and petroleum lie open to her almost unchallenged. It is not possible for the most sanguine to anticipate a period during which the Republic will be more prosperous than the present, while it is altogether likely that in the future she is to encounter more strenuous competition. The true policy, therefore, is to continue paying off the debt as rapidly as the revenues from present taxation will allow. Never was there a situation in which the Earl of Aberdeen's advice is more appropriate than now, in regard to taxation. After his cabinet had discussed various means of solving a supposed problem, which, like the surplus, had only an imaginary existence, he asked, "why could we not let it alone?" And that proved the true solution of the difficulty; it is so now with us. Why can't we let it alone?

There are several anomalies in the present tariff; some mistakes that need correction; some changes in administration which experience has shown to be necessary. The bill offered by our admirable Mayor, Mr. Hewitt, in a recent Congress, ought by all means to be passed. But the nation having adjusted itself to existing conditions, the present taxation should not be disturbed so long as there is a dollar of debt to pay, and until the Republic stands before the world the only civilized government not handicapped by debt. Democracy has given the world many lessons. Its patriotic citizens should insist upon giving it another.

If, however, the present situation must be changed, if the Republic is not to go forward paying off the debt to reach the unique position pictured for her, then undoubtedly there will be a surplus to deal with. And the question is, how can a surplus be prevented? The President proposes to avoid a surplus by reducing the duties upon imports, a policy which is certain to increase it. Into the merits of protection and free trade it is here unnecessary to enter, because all but the most violent advocates of a tariff for revenue only, agree that having built up a large manufacturing nation—the largest on earth—under a system of protection, changes must be carefully made; so carefully made that the fabric shall not be seriously injured during transition. Such is the President's position. He says, substantially, that great care must be taken not to injure the manufactures of the country: a reduction must be made, but it must be such as manufacturers can stand; to which they can readily adjust themselves; something not too radical, an easy step, and then only when another step can be safely taken in this direction, it can be made. He desires no sudden shock to the present system, but soberly, judiciously, to bring it nearer and nearer to new conditions which, he thinks, would be more beneficial to the country. Well, let us see—ten per cent. reduction upon anything at one step is a pretty strong pull; a reduction in the President's vote of a fraction of one per cent. might have rendered this article unnecessary. But suppose that a reduction in duties to the extent of ten per cent. were decided upon, and surely no one with a due regard for existing conditions would propose to do more at one time—certainly the President would not, if true to his declared wish to proceed prudently—how would this reduction affect the surplus?

In 1886 we collected from imports one hundred and eighty-eight millions of dollars, but fifteen millions of this was from silks, five millions from foreign wines, liquors, etc., and about as much more from various articles of similar class, the duties upon which no one would think it wise to reduce. This leaves say one hundred and fifty millions of duties collected upon articles which enter into general consumption, and even this includes fifty-one millions collected from the material out of which we manufacture sugar, and which it is proposed to deal with separately. If this be deducted, then we have left one hundred millions of manufactured articles upon which a general tariff bill could act.

A reduction which averaged ten per cent. would reduce the revenue then ten millions of dollars, and if sugar be embraced in the same bill, fifteen millions—upon an equal amount of foreign articles imported; but what about the increased amount of foreign articles which the lower duties would enable the foreigner to substitute for articles which American manufacturers had hitherto been able to supply owing to the higher duties upon the foreign? Every one knows that reduced duties mean greater importations. It is to give the foreigner a better position in our markets that duties upon his products are lowered.

The first year's revenues from importations under a ten per cent. reduction would be greater in amount than before. Make the reduction average twenty per cent., and so complete will be the control of the foreigner over many branches of domestic manufacture which have a struggle even under present duties to hold their share of the trade in competition with foreign goods, that the *aggregate* sum collected from importations would probably equal, if it did not exceed, that flowing from a ten per cent. reduction, but five, ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. reduction, the President's puzzle is again upon him—the veritable devil's ducat of which he cannot get rid—of which at least it is certain he never will get rid upon his plan.

The country may be in favor of reducing its debt at a slower pace than heretofore, which I do not believe. It may wish less money collected from taxation than at present, which I do not believe it is troubling itself much about. It may desire that a greater proportion of foreign manufactures shall be used than at present, which I do most emphatically disbelieve; but one hope it cannot entertain for a moment, and that is, that by following the Presi-

dent's advice and reducing duties upon imports, the aggregate sum received from importations will be lessened and the surplus thereby reduced.

It is true that it has been proposed to place four articles upon the free list which yield from twelve to fifteen millions of dollars per annum. These are called raw materials, but no one has yet been able to define what a raw material is. To the mining company that produces iron ore upon the shores of Lake Superior, and transports it for a thousand miles in its own vessels, and sells at the furnace for seven dollars per ton what was worth a few cents in the mine, iron ore is the finished product. There is not anything raw about it. A hundred and fifty millions of capital are invested, and many thousands of men are employed in the business, and so it is in the mining of coal. It is very certain that Congress will not admit iron ore free of duty, for so overpowering were the facts laid before the last Congressional Committee that investigated the subject, that when a general reduction of duties was made, so far from the duty upon iron ore being reduced with other articles, the duty was actually increased fifty per cent. Spanish labor in the mines, fifty cents per day, and labor in the mines of Lake Superior, two dollars per day, with cost of transport less from Spain to seaboard furnaces than from Lake Superior to furnaces in Ohio and Pennsylvania, settled the question of free ore as it will settle the question of free coal. An effort to abolish all duties upon these so-called raw materials must fail. As long as incidental protection is given to home industries on account of the greater cost of labor here, so long must industries which have been developed by this policy share in this advantage. It would be neither just nor politic to treat them differently from other industries.

If the so-called surplus—which is no surplus, but is only caused by a failure to use our funds to pay our debts—if this surplus be such a nightmare, and it is necessary for the Nation's peace to get rid of it in some other way than for the payment of debt, and if the President is bound to use foreign imports as the means to prevent a surplus, there is only one key for the puzzle, these reductions must be so radical as to paralyze the manufacturing system and bring upon the country a period of misfortune which has not been equaled more than once or twice in its history—or he must raise the duties sufficiently to lessen importa-

tions. He places himself upon record as not in favor of the former action. He is probably still less disposed to adopt the alternative. Yet he cannot affect the surplus through imports except by one course or the other, for nothing is surer than that any moderate reduction of duties will not reduce, but will swell the surplus.

The President's puzzle is not to be thus solved. No, no, Mr. President, people don't stop overflows by lowering the sluices. Those that favor this never want the overflow lessened, and as men have died and worms have eaten them, but not one of them for love, so also many men have wished the duties upon imports reduced, but not one of them for the reason you assign—to reduce the surplus. It was lonely around the camp fire one night in the wild West until one of the company proposed that they should all tell their real names. Matters became lively enough at once. Let those gentlemen masquerading about, disguised as surplus reducers, tell us what they mean when they advocate a policy certain to increase revenues. Give us your *real names*, gentlemen! And you, Mr. Surplus Reduction President, suppose you begin?

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

REASONING POWER OF ANIMALS.

MISS KITTY is a favorite member of our family and she is possessed of so many graces and virtues that I am glad to bear witness to her worth in a brief biography. She is an humble creature, but she lives up to the highest capabilities of her nature, and a careful study of her ways has convinced me that the "god-like reason," of which we assume a monopoly, does not go altogether upon two legs, but is shared, in a greater or less degree, by our four-footed companions.

When she came to us at first Kitty was a little waif, timid and shy, and scarcely four weeks old, and her terrified look, as she crept out from underneath the veranda of our country house, told plainly that she was conscious of having come into a world where cats got far more kicks than caresses. This was but natural, for only the day before she had seen her mother slaughtered by a brute of a boy, and had herself escaped merely because she was too young to render her peltry of any value. We gave her food and spoke kindly to her; but it was days before we could lure her into the house, or induce her to accept our caresses. She would start at the slightest sound, and she wore a look of constant fright, as if the tragedy of her mother's death was continually before her. Gradually, however, the terrible vision seemed to fade from her memory and she became very playful and affectionate. She would climb upon our laps and our shoulders, and, putting her soft cheek to ours, would caress us most fondly. Her favorite station during the day was on my writing table, where she was accustomed to curl herself up and, when awake, to watch the movement of my pen as it glided over the paper. She did not appear to understand this at first, but she very deliberately proceeded to investigate the phenomenon. After watching it one day for a time, she reached out her paw and touched the penholder. I kept on writing, and this, I suppose, gave her confidence, for when her paw had followed my hand once or twice across the

sheet, she clutched the pen herself, and attempted to go on with the writing. The result was a huge blot upon the MS, at which Kitty gazed aghast for a few moments; then, giving me a sad look and uttering a plaintive wail, she again seated herself near by and looked on in silence. Daily she came upon my table and watched my proceedings, but never again did she volunteer to aid me in the work of composition.

Thinking to arouse Kitty's artistic sense, I one day placed before her a book filled with engravings of animals. She regarded the strange creatures for a while with some interest; but when I turned the page to one of the cat kind, she gave her head a peculiar toss, by which she expresses contempt or disapprobation, and silently walked away, thus plainly intimating that she could distinguish between the sham and the real. Her strongest admiration was for her beautiful self, and she was, and is, the perfection of feline beauty. She has a full, shapely head, a rounded, graceful form, large, dark, speaking eyes, and a clear black and white coat, as soft and glossy as silk. While still so very young, she never tired of gazing at herself in a glass. One day I set a small toilet mirror upon the floor, so that she could see her reflected image. She gazed unconcernedly upon it for a few moments, but as soon as she observed that the kitten in the glass responded to her every movement she opened her eyes wide with astonishment. Then, looking up at me inquiringly, she proceeded to investigate the toilet glass, walking round and round it, and now and then tapping its wooden back with her paw. When she had apparently become convinced that it did not conceal her own counterpart, she again set herself down before it and began to smooth her coat, and stroke her whiskers, all the while keeping one eye fixed upon the reflected kitten which was performing the same ceremonies. At last she fell asleep, and I set the glass away upon an upper shelf in my library; but she no sooner awoke than she came to me, looked up at the mirror, and by a pleading mew asked me to place it again upon the floor. This I did day after day to the great delight of Miss Kitty, who would sit before it for an hour at a stretch, prinking and pruning herself like any human coquette. One day, having a visitor, I failed to respond as promptly as usual to her request for the glass and she suddenly darted into an adjoining room, where, half an hour later, I found her perched upon the top of a bureau,

and surveying herself in the larger glass that hung above it. She had detected the likeness between the two mirrors. After that she never petitioned me for the toilet glass, for one of her commendable traits is never to ask of another what she can do for herself. But even now, in mature cathood, she exhibits this feminine vanity. Often I come upon her posed before a mirror, and I think no four-footed creature ever assumed quite so many airs as she did a little time ago, when she first saw upon her neck the reflection of a gorgeous leather collar.

Until Kitty was about three months old we considered her too young to profit much by instruction, but then my wife set about giving her a little cat education. She had no difficulty in teaching her to ask for her dinner by a rub against the table leg, and to respond by a wag of the tail to almost any simple question. Very soon the questions "Do you love me?" and "Are you a good little Kitty?" were uniformly answered by an energetic wave of her caudal appendage. Her wants from the first she spontaneously made known by a pull at my wife's dress, or by a peculiar mew which has a wonderful likeness to human speech. From her first domestication she has slept in our chamber, and if now and then shut out of the house when it was locked up for the night, she would climb upon the veranda which runs along the front of our summer residence and tap upon our window for admission. Sometimes she did this at midnight, and we, being fast asleep, would fail to respond very promptly to her summons. In this event she would, on being let in, stamp her foot upon the floor and scold away at us for fully five minutes in a peculiar tone, a kind of mutter that was both rapid and decided.

Among other things which my wife at this time taught the feline lady was to turn somersaults upon the floor, to play at hide-and-go-seek, and to run in a hurdle race around a large room. This last used to come off in the library, the hurdles being piles of books placed at irregular intervals, and Kitty vaulting over them in a race around the apartment. At first she was lured into this performance by a string drawn rapidly across the book-piles, but soon my wife was able to omit this incitement and get Kitty into the race by merely giving her the word at starting. She enjoyed the performance greatly, and invariably asked for it every evening after supper, until she became a mother and engrossed in the duties of maternity.

She was about a year old when this happened, and it has seemed to develop her nature wonderfully. Ever since, she has given clear and striking proofs of that ability to combine means with ends, and that power of deducing one result from another, which we term reason. Her memory also has grown remarkably clear and strong, as a little incident will illustrate. Some ladies whom she had not seen for all of a year, called upon us one day during last summer, and she at once greeted them with every sign of recognition. The hurdle-races had been for a long time discontinued, but on our visitors expressing a desire to again witness the performance, we ranged the books around the room, and, my wife giving the word, Kitty at once vaulted over them with all her old agility. She had made two or three circuits of the apartment when she suddenly paused as if a new idea had just struck her. Her four kittens, now about four months old, were in the room, and they had paused in their play to witness the performance ; and now Kitty called them to her, and addressed them in an energetic manner. At first they did not seem to comprehend what she wanted, but, taking her idea, my wife produced a string, and calling, "Little Kitties," proceeded to draw it across the books in the old manner. Instantly the kittens were after the string, and Kitty was after the kittens, going round the room in flying leaps, and urging them forward with cries of encouragement. Once in a while one of the little fellows would dodge the books, or fall out of line, and then his mother would pause in her flight, and cuffing his ears, force him again into the race. Soon my wife withdrew the string, and then they went on without it—five cats chasing one another in a hurdle-race around the room, while we and our guests were shouting with laughter. Often afterward the performance was repeated, and always at its close both the cats and the kittens would come to us for some mark of our approval.

Kitty has exhibited in a high degree the wonderful instinct which guides the cat in training her young, but she has also shown in their education an adaptation of means to ends which, with neither cats nor men, is instinctive. For instance, she would bring live mice and squirrels into the kitchen, and, setting them free, would set her kittens to hunting the creatures. This was instinct, but reason came in when the mouse or the squirrel got away, and hid behind some article of furniture, where neither

cat nor kittens could get at it. Then Kitty would ask my wife or the servant to remove the article; but if it happened to be too heavy for a woman's strength—and it usually was a large cupboard—she would come directly to my "den" in a remote part of the house, and insist upon my going at once to the rescue.

As they grew older Kitty's progeny took to climbing, and occasionally one of them would push himself upon an upper branch of some tall tree, whence it dared not come down, and where Kitty knew she could not venture her own weight in safety. On such occasions she would rush into the house and appeal to my wife, who would call our farmer's boy, and send him up the tree to rescue the endangered kitten. Once on a time, my wife could not be found, and after searching for her in vain, Kitty went herself to the barn, called the boy, and led him to the tree up which was the venturesome kitten. The little fellows thought it rare fun to hide away in the near-by woods where their mother could not find them. To her cries for them at such times they would pay no sort of attention; but they never heard my wife call, "Little Kitties—come home, Little Kitties," but they came trooping towards the house as fast as their little legs could carry them. Observing this, Kitty never failed to ask her aid in such circumstances. On one occasion all four of the kittens had disappeared, and the cat and her mistress had for a considerable time searched for them without success in the neighboring bushes and undergrowth, when suddenly Kitty sprang up a tall pine to its very top, whence she could see all the surrounding woods. In a few moments she was down again, and then making to my wife a peculiar gesture of the head by which she indicates that she desires to be followed, she led her to a considerable distance in a direction never before taken by the kittens, and there, perched upon the top rail of the farm fence, were the four runaways.

Upon another occasion, when the servant was absent from the kitchen and my wife was upstairs in the most remote part of the house, Kitty came bounding up to her, with an urgent demand to be followed. She led her directly to the kitchen, and there was a strange man who had no business on the premises. A like intelligence Kitty showed one dark and stormy night, when we had inadvertently gone to bed leaving her out of doors. About midnight she came to my wife's bed, woke her up and beckoned her to follow. She led her down to the dining-room, where the glass

door, leading out upon the veranda, stood wide open. Observing this, she had entered by that way, instead of coming, as usual, to our chamber window, and, knowing that the door should not be left open, she gave my wife this notice before retiring to her nightly quarters. And this reminds me that though Kitty often makes demands upon me in the daytime, she never wakes me at night, however great may seem to her the emergency, and this she does without having had the least instruction on the subject. Making not the slightest noise, she comes to my wife's side and rouses her by springing lightly upon the bed and gently stroking her face, but she lets me rest in quiet. She has the good sense to know that a man who works with brain or hand all day should be left at night to enjoy unbroken slumber. I could relate numerous instances similar to the foregoing, but I have now space for only a sad catastrophe that befell Kitty and her little family.

The four kittens had grown to be nearly as large as their mother, when Kitty had another litter—three little fellows. Soon afterwards a distemper appeared which swept away nearly all the cats in the neighborhood, and one after another it carried off the four kittens. They were taken at first with a strange drowsiness, then, after moping about for a short while, they went off into the woods to die. This had happened to all the four, when Kitty was herself taken with the distemper. Her younger kittens were below stairs, and the first intimation that we had that she was seized with the malady was the discovery that she had carried the little fellows up to our chamber, and deposited them in the drawer of a bureau which happened to be open. We had been fearful of this, and only the day before had asked medical advice against such an emergency ; and now, with the medicines in our hands, we hastened to the woods, where we knew she had secreted herself. After a long search we found her hidden away in some undergrowth, in a comatose condition, and scarcely conscious, but still able to give a slight wag of the tail when her mistress asked, "Are you a good little Kitty ?" We then gave her the proper remedies, and bore her back to the house, where she was given every possible attention. By constant care we managed to keep the breath of life in her body ; but she refused all food, and for fully ten days lay in a lethargic condition. Meanwhile her kittens had to be drowned, for they were too young to take any nourishment except from their mother. At last she came to her-

self, and then the first thing she did was to go up to the bureau where she had deposited her kittens, and the look of distress that came upon her face when she discovered they were gone was almost human. She mourned for them for many days, and she would not be comforted.

After this event Kitty would scarcely let her mistress go out of her sight. Ever since, she has clung to her with a strange tenacity, and day by day has shown for her a constantly growing affection that is most remarkable. It was on this account, that we this autumn brought her with us when we moved into our winter home, instead of leaving her, as heretofore, with the farmer at our summer residence. She has adapted herself to her new home, and to the change from country to city life, with a readiness that entirely disproves the common opinion that cats are more attached to places than to persons.

EDMUND KIRKE.

"THE TWO MESSAGES."

After our civil war was over, Time had to heal many wounds before that struggle and the reconstruction which followed it would give the Congressional right of way to the discussion of other issues. During that period of convalescence the decadence of American shipping was brought forward for consideration in the Federal Senate, and the debate thereupon soon ran backward into war time, and the Confederate privateers were hotly indicted for the high crime of driving the American flag from the sea.

To this convenient, though unreasonable reason, Senator Grimes, Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, responded: "Confederate piracy did not destroy our merchant marine. The privateers who have sunk the second commercial navy of the world sit around me in this Senate. The means they have used may be found in that protective policy which deserves to be called a 'war measure,' since it has wrought in our shipping such destruction as no enemy has ever inflicted, but the worst enemy would desire." The author of "Two Messages" in the January Review recalls to me these living words of the dead statesman by this introductory passage: "Pulses beat more quickly, the joy of battle lights up manly faces, and it is a dramatic moment when the vessel, chased as a merchantman, opens her hatches for her devilish crew to swarm on deck, drops the seeming stripe, and discloses shotted guns and runs up the black flag. Freebooter and free trader have much in common."

Yes, indeed, it is a dramatic moment when such things happen at sea, and it is also an ultra-marine moment for somebody. The writer, having founded an economic essay upon this blue water incident, proceeds with the nautical analogy, which makes it necessary to put President Cleveland in command of the ship which was chased as a merchantman, while on the deck of the armed pursuer, where are all the "manly faces," "the joy of

battle," "pulses," and other properties of the piece, the crew hails Mr. Blaine with a

> "Sing hey !
> The gallant Captain that you are !"

Thence onward to the end the writer hurries, calling all differences of opinion "dishonest," and those who hold them "thieves," while the President, against whose policy it is admitted that the country must be educated, is denounced as "shallow." Surely, this is a poor compliment to our countrymen, if the charge be true that a century of free schools has so misguided them that the Republican party must go forth with a primer in one hand and a rod in the other, to keep them from self-destruction under the leadership of a President of their own choosing !

Space forbids that I should follow the ensuing epilepsy of composition, in which "hurled spears," "British gold," and the harmless but necessary sheep, flush and fade like the figures in fire-works; but I may be permitted to regret that in the rapid run over a corduroy of epithets, from the mistake about the merchantman to an orgasmic consideration of the wool tariff, the writer has forgotten to explain what Mr. Blaine was doing in command of an armed ship running down defenseless merchantmen at sea ! As the incident stands alone in the exordium, it leaves the laugh on the pursuer that was hunting plunder and found a fight, and it suggests the cause of the scarcity of merchantmen flying the American flag, as outlined so long ago by Senator Grimes.

There be laws and laws. Some are natural and some are artificial. Those which are natural do not all relate to the Solstice and Equinox, to seed time and harvest, to sunshine and rain, for there are natural laws governing the commercial contacts of men and nations, as inflexible as those which cause the seasons to move in procession. Senator Evarts once felt briefly the inspiration of this truth when he said to a Philadelphia audience, "If you wish to sell, you must consent to buy."

A certain political school in this country treats as heresy any protest against having all our thinking done in Maine and most of our manufacturing in Massachusetts. This school raves at the President's Message because it suggests that the people of the other States and Territories need not turn their faces to Maine when they pray, and he dares to tell them that in this country

thought is free, notwithstanding the "Trust" organized to monopolize it. For this he meets a resentment as bitter as that which condemned the no more significant proclamation by Mr. Lincoln, which declared thenceforth the physical freedom of every man to work for himself. The most significant effect of the Message is the promise of a new cleavage in politics. The discussion of the subsidy system, which it has started, will not stop until a self-thinking people have reasoned their way onward to their share of the benefits of the natural laws of commerce, by which the wealth won by the many is not the sole property of the few, but is distributed, in equitable proportion, to the labor and capital which God joins that they may multiply.

In this process will appear the form and features of that artificial system which has violated the natural laws of trade. That system had an excuse in the beginning with which there is no present dispute. The fiscal necessities of the Republic, struggling against dismemberment, inasmuch as they warranted the seizure and use of all means, and the suspension of all rights, and the silence of all laws in the assertion of self-preservation, that first law of nature and of nations, were the occasion, as war is always the occasion, of abnormal expedients. The Government was the best customer for food and fabrics, arms and munitions. It paid prices in depreciated paper that seem now like the extravaganzas of a fairy tale; and it gave the large holder of its notes twice the benefit of the discount, by permitting their conversion at their purchasing power into bonds redeemable at par.

Mr. Blaine admits the prosperity and uniform accretion of wealth which followed the tariff of 1846, but ascribes them to the discovery of gold in California and the Crimean war. But he makes of the tariff of 1862 the Aladdin's lamp which is alone responsible for what wealth has been created since, crediting nothing to the measureless consumption during the war and the profits of double discounts given to manufacturers and contractors, which, with high prices and high interest added, all reappeared in bonds representing the National debt, to be paid by the labor of the country. That burden was cheerfully taken up and so gallantly carried that the tax-paying people had the pleasure of seeing the bonds, owned by the non-taxed bondholder, appreciate. I remember how proud of my country I was when our bonds touched par in London. They crept beyond, to a pre-

mium, and the labor of the country which carried the load, as the camel carries sugar while he feeds on thistles, omitted no emotion of patriotic pride, and still wrought as early and as late to pay taxes to pay bonds representing the phenomenal prices, and discounts and premiums which fertilized the organized and protected interests of this country. Certainly the yeomanry of the country had earned a respite. They had fought a war to successful issue; had restored the public credit and were still paying taxes to produce an annual surplus of millions over the public needs of the Government. A merciful man is merciful to his beast, and surely a government should not be less to its citizens. They had been like the spoon which carries the soup to the mouth but gets none itself, and had not grumbled. To force from them an unnecessary tax to produce a surplus for which the Government had no use was the reverse of sound policy. Both parties had said so, and, after the fashion of politicians, each had laid the blame upon the other, and each had asked the country to believe that it alone would apply the remedy. But both failed, and looked on, insensible to the danger, while unnecessary taxation withdrew from the people and from the arteries of commerce and the active enterprises of the country a surplus larger every year than the total Federal revenues were in 1860. The country had its arteries cut and was bleeding to death, while the politicians berated each other for not applying a styptic, and Mr. Blaine was loftily lecturing the newspapers upon the use that might be made of the blood. Upon such a scene issued the President, to remind the unfaithful of their promises dishonored, and the greedy of the danger of eating their seed wheat to the jeopardy of future harvests.

Both parties were pledged to reduce tariff taxation down to the actual needs of the Government. Confronted with this promise, Mr. Blaine replies that the way to reduce the surplus is to spend it, and his party affects to discover that when it comes to reducing taxation, Americans want a free pipe and glass!

The revenue raised from tobacco and whisky is not a tax. It is a bounty paid by the consumers of those articles who are able to indulge a luxury and a vice. The use of both could be suspended by the whole country and no one would suffer more than the passing inconvenience which attends the cessation of a bad habit. The unnecessary taxes are those laid upon the necessaries

of life, the use of which is neither a luxury nor a vice. This is that taxation which, put upon the tools with which men toil and upon the pillow on which they rest, takes toll from roof and groundsill, from hearth and table, from shirt and shroud, and slacks its grip only to hand them over to Death, who receipts the debt of Nature and puts them on the free list at last.

The lessening of these unnecessary taxes upon the necessaries of life might well have been considered apart from the quarrel of the doctrinaires over free trade and protection.

When the Union was threatened in 1861 Stephen A. Douglass sounded the key-note of duty when he said, "Let slavery go up or go down, I am for the Union." To-day the man who loves his country will not be found bickering over theories, but will stand for good faith in redemption of his party's pledge that unnecessary taxes shall be abated. This appeals to the members of both parties, for each has the pledge upon its conscience. Therefore the consideration of the Protection clamor is distinctly non-partisan, since it is raised against the expressed purpose of both parties. What is that clamor? Take California for an example of the searching system of tariff taxation.

The flockmasters of that State cry for a renewal of the wool tariff of 1867, and join forces with that gentle shepherd, Mr. Columbus Delano, of Ohio. They, of course, desire to benefit the labor engaged in raising wool!

It is said that when two Roman soothsayers met, they could not look each other in the face without laughing. Perhaps that is the reason why flockmasters stand back to back while they talk about the interests of labor as involved in the wool tariff. The most abject labor on the Continent is that which is hired for a pittance by the flockmasters in all this region west of the Rocky Mountains. Isolated, forlorn, with the temptations of solitude and the sins of Sodom upon it, this labor is supposed to plead for a continuance of its high prosperity (which it never saw) in tariff resolutions!

One generation forgets the experience of its predecessor, and the wool grower of to-day would be purged of many fallacies by a good dose of the history of prices. The Boston market takes the surplus wool of the country and fixes the price of that staple. During the period of 1850–61 the average price of wool in Boston was 54 cents per pound, and from 1875 to 1886 only 30 1-16 cents.

During the latter period, under a high tariff, California's wool crop of 525,972,368 pounds brought $117,467,162 less in Boston than it would have returned at the prices of 1850–61.

The manufacturers were limited to a narrow range of fabrics by exclusion of foreign wools needed for admixture. Their home market was gorged, and they had none abroad. The wool grower suffered. Yet he is made to believe that a tariff can almost put a fleece on a hydraulic ram, and repeats the formula about protecting the labor engaged in wool growing!

During this period of decline in wool and resulting loss to the California flockmaster, unnecessary taxation smote the California farmer. From jute and jute sacks alone, the tariff took a tax between 1875 and 1886 of nearly $7,000,000, though the Treasury did not need the money and the farmers had to have the jute to sack their grain for market. If lumber, coal, iron, and salt be included, the annual contribution wrung from the land of one State rises to such an aggregate as to justify all the solicitude caused by the Treasury surplus. Extending to all the agricultural States the area of useless drainage into the Treasury, we have an aggregate of unnecessary taxation equal to the average annual profits of the farming industry. That industry has for years contributed three-fourths of the country's exports. It has sold food and raw material abroad at prices which the labor of Europe can pay, and those prices, paid for the farmer's surplus, have fixed the price for which he must sell in the home market.

But no nation can long sell more than it buys. Compelled to sell abroad, the farmer is forbidden to buy abroad. England was his best customer for wheat until, in self defense, that country bought a controlling interest in the Suez Canal, subsidized railways into the vast plains of India, and, with cheap rail and short water route in hand, put our wheat raisers in competition with Asiatic labor at a wage of five cents per day.

"If you wish to sell you must consent to buy." The fleetest horse cannot run away from his tail. Senator Morrill declares that the rate of tariff taxation must increase in the ratio of population, but that tax cannot increase fast enough to outrun its results.

Is it any wonder that the farm mortgage is overgrowing the States of the Mississippi Valley? Is it any wonder that an increase of tenant farmers follows foreclosure? Is it any wonder

that in the manufacturing States infancy is conscripted into the army of bread winners, to the physical damage and mental deterioration of our people, and that drastic laws are passed to avert this consequence of unnecessary taxation? Is it any wonder that we have ceased to level the immigrant up to our standard, but find ourselves slipping down to his?

Flippant statesmanship, white-washing the symptom in ignorance of the disease, proposes to stop immigration, that we may stew in our own juice; and to relieve the congestion of commercial non-intercourse by further taxation of the people to subsidize ships to carry our surplus manufactures abroad, making our own people pay the freight to enable others to buy our goods cheaper than we can get them ourselves. To this expedient have we come! Beginning with taxing the many for the profit of the few, we end by taxing ourselves to bribe the foreign buyer, paying a high price that he may pay a low one! "The Two Messages" have made the issue. It is not between Free Trade and Protection. It is between economy and unnecessary taxation. It is between the natural and the artificial laws of trade. Let who may shuffle and shun the burning question, President Cleveland has met it and faced the storm that is always raised by those who live by the labor of others. The highest mountain meets the heaviest tempest, but the majesty of its crest is not dinted by the lightning nor dulled by the mist.

Standing for the fireside interests of his countrymen, the President needs no spear, nor plume, nor armor, for Truth goes forth naked to battle, while Falsehood needs a sword and shirt of mail.

JOHN P. IRISH.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Feb. 3.

THE LION'S SIDE OF THE LION QUESTION.

THE Indian question in our politics is not a question of choice. It is inexorable and pressing. For our errors and our crimes in treating it we pay in money, we pay in blood. The Indian race and the Caucasian race are face to face. The better elements of both races meet and mingle to mutual advantage. The worst elements of both races meet and cheat, with the inevitable result that the blood of the bravest and best is shed in atonement. If only the vile and ruffianly whites, the drunken and savage red men were concerned, they might be left to themselves, but we have just barely escaped an Indian war precipitated by ignorant, greedy, and unscrupulous whites, and we have not escaped the loss of the thousands of dollars which their recklessness has cost.

There is but one solution to the Indian question: it is a strife between barbarism and civilization, and barbarism must go down. The world has been facing upward from the beginning. But how barbarism shall go down is a question on which we have much to say. Melting, dissolving, exhaling in the sun of righteousness; respringing in gentleness and vanishing, if vanish it must, before a stronger race, insensibly, painlessly, and respringing, if spring it may, as the life of flower and fruit returns in fresh vigor to the blood and brain of man—so barbarism will disappear, if we are truly civilized. If we, too, are barbaric, it goes down in blood and wrath and unutterable woe.

The Indians know this as well as we. Politics is with them a matter of life and death. The question is not whether the Indian race be inferior or equal to the Caucasian race. That is interesting, but irrelevant. It is not whether the Indian will die out before the white man. They have been in contact for 200 years, and neither is as yet moribund. It is not whether the Indian is

civilizable. He is already civilized in large sections. It is not an issue of economy. That war is the most extravagant and justice the most economical mode of settling the question has been a thousand times demonstrated.

The Indian question now is greatly a question of right and wrong. Primarily, it is the preservation of our own honor; of the plighted faith of the Government to a weak and helpless race. The policy concerns the best measures to effect the Indian's assimilation with the least friction.

In considering whether we will stand with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, or whether we will lapse into the wrong on a listless plea that we cannot help it, we should remember that the history of the world thus far has taught that the power outside ourselves makes for righteousness. If we commit ourselves to righteousness, we commit ourselves, therefore, to the heaviest battalions. In the short run, honesty is the best principle; but it sometimes takes the long run to show that honesty is the best policy.

We may say, and believe, that the only good Indian is the dead Indian, but murder of the Indians is bad morals, and the cost of our Indian wars in blood and treasure ought to have showed us long before this that it is bad administration. It is not mere sentimentalism regarding the Indians; it is self preservation regarding ourselves. The low wash, the sediment and refuse of civilization sweeps to slay; the high and purifying wave must follow to cleanse and restore.

I cannot join in the cry of dishonor and disgrace to the Government for its treatment of the Indians. It seems to me that great efforts have been made to protect and to sustain them, and not without success. That there has also been failure and disaster cannot be denied, and is to be expected where the problems are so complicated, the conditions so varying, the instruments so human. Dealing out rations to roving, able-bodied Indians is not without an element of absurdity, and failure of supply through the dishonesty of agents has been fruitful of blood and woe. The distribution of lands in severalty, involving the destruction of the reservation system, is a not unnatural resource for the remedy of the evils of pupilage.

Much of the effort to bring about this policy arises not from greed, but from benevolence—a conviction that it is the one final

method of bringing the Indian out of the individualism of barbarism to the organization of citizenship and civilization.

It seems the hardest thing in the world to get at the truth about the Indian, though he is in the very heart and centre of our country.

We recall the brilliant raid upon our sympathies made not long ago by Mr. Tibbles, Bright Eyes, and their Poncas. Mr. Osborne, the Indian agent, professes that he visited the Poncas with the most animated desire to better their condition and the most buoyant hope founded on previous representations. He bestirred himself early and late till he had satisfied their claims. To enable them to cultivate their farms, he purchased for them one hundred and twenty-four of the best horses to be found. In three days these horses began to be reported as strayed, or stolen, or stabbed, or torn by wire fence, stake-pin, or lariat; and, finally, he had to summon his force to disperse the whole tribe gathered on a sunny hillside for a horse-race, and, in spite of his best watchfulness, some twenty of the young braves stole off by night on horseback, and made the best of their way back to their old home in Dakota! In spite of a previous government report that they were energetic, cleanly, that they ate family meals around neatly spread tables in comfortable homes, he protests, on his word and honor, that he found all of them lazy, and four-fifths of them filthy; that they do not eat in family circles nor upon neatly spread tables, nor upon tables at all; that they have from one to three wives, eat dog as a luxury, and choke ponies to death at the graves of their dead. Such a report as this is rather discouraging to the sentimental side of duty. I do not know from actual observation either the past or present condition of the Ponca Indians. What I have seen is Indian men and women clad in a blanket, or in rags, or in both—indolent, listless, reckless paupers of the persistent type; men and women pattering beside a slowly-moving train, climbing up the steps and railings of engine and coaches to steal a ride, scarcely seeming to be human beings. And I have seen Indians as erect, elegant, dignified, intelligent, accomplished as any members of the white race. It cannot be impossible to do what has been done.

In this country it should be a truism to say that whatever is done for the Indian should be done by the Indian, by his assist-

ance if not wholly through his agency. He understands his race as another race cannot. If Indian affairs were, as far as possible, in the hands of Indians; if the Indian Department were, as far as practicable, composed of Indians, we should have fewer Indian massacres, Indian uprisings, Indian scares. The civilized Indian, backed by the whole power of the United States Government, would be a mighty force, a potent object lesson to the wild Indian. Proof of this is found in the beneficial effects of the employment of Indians by Government as Reservation police officers, United States Indian police, and Indian scouts. I have the greatest mistrust as to the existence of Indian uprisings. The Indians are perfectly aware of the might of the United States. There is no reasonable doubt they want peace. They fear war more than we do. I believe that these Indian troubles are very largely fomented by the greed of the white race in its lower circles—deliberately designing trouble in order to possess themselves of Naboth's vineyard. When Poor Buffalo informs Bishop Whipple that he is known by almost every Western tribe, and that he is now no more a warrior, but is trying to keep the peace among all his tribes, he is to be believed and he ought to be used as a medium of peace and good will. One such "uprising" as that among the Utes, quickly as it was seen through and put to shame, cost the Government more than would the salary of a commission for twenty years. The Creeks, the Choctaws, the Five Nations, have so strong an element of civilization that they could be brought to bear upon the wilder tribes with the greatest economy. Poor Buffalo knew Colorow long before we ever heard of him. Peace seems now to be restored, but is any sufficient restitution made to the Indians who have suffered? Is any punishment meted out to the mis reants who, in the name of law and under color of law, degraded the law of the land in the eyes of the Utes? Is anything done to deter other miscreants in other places from involving the Government in similar shame and loss? It ought to be understood that any person who brings the word of the Government into disrepute among the Indians is doing the greatest possible harm, is helping to shed blood. The lives of United States soldiers are as sacred as those of any other United States citizen, and to imperil their lives that lawless citizens may get lawless possession of the fair Indian lands is murder in the first degree.

There seems to be a general consensus—that being now the fashionable word—of public opinion that Colorow is a good deal of a rascal. But that is the very reason why the unscrupulous whites tampered with him. He is a weak point in the Indian Territory. A strong, intelligent, and upright Indian they would not attempt to use as an opening wedge. They could make Colorow "uprise" with comparatively little provocation—and then follow outrages, the army, bloodshed, Eastern indignation against the barbarian, and a fresh resolution against the Indian reservation. *Q. E. D.*

The Five Nations in the Indian Territory have adopted the arts and the sciences, the manners and the religion of civilization. The first considerable town which the traveler approaches from the East is Vinita, and it is externally undistinguishable from any Missouri town. From the railroad station it is wide and shabby and dusty—but the vicinity of a railroad station is seldom attractive as a residence to Caucasians. Vinita has broad streets, frame, brick, and stone houses and stores. It has all the machinery of a Caucasian town—mayor and council, town clerk and treasurer, taxes and municipal regulations, and courts of law, four churches, a high-school, and a large public school-house—till a United States citizen set fire to it. The Indian residents subscribe for the daily papers and the magazines. The Cherokee government is on the general model of the United States Government. The treaties with the United States are the supreme law of the land and there is a written constitution.

The principal chief is the President or Governor of the Cherokee Nation. At present it is Chief Bushyhead. He has four secretaries, educated at Princeton. There is a treasurer who is under a $75,000 bond and who has also a secretary and an auditor. There is a National Council and an Executive Council. The latter is the Cabinet and the former the Congress. It is composed of Senate and House of Representatives, and is controlled by the usual Parliamentary rules. The language employed is both English and Cherokee. A majority speak English, nearly all understand it, and an interpreter serves those who do not.

Senators and Representatives are elected by the people—the legal voting age being eighteen. Political campaigns were represented to me as being conducted with the greatest interest, with district managers and lodge captains, and all the machinery of or-

ganization; with speakers and barbecues and campaign slanders in the highest style of civilization.

Their judicial system is furnished with district courts, circuit courts, supreme court, juries and grand juries, and all the enginery of appeal and delay.

At the capital, Tahlequah, the government building is of brick, stone-capped, with cupola and committee rooms, court rooms, and abundant offices. The nation supports printing-office, newspapers, a prison, seminaries, orphan asylums, blind and indigent asylums, male seminaries, and female seminaries.

It is a nation within a nation. It is a civilized nation within a civilized nation. Seventy years ago the Five Nations wore the blanket. When a people has thus organized itself, it is idle to discuss whether it is capable of becoming civilized. It is civilized. The presence of a degraded, beastly class has no more bearing than the presence of such a class on the lower border lines of white civilization. An interesting, but not a pertinent question, is whether civilization is not concomitant with amalgamation. It is true that the Cherokee Legislature is three-fourths full blood, but many of the half-breed Indians themselves seemed to rest their hope for the future on the union of the two races. A full blood Indian wife of a high half-breed official, declared that if it were possible she would at once go back and be a blanket Indian. To similar declarations many half-breeds added that they would, if they could, drain every drop of white blood from their veins; but I am convinced that this is partly from a proud determination that no one shall suspect them of being ashamed of their Indian blood. It is certain that there is a great, I think a universal admiration, for the ability of the white blood, even side by side with the distrust and suspicion born of long experience with border ruffians.

But they cannot stay blanket Indians whether they will or not. Civilization is too strong for them. It is not ours or theirs to decide. The power outside ourselves presses us all on slowly, but irresistibly, Indian and Caucasian alike. The Indian will either be civilized into an American citizen or buried in an unmarked grave. If it is the latter, it will not be a lonely grave, nor of unshared shame.

If it is through amalgamation that this power works out the problem, what has that to do with justice towards the Indian

race; with wisdom regarding the American policy? If Caucasian blood is of a finer strain than Indian blood, so much the more should it be honorable in dealing with the inferior.

The "burning question" in Indian politics at present is the land-in-severalty question. Some of the best of our statesmen and citizens are urgent advocates of this policy. It will not, perhaps, be entirely insignificant to say that I myself counted it the only proper policy until I was shown the Indian side of it by the Indians themselves. All the best, the most advanced Indians that I saw—as well as those less remote from the wilderness—view the new policy with the gravest apprehension. They look forward to attaining citizenship in the future. They hope and aim one day to become a State, or a group of States, inherent and equal parts of the nation, but premature citizenship precipitated upon an unprepared community seems to them not only disastrous, but fatal.

Their present tenure is peculiar, but is guaranteed by solemn treaty—as sacred a compact as a government can make. Under this compact the Indian may own, occupy, cultivate, bequeath all such land in the Indian territories as he chooses to fence in and cultivate, but he may not sell it, nor own it as an absentee, or bequeath it to an absentee. It goes in direct line to his children, but only while they occupy it. If he leaves it, if he ceases to live on it, or utilize it, it reverts to the community. While he is on it his right is inalienable. If he abandons it all his ownership lapses. No one can take up land in the Indian Territory unless he is Indian or married to an Indian. The white husband of an Indian wife or the white wife of an Indian husband enters into all the privileges of a full blooded Indian. Otherwise the white man is forbidden. If an Indian so much as employs a white man he must pay a fee to the Government of five dollars per annum. Many of these Indians see just as clearly as the white man the prospective value of these lands, and they are fencing in on all sides with increasing energy. That of itself is a mark of civilization. If it be said that they are aggrandizing themselves, what then? Who have a better right to become land magnates than the original land owners? Such criticism is but finding fault with the Indian for doing what he has always been blamed for not doing. He has been considered hopelessly savage for not utilizing the land, and now is he to be

reproached for using it too extensively ? It seems to me that the most splendid triumph of the great Republic would be to see every blanket Indian of them all evolute into a country squire, with lands and flocks and much cattle.

If our Government justly recognizes the right even of the barbarian landholder, and in return for his birth-right in the soil gives him life-rations, how much more should it recognize that birth-right of the civilized Indian and grant him fee simple of all the land he will improve. The barbarism of the Indian, the civilization of the Caucasian, constitutes our only original right to the soil. It was because he did not occupy, that we had a right to occupy. If, now, he is willing to occupy, there is added to his original right the social right, and to his original right our Government had previously given the legal right.

Practically, it will be seen, therefore, that all the Indians who are in any degree fit for land ownership already own the land. Those who do not see clearly enough the value of property in land to make the small effort requisite to ownership, would not be benefited by having ownership thrust upon them, and the nation would be destroyed. Many of them would fall a prey to the scheming whites who would pounce upon them. They would sell their lands for whiskey, and would then be turned adrift without resource to be the pest and terror of communities. From becoming an outcast to becoming an outlaw would be but a single step.

To make the title inalienable for a period of years will not prevent giving bond for title and present occupancy. Law can hardly deny the right of contract to the new citizen, and if it did it would be easily evaded and amended by the appeal to Congress of the very people its terms were intended to protect. Where titles have been made inalienable for a period of years, the ignorant allottees have been ingeniously aroused, by interested speculators, to indignation at the limitation of their right, and urged to petition Congress, declaring their ability to manage their own affairs, and asking removal of this injurious (?) restriction.

With the Indian title in the nation or community the individual is comparatively safe. He cannot dispose of an acre, and hence is not subjected to temptation. His nation educates him, gives him all the land he cares to cultivate, and if he is not sufficiently educated to realize the value of land, he is yet safe from

vagabondage, and may make an humble home, secure against ejectment or the vagrancy that would be the lot of his ignorant helplessness in the States. If he is sufficiently educated, his nation gives him ample opportunity to use the land, gratify his ambition, and stimulate his weaker brother by his example.

In the Cherokee Nation, there is said to be no Indian pauper, except where physically disabled, and certainly there is no need to be, for while monopoly is controlled, every man willing to work can make a decent living.

The Indians plead, and it seems to me justly, the sacredness of the pledged and solemn faith of our Government. It is continually urged by them that the United States promised them, as among the inducements to remove to this territory, that the land should be theirs as long as grass grows and water runs. President Jackson, in an address to the Creeks, March 23d, 1829, assured them: "There your white brothers will not trouble you; they will have no claim to the land, and you can live upon it, you and all your children, as long as the grass grows or the water runs, in peace and plenty."

Trusting in his words, and in the faith of treaties, the Indians left their cultivated lands at immense sacrifice, both of material advantage and of sentiment. They bought and paid for their new lands with promise of fee simple title by treaty, and a practical fee simple they received in a patent from Van Buren. In good faith they have settled and constructed a thorough system of laws. All they ask is that Congress keep its hands off and keep off the hands of lawless greed, and let them enjoy their property and the treaty guarantees and work out the problem of statehood by the laws of growth common to all men passing from savage to civil life.

The new policy of lands in severalty seems to them a violation of treaty. It takes wholly away from the *Indian Nation* the land allotted to it by treaty forever. It destroys all national and patriotic feeling and ambition. For the influence of the civilized Indian upon the wild Indian, it substitutes the influence of the most unscrupulous of the whites, whose one aim is to possess themselves of the land which the barbaric Indian too little values, and which he is only too ready to barter.

The chief of the Seminoles declares that "the advantages of these lands for grazing or for agricultural purposes have long

been sufficiently known to their rightful owners [the Indian nation, not individual Indians], who have never complained or questioned their title guaranteed to them under the most solemn promises of the United States Government." He protests that the new division "changes the whole status of the Indian's title to his land;" that "the lands have simply become too valuable for the Indian to hold . . . and the Indian must starve to death upon them any way, whenever the Government ceases to furnish him with commissaries." He feels that "God alone can interpose in His wisdom to save them from the effects of this fatal policy, fraught with so much misery, suffering, and death."

Tah-bee-nanah-kah, chief of the Comanches, begs "to present this to our Great Father at Washington: We are opposed to the land-in-severalty bill that has been passed in Congress last year. Our great father at Washington told us to send our children to school; we have done all that, but, of course, the wild Indian children can't learn pretty fast; and besides the hardness of learning the ways of civilization, and of the white people, the children don't get the regular instruction. And so, by that reason, they cannot learn very fast. I, Tah-bee-nanah-kah, whenever our Great Father at Washington told us to send our children to school, I always going about telling the other Indians what the Great Father at Washington wanted to be done. But whenever I hear the dividing lands to us, I always dislike to hear it."

The Caddo Chief, Jake, narrates through an interpreter his experience: "I took the trip to Washington to protest before the Commissioner against the sectionalizing of the lands of my people. I told him my people were alarmed in consequence of the law enacted to divide our lands in severalty. I told the Commissioner that I had seen other Indians whose lands had been sectionalized and they said it was bad for them to have their lands divided, and as it was bad for them it must be bad for my people and other Indians, and it would bring misery and ruin upon my people. In former times and up to the present time, he and all his people had advised us and all the Indians to learn to labor and to gain education, and now when my people are just beginning to realize and accept the benefits of knowing how to work, you are attempting to change our customs and entail ruin on my people. When I spoke thus the Commissioner grew angry, and pointing his finger in my face said I was not telling him what was

my own mind, but only what the white men who had inter-married had told me and what the half breed Indians told me and the educated Indians who had instructed me to go on there and talk as I did. But I told him I was telling him the truth and giving him the views of myself and my people."

Cho-near-kee, of the Wichitas, opposes the act, protests against the allotment, without consent of the Indians, of "the last we have for a home for our women and children," and looks to the five civilized tribes to work for them.

So great is the feeling among them against this alienation of land from the nation, so jealous are they of their tenure, that a considerable portion of the time of their last International Council at Eufala was devoted not so much to discussing as to deprecating it. The existence of such a council is worthy of notice by those of us who think the only good Indian is a dead Indian. The Council is the natural offspring of that which was established or authorized by treaty of 1866, and let it always be remembered that the United States treaties are the supreme law, the constitution, the very basis of organized society in the Indian Territory. The Council is composed of delegates from the five civilized nations and all the wild tribes of the plains. As an instrument of civilization its importance cannot be over-estimated. Delegates from fourteen of the wild tribes were present at the last Council, and a Cherokee informed me that but for the unwarranted interference of the United States agent he believed that the deadly Apaches and many other tribes would have come. A Comanche chief who was present gave the recalcitrant side very frankly when he reported the opinion of Qui-ni-ah, another Comanche, who "said he got nothing to do with the Council, and said that he will not listen to any Indian, but will do the business by his own ways and will not listen to anybody's advice"—to which conclusion the fact may have lent firmness that "so many white people been cutting timbers in our country without our consent."

This Council prepared, and by unanimous consent adopted, a memorial to the President of the United States which, in its complete insight, its absolute helplessness, and its pathetic loyalty, seems to me worthy of remembrance.

"Whatever misgivings," say these representatives of a race that once held this land undisputed from sea to sea, "may have

seemed to be justified in our minds by the actions of the Government of the United States, yet we are willing to assume that it is always its purpose in the treatment of the Indians to benefit them as rapidly as possible by throwing around them those conditions which will enable them effectively to adapt themselves to the requirements of civilized life in the least possible time.

"Your memorialists disclaim any intention to antagonize or obstruct the operation of any just and effective policy that may be adopted by the United States for the general advancement of the Indians, but, on the contrary, will do whatever they can to contribute to its effectiveness.

"For attempting to present this view of our brothers to the President we will be pardoned when it is remembered that we are alike opposed to its provisions [land-in-severalty bill]; regarding them merely as a departure from the policy under which we have prospered, to one which will, in the near future, engulf all of the nations and tribes of the Territory in one common catastrophe, to the enrichment of land monopolists, before whom even your own citizens, with all the civilized machinery of justice, seem powerless to secure their rights. We deprecate any measure or law, which will, in our judgment, lead to placing any of the Indians of the Territory as party to so unequal a contest. Like other people, the Indian needs at least the germ of political identity, some governmental organization of his own, however crude, to which his pride and manhood may cling and claim allegiance, in order to make true progress in the affairs of life. This peculiarity in the Indian character is elsewhere called patriotism, and the wise and patient fashioning and guidance of which alone will successfully solve the question of civilization. Preclude him from this and he has little else to live for.

"Your memorialists, especially of the five tribes, have undergone sad experience in transactions with the United States of an identical nature in 1830 and 1832, and shudder at the thought of the misfortunes that must surely come to the tribes of the farther West if the provisions of this law are enforced. The tribes earnestly desire and ask that the President stay the operation of the law until they shall be in a condition to be benefited by it; and the five civilized tribes also join in an earnest and respectful request that the President do not put in force the land-in-severalty act upon a powerless and protesting people until they may at least

have the opportunity of testing the validity of their rights before the judiciary of the United States."

The President of the Council addressed it at length on the importance, the necessity, as well as the advantages of education, drew comparison between the five civilized tribes and their Western brethren, called attention to the difference in their dress and their mode of living, and urged the wild tribes to teach their children to read, to farm, to wear the civilized dress, to establish schools and churches. He believed the land-in-severalty act would be enforced, but he implored the Indians in such case to keep the land allotted them and never to sell it. He expressed sympathy with them in their trouble, but bade them be men and face it by education.

Yet, with all the wisdom, the moderation, and the submission exhibited in this Council, it was denounced in a high political office under our Government as an attempt of the Five Tribes "to make trouble where they have no interest and no business to interfere."

It would seem difficult for political darkness to be deeper. Even should their position be wrong, their deepest interest is in their less civilized brethren, and their noblest business is to assist, advise, and sustain them. Some of these wild tribes had traveled two hundred miles and more to meet the civilized tribes in council. One of their number, Towaccanie Jim, affirms that "all these tribes are united. . . . We are one nation, and stand solid together now." Is it wise to discourage organization, combination, the influence of the more advanced upon the less advanced?

If the Indians were making no efforts to civilize themselves we might have some pretext for breaking our treaties in the impossibility of keeping them. But the Indians are painfully striving for improvement. Undoubtedly hosts of them will fall by the way, will die in the blanket. Many more will die in the full communion of civilized vice. But a remnant will remain. If we keep faith with them, the remnant may be a compelling majority, and presently be incorporated as a constituent part of the Great Republic. At any cost, we should keep faith.

The earlier breaches of treaties were caused by conflict of State and Federal authority. Georgia passed her laws over Cherokees —laws of the most arbitrary and cruel force; laws imprisoning

missionaries for the crime of preaching the word of God to the Cherokees, putting up their lands at public raffle, and virtually compelling removal in violation of treaty rights as guaranteed by the Federal Government. The Federal Government temporized on the question of "State rights" to nullify Federal treaty, and forced a treaty on the Cherokees, who bitterly resisted the removal and who lost one-quarter to one-third of her people by death because of this removal. One young Indian told me that he still held his grandfather's claim against the United States for the loss of his home at this time. He had a mill, various log-houses, orchards, cultivated fields. Its value of over $2,000 remains unpaid. The treaties all provide that the Western homes of the Indians shall never have the laws of State or Territory extended over them.

The act of Georgia in its unjust assertion of State right over these people was bitterly atoned and the error in the principle corrected at heavy cost.

To say, under the shadow of their churches and schools and courts, that the Indians are hopelessly welded to barbarism, is an absurdity. To look at their worst and to judge thence of the whole, is as unreasonable as it would be to look into the purlieus of a great New York and judge thence that Americans are incapable of civilization. The white man, adventurous, restless, eager, looks over the acres, fair and wide, but the mere remnant of a continent in past possession, now the last award, refuge, and resource of the Indians, and greedily prates of the impracticability of reserving this to barbarism; but of many remarks which might be made, one is that, barbarous as it is, it is hardly more barbarous than many tracts in the surrounding States.

With all its barbarism, it is very certain that the Indians are doing more to civilize their tribes than are the white Christians who cheat and steal and foment Indian disturbances, and raise Indian wars, under the horror and dread of which public sentiment may be inflamed against them to the violation of our treaties, the occupation of their land, the destruction of their autonomy, and the gratification of their greedy foes.

The low, ignorant, unprincipled white is the most deadly foe of the Indian. The educated Christian white must be untiring for his rescue and redemption. The whiskey brought him by civilization is a never-failing fountain of evil. Shall not the

springs of beneficence be equally unfailing? Greed is indefatigable in debasing him. Shall Christianity ever be tired of elevating him?

But let us not forget that the pressing question is not a question of benefiting the Indian. It is a question of keeping our own faith. We may repeat the dishonor of the past or we may be stanch and defend the plighted word of the Government. It is not easy, but I think it must be possible. It cannot be that this country is too feeble to repress the unruly, yet not wholly ungenerous spirits of its own adventurous children. If it were once thoroughly established that this Government is no more to be deceived by the cry of Indian uprising; if it were known that every injustice and robbery would be thoroughly investigated and punished, would it not have a repressive effect? If, in the wisdom of our wise men, a way could be provided by which a body of people who are subject and willingly subject to the criminal jurisdiction of the United States should no longer be totally without civil redress when robbed of their property, would it not tend to keep back covetous hands? The timber, coal, and other natural properties may be freely stolen from *Indian* reservations, if the Indian, and not the Government, holds title, and there is no penalty under United States laws. The statute protects United States lands but not *Indian* lands, and United States citizens freely steal from the agencies, and coolly remark there is no law to punish it.

The Indian may be robbed of his property, his lands, his invested funds by Government, and is without resource, except perennial begging at the doors of Congress. The hearing by special act of Congress before the Court of Claims of a few cases has shown *millions* of dollars due the Indians and for generations unpaid.

"Is there anything you would like to have me say for you?" I asked a young Indian.

"Yes," he answered, quickly; "I would like to try and have a law passed in Congress by which an Indian, or an Indian nation, may sue in the courts of the United States and there defend their rights from organized or unorganized robbery."

The answer may have been foolish in the instrumentality employed, but it was an answer very far off from the tomahawk, the scalping knife, and the blanket.

Let the American citizen, crowding the Indian to the wall, lay to heart the eternal truth of the tyrant's experience—

"I had
Soberly laid my last plan
To extinguish the man,
Till I looked from my labor content
To enjoy the event.
When sudden, how think ye, the end?
Did I say 'without friend'?
Say rather from marge to blue marge
The whole sky grew his targe,
With the sun's self for visible boss,
While an arm ran across
Which the earth heaved beneath, like a breast,
Where the wretch was safe prest!
Do you see? just my vengeance complete,
The man sprang to his feet,
Stood erect, caught at God's skirts, and prayed!
—Lo, *I* was afraid!"

GAIL HAMILTON.

INCREASE OF THE STANDING ARMY.

STRANGELY, workingmen and professors in particular of political and economic friendliness for them, and that class of statesmen who have been declaimers of opposition to centralization, are proposing and urging that the Standing Army of this country shall be re-enforced by one hundred thousand men, enlisted and employed under the immediate orders of one of the departments of the Government. This army is to be scattered throughout the land, and each of the men composing it placed in communication that is instantaneous with the rest; and the commander in chief could in a flash wire his orders with the force of official authority to the whole wonderful organization, bound together with fire and iron, and employ it for such service, political or otherwise, as might appear good to him. This would seem to be the grandest scheme ever contrived for centralization.

It is not the military arm that the proposed re-enforcements are to strengthen, but the civil organism that is to be extended and made at once more comprehensive and communicative—a vastly greater and stronger machine. The ordinary way of stating what the scheme is in phrase that would recommend it claims that the Government should become responsible for telegraphy—that we should establish an official class, as they have in Great Britain, and follow the British example in providing the people with a postal telegraph.

The only improvement upon the English system that is strenuously recommended is, that the rights of private citizens who have engaged in telegraphing as a business shall not be regarded—that the Government shall not purchase the lines, and patents, and leases, and contracts, and batteries, and machinery, and buildings that are the property of the company whose wires stretch across the continent and penetrate every State and Terri-

tory, maintaining sixteen thousand offices for the public accommodation, but shall erect other lines and buildings and enter upon an immense competition with individual enterprise. In other words, property that stands in the market at a value near sixty millions of dollars, is to be destroyed by a process as rigorous as any known under martial law, because one citizen of the United States holds a large proportion of the stock. This citizen presumably has faults, and his great pecuniary success has caused them to be magnified, perhaps distorted. One of his most distinguishing characteristics is that he has in multifarious enterprises for many years staked his interests on the growth and prosperity of the country. Certainly no public prejudices have heretofore been aroused because one has won largely by betting on the United States. There are thousands of stockholders who have not been guilty to any extent of this offense, such as it is. That is, they have not more than their share of money. The Western Union stock has paid dividends with regularity, and the stock has stood at comparatively low figures, because so much of the value is not in a form that recommends itself to the average capitalist as solid. It takes a wise man of money to understand that good will is an element that fire cannot destroy or an earthquake overthrow. Dr. Johnson's eloquence at the auction of the brewery, when he declared they did not sell simply a few tubs, but "the potentiality of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice," is not well and truly appreciated in the financial circles that establish prices. The multitude of small investors in the Western Union Telegraph have done nothing that they should be deprived of their savings by the general Government. But they, and not the large holders, are likely to be the sufferers in chief if the policy of breaking down private interests under false pretense and fatal doctrines of public policy, should become the leading feature of the administration of our great and beneficent Government.

It would not be sufficient to meet the views of those who seek to expand the official functions by undertaking to serve all the people with telegrams, to run wires into each of the places where the Morse instrument is already heard, it would be necessary to add forty-five thousand stations, or one for each post-office now beyond the scope of the telegraph. If telegraphing is to be done by the people and for the people, it must be done for all the people

wherever they are, whether they have any telegraphing to do or not.

The official figures of the postal telegraph cost, expenditure and deficiencies in Great Britain are as follows :

Year ending March 31st.	Receipts.	By telegraph departments.	By other departments.	Total Expenses.	Interest on capital.	Deficit.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1881.....	1,633,887	1,242,092	66,362	1,308,454	326,417	984
1882.....	1,654,390	1,365,632	74,866	1,440,498	326,417	112,525
1883.....	1,768,070	1,504,204	79,673	1,583,877	326,417	142,224
1884.....	1,789,223	1,709,644	99,276	1,808,920	326,417	346,114
1885.....	1,784,414	1,731,040	89,724	1,820,764	326,417	362,767
1886.....	1,787,264	1,723,104	99,297	1,832,401	326,417	371,554
1887.....	1,887,224	1,939,768	90,879	2,030,647	326,417	469,840

Even in so small and thickly settled a country as England the alleged accommodation of the people by telegraph is at a public loss of more than two millions of dollars annually.

When we consider the prodigious extent of this country and its scattered population, it is not extravagant to assume that under our inevitable methods and unavoidable conditions, the deficiency in Great Britain might be multiplied by ten, and though it is often said, with a confidence that is airy in proportion as information is imperfect, that the plant of the Western Union could be duplicated for one-fourth of the capital, there is sound reason for believing this estimate greatly at fault, and that the construction of a Government telegraph reaching all the post-offices would require a great deal more cash than the aggregate capital of the Western Union Company.

The system that is urged as a reform proposes an enormous original investment, an extravagant and permanent deficiency, a departure from safe principles, and a dangerous invasion of personal rights, with the probability that the telegraphic service would not be as well performed by the Government as by the corporation it is the passion of the advocates of the enlargement of the postal facilities to raid.

It takes six times the length of wire and three times as many persons in this country to transact the same amount of business by telegraph that is done in England.

The regular rate of telegraphing in England is one cent a word, but this includes in the count address and signature, and Dr. Green, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company, shows how business messages run in this country, as follows :

BOSTON, Mass., *November* 23, 1887.
(9 words.)

John J. Dickey, Telegraph Supt., Washington, D. C.: (8 words.)

Ascertain and wire me amount our telegraph receipts last week. (10 words.)

CHAS. FRANCIS ADAMS, Prest.
(4 words.)

Total, 31 words; British rate, 1s. 2d. (31 cts.). W. U. rate, 25 cts.

This is a fair and by no means exaggerated example. Many have longer addresses where the street address is included, and longer signatures to express the official rank or title of the sender, as for instance:

NEWPORT NEWS, Va., *November* 23, 1887.
(9 words.)

C. P. Huntington, Vice-Prest. & Gen'l. Mgr., 263 Park Ave , New York City:
(14 words.)

Arrange transportation for twelve hundred fifty immigrants for San Jose, Cal.
(10 words).

SAM'L. F. D. JOHNSON,
Asst. Gen'l Pass. Agt.
(8 words.)

Total, 41 words ; British rate, 1s. 8¼d. (41 cts). W. U. rate, 25 cts.

In the transaction of telegraphic business in Great Britain, there is a loss of $6\frac{1}{10}$ cents per message, and not two per cent. of the people ever send a telegram. The whole country is taxed for the exclusive benefit of this small fraction of population. Is this an example to be imitated and augmented ? Its discrimination for the few and against the many, adopted by us, would be increased, as our territory is greater and more difficult of access than the British islands.

The precise percentage of the people who use the telegraph is not known, as there are no provisions for the collection of complete statistical information. The estimates vary from one to two per cent., and if the Government should put wires into every post-office, or even into every house, not one citizen in ten would have annual occasion to employ them.

The President of the Western Union Telegraph Company says in a letter written to the Postmaster General in November last :

"It is estimated that not more than two per cent. of the entire population ever use the telegraph in any one year, and not over five per cent. of the revenues of the telegraph is derived

from family and social messages. About eight per cent. is derived from news service, and the remainder, about eighty-seven per cent., is commercial and speculative, the greater part being the latter. Buying and selling of 'puts' and 'calls,' stocks and cereals, where no transportation and often no delivery is ever made, can scarcely be called legitimate commerce, and certainly not Inter-State commerce. Amongst these, a large class of customers, paying a considerable percentage of the revenues for telegraph service, are the 'bucket shops,' selling and buying, forfeiting margins when they expire, settling, when the customers shall demand, at the quoted price of the instant, and no delivery is ever pretended to be made.

"Another large class of customers are the patrons of the race-courses and the pool rooms connected therewith by wires; where chances are bought and sold in all the cities, some of which are a thousand miles from the scene of the contest."

The rates at which messages are dispatched in this country are reasonable, and bear favorable comparison with the charges made where telegraphy is official. The profits on telegraphing in the United States are small, and only possible at all from the large volume of business handled with the finest intelligence and consummate skill. In character, in promptness, accuracy, general accommodation, and accountability, the telegraphic service in the United States is the best in the world, and at once unofficial and responsible. We may put the operators and the clerks, the battery men and the pole and wire men into uniforms, for identification and decoration, and add a force equal to two army corps to the grand army of our public service; and we will do it at the expense of the people at large, for the benefit of not more, at the most liberal estimation, than one-fifieth of their number, while the general result will be a demoralized business, provision for a deficiency of many millions a year, and the opening of a fresh and boundless field for the absorption of the earnings of all industries by a class, and the further and profligate illustration of the meddlesome incapacities of Government engaged in functions that are too complex, delicate, and partial to be legitimate, unless we reverse our great principle, that the Government is for the people, and that the less we have of it consistent with order the better, and begin anew with the assumption that the people are for the Government.

A mass of error has been disseminated like a vapor over the land, to the effect that the Western Union Telegraph Company is in control of the press, and regulates according to the prejudices and caprices and interests of a corporation the diffusion of intelligence—that the news of the day is doctored by the alleged monopolists of the wires! This is all false presumption, and upon foundation thus fabricated is based the demand that the Government should seize the tyrannous telegraph and emancipate the press, which, it is presumed, is groaning under oppression and struggling toward light and knowledge.

The press service by the telegraph in this country is at lower rates and better done, as well as far more extensive and complicated, and greater in magnitude and diversity, than in Great Britain or any other nation of the earth. This service is impartial and absolutely in the hands of the press itself—the wires being simply channels of transmission open to all on equal terms—the officers of the Telegraph Company having nothing more to do with the significance or influence of the matter dispatched than the operators who give or take the words, true or false, as they fly. The newspapers are organized for purposes of co-operation, and their Associations contract for a certain number of words to be taken and delivered at and between places that are named, during hours of the day and night specified, and the words are furnished by the agents of the press, who are not employed by or responsible in any sense to the telegraph company, whose whole obligation is performed and authority exhausted in furnishing facility for speedy and correct communication. The steady tendency of press rates has been downward, and this has been especially marked within the last eight years, the reduction within that period having been from fifty to seventy-five per cent. all around. The Associated Press contracts, open to all associations, are on the basis of one-half cent per word for first three hundred miles and one-sixteenth for each additional one hundred miles, and one-eighth of a cent per word for each drop. At night, one-quarter cent for first three hundred miles and balance same as day, regardless of the number of papers served in any one place. The special rates to individual newspapers are based on the commercial rates, being one-third the additional word rate on day specials, and one-sixth the additional word rate on night specials. That is where the commercial tariff is twenty-

five cents for the first ten words and two cents for each additional word, the day press rate would be one-third of two cents and the night rate one-sixth of two cents, and so on; the highest commercial rate being 100 and 7. Under this low rate many newspapers get a few hundred words per week, while large ones get many thousands per day, the rate being the same to all, without stipulation as to the number of words sent. Frequently dispatches are so short (three or four words or so) that the tolls do not pay messengers. All are on the same footing as to rates, except that small papers are allowed to have Associated Press news *en route* to large places at exceptionally low figures—what they can pay, in fact. There could be no method of distributing the news invented more generous toward the weak or impartial in the competition of the strong than this.

If the hands of the Government are to be placed upon the telegraph, the act will be without the warrant of a public grievance; but the National authority will be urged by implacable cranks or adventurous demagogues, or those who have been possessed by an ignorant philosophy as an instrument of vengeance upon individual enterprise, the magnitude of whose success has provoked a confused animosity. The scheme of Government telegraphy is one of confiscation and centralization, and the leading proposition is to tax fifty-nine millions of the people of the United States for the benefit of the sixtieth million, to tax the quietly invested and active capital and the productive industry, the capitalist of courage and the workingman of thrift, for the help of the gamblers of the Wall streets great and small, and of the race-courses, and slugging rings, and base-ball games, the pool-room sharps of every degree, the great patrons of the telegraph, who keep the wires heated with messages, the primary purpose of which is to take advantage of the people at large—first knowledge being the power that milks the markets of the world and shears the lambs thereof, whether in the cities or the green pastures.

Is it worth while for this to redouble our Standing Army of the Civil Service and to give to the administration of the general government the opportunity no one has ever had under our Republican system, of parceling out and coloring the news distributed to the people—a machine more formidable than was ever seen in our political seed or harvest times?

If this step is taken, we enter upon a current of logical procedure whose drift would be immediately certain and presently irresistible. It would mean the absorption of the express companies—for the "parcels post," which is "so English, you know," is as attractive as the postal telegraph—and next come the railroads, and beyond, the order in which the telephone and the street car, the newspapers and the steamboats and flouring mills, may be taken up, is wholly immaterial.

If this line of reformation is to prevail, it is only a question of time when permits with stamps on them will be required of the farmers before it shall be lawful to plant corn.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

ART AND MORALITY.

ART is the highest form of expression, and exists for the sake of expression. Through art thoughts become visible. Back of the forms is the desire, the longing, the brooding, creative instinct, the maternity of mind, the passion that gives pose and swell, outline and color.

Of course there is no such thing as absolute beauty or absolute morality. We now clearly perceive that beauty and conduct are relative. We have outgrown the provincialism that thought is back of substance, as well as the old Platonic absurdity, that ideas existed before the subjects of thought. So far, at least, as man is concerned, his thoughts have been produced by his surroundings, by the action and inter-action of things upon his mind; and so far as man is concerned, things have preceded thoughts. The impressions that these things make upon us are what we know of them. The absolute is beyond the human mind. Our knowledge is confined to the relations that exist between the totality of things that we call the universe and the effect upon ourselves.

Actions are deemed right or wrong according to experience and the conclusions of reason. Things are beautiful by the relation that certain forms, colors, and modes of expression bear to us. At the foundation of the beautiful will be found the fact of happiness, the gratification of the senses, the delight of intellectual discovery and the surprise and thrill of appreciation. That which we call the beautiful wakens into life through the association of ideas, of memories, of experiences—through suggestions of pleasure past and the perception that the prophesies of the ideal have been fulfilled.

Art cultivates and kindles the imagination, and quickens the conscience. It is by imagination that we put ourselves in the place of another. When the wings of that faculty are folded,

the master does not put himself in the place of the slave; the tyrant is not locked in the dungeon, chained with his victim. The inquisitor did not feel the flames that devoured the martyr. The imaginative man, giving to the beggar, gives to himself. Those who feel indignant at the perpetration of wrong, feel for the instant that they are the victims; and when they attack the aggressor they feel that they are defending themselves. Love and pity are the children of the imagination.

A little while ago I heard a discussion in regard to the genius of George Eliot. The gentleman who appeared as her champion took the ground that she was a very great novelist, a most wonderful writer, and gave as a reason that her books were written with a distinct moral purpose; that she was endeavoring to inculcate the value of character, of integrity, of an absolute and utter devotion to duty, to the glory and heroism of self-denial; that she did not create characters for the sake of Art, but that under all, and in all, and over all, was the desire to teach and enforce some moral truth.

Upon this very question George Eliot has given her views with great force and beauty: "On its theoretic and perceptive side, morality touches science; on its emotional side, art. Now, the products of art are great in proportion as they result from that immediate prompting of innate power which we call genius, and not from labored obedience to a theory or rule; and the presence of genius, or innate prompting, is directly opposed to the perpetual consciousness of a rule. The action of faculty is imperious, and excludes the reflection *why* it should act. In the same way, in proportion as morality is emotional, *i. e.*, has affinity with art, it will exhibit itself in direct sympathetic feeling and action, and not as the recognition of a rule. Love does not say, 'I ought to love;' it loves. Pity does not say, 'It is right to be pitiful;' it pities. Justice does not say, 'I am bound to be just;' it feels justly. It is only where moral emotion is comparatively weak, that the contemplation of a rule or theory mingles with its action, and in accordance with this we think experience, both in literature and life, has shown that the minds which are pre-eminently didactic, which insist on a 'lesson,' and despise everything that will not convey a moral, are deficient in sympathetic emotion." * *

"A certain poet is recorded to have said that he 'wished every-

thing of his burned that did not impress some moral; even in love-verses it might be flung in by the way.' What poet was it who took this medicinal view of poetry? Dr. Watts, or James Montgomery, or some other singer of spotless life and ardent piety? Not at all. It was Waller. A significant fact in relation to our position, that the predominant didactic tendency proceeds rather from the poet's perception that it is good for other men to be moral, than from any overflow of moral feeling in himself. A man who is perpetually thinking in apothegms, who has an unintermittent flux of admonition, can have little energy left for simple emotion."

This tendency, this "disposition to see a rebuke or a warning in every natural object," was called by George Eliot the "pedagogic fallacy;" and yet a gentleman well acquainted with her writings gives a reason for the admiration he entertains for her genius that she would have repudiated with the greatest warmth.

Nothing to the true artist, to the real genius, is so contemptible as the "medicinal view."

John Quincy Adams had the goodness to write his views about some of the plays of Shakespeare. He read "Othello," and read it for the purpose of finding out what lesson Shakespeare was endeavoring to teach. Mr. Adams gravely tells us that the play was written for two purposes; first, to impress upon the minds of men and maidens that no one should marry out of his or her blood; and second, that where a girl married contrary to the wishes of her parents she rarely ever came to any good. He regarded Shakespeare very much as he did a New England minister, and supposed that he wrote "those plays" for the purpose of inducing children to mind their mothers.

Probably Mr. Adams believed that "Romeo and Juliet" was written for the one purpose of bringing vividly before the mind the danger of love at first sight, and that "Lear," the greatest tragedy in human speech, was produced to show that fathers could not safely divide their property among their children.

Our fathers read with great approbation the mechanical sermons in rhyme written by Milton, Young and Pollok. Those theological poets wrote for the purpose of convincing their readers that the mind of man is diseased, filled with infirmities, and that poetic poultices and plasters tend to purify and strengthen the moral nature of the human race.

Poems were written to prove that the practice of virtue was an investment for another world, and that whoever followed the advice found in those solemn, insincere and lugubrious rhymes, although he might be exceedingly unhappy in this world, would with great certainty be rewarded in the next. These writers assumed that there was a kind of relation between rhyme and religion, between verse and virtue ; and that it was their duty to call the attention of the world to all the snares and pitfalls of pleasure. They wrote with a purpose. They had a distinct moral end in view. They had a plan. They were missionaries, and their object was to show the world how wicked it was and how good they, the writers, were. They could not conceive of a man being so happy that everything in nature partook of his feeling; that all the birds were singing for him, and singing by reason of his joy; that everything sparkled and shone and moved in the glad rhythm of his heart. They could not appreciate this feeling. They could not think of this joy guiding the artist's hand, seeking expression in form and color. They did not look upon poems, pictures, and statues as results, as children of the brain fathered by sea and sky, by flower and star, by love and light. They were not moved by gladness. They felt the responsibility of perpetual duty. They had a desire to teach, to sermonize, to point out and exaggerate the faults of others and to describe the virtues practiced by themselves. Art became a colporteur, a distributer of tracts, a mendicant missionary whose highest ambition was to suppress all heathen joy.

Happy people were supposed to have forgotten, in a reckless moment, duty and responsibility. True poetry would call them back to a realization of their meanness and their misery. It was the skeleton at the feast, the rattle of whose bones had a rhythmic sound. It was the forefinger of warning and doom held up in the presence of a smile.

These moral poets taught the unwelcome truths, and by the paths of life put posts on which they painted hands pointing at graves. They loved to see the pallor on the cheek of youth, while they talked, in solemn tones, of age, decrepitude and lifeless clay.

Before the eyes of love they thrust, with eager hands, the skull of death. They crushed the flowers beneath their feet and plaited crowns of thorns for every brow.

According to these poets, happiness was inconsistent with virtue. The sense of infinite obligation should be perpetually present. They assumed an attitude of superiority. They denounced and calumniated the reader. They enjoyed his confusion when charged with total depravity. They loved to paint the sufferings of the lost, the worthlessness of human life, the littleness of mankind, and the beauties of an unknown world. They knew but little of the heart. They did not know that without passion there is no virtue and that the really passionate are the virtuous.

Art has nothing to do directly with morality or immorality. It is its own excuse for being; it exists for itself.

The artist who endeavors to enforce a lesson, becomes a preacher; and the artist who tries by hint and suggestion to enforce the immoral, becomes a pander.

There is an infinite difference between the nude and the naked, between the natural and the undressed. In the presence of the pure, unconscious nude, nothing can be more contemptible than those forms in which are the hints and suggestions of drapery, the pretence of exposure, and the failure to conceal. The undressed is vulgar, the nude is pure.

The old Greek statues, frankly, proudly nude, whose free and perfect limbs have never known the sacrilege of clothes, were and are as free from taint, as pure, as stainless, as the image of the morning star trembling in a drop of perfumed dew.

Morality is the harmony between act and circumstance. It is the melody of conduct. A wonderful statue is the melody of proportion. A great picture is the melody of form and color. A great statue does not suggest labor; it seems to have been created as a joy. A great painting suggests no weariness and no effort; the greater, the easier it seems. So a great and splendid life seems to have been without effort. There is in it no idea of obligation, no idea of responsibility or of duty. The idea of duty changes to a kind of drudgery that which should be, in the perfect man, a perfect pleasure.

The artist, working simply for the sake of enforcing a moral, becomes a laborer. The freedom of genius is lost, and the artist is absorbed in the citizen. The soul of the real artist should be moved by this melody of proportion as the body is unconsciously swayed by the rhythm of a symphony. No one can imagine that

the great men who chiseled the statues of antiquity intended to teach the youth of Greece to be obedient to their parents. We cannot believe that Michael Angelo painted his grotesque and somewhat vulgar "Day of Judgment" for the purpose of reforming Italian thieves. The subject was in all probability selected by his employer, and the treatment was a question of art, without the slightest reference to the moral effect, even upon priests. We are perfectly certain that Corot painted those infinitely poetic landscapes, those cottages, those sad poplars, those leafless vines on weather-tinted walls, those quiet pools, those contented cattle, those fields flecked with light, over which bend the skies, tender as the breast of a mother, without once thinking of the ten commandments. There is the same difference between moral art and the product of true genius, that there is between prudery and virtue.

The novelists who endeavor to enforce what they are pleased to call "moral truths," cease to be artists. They create two kinds of characters—types and caricatures. The first never has lived, and the second never will. The real artist produces neither. In his pages you will find individuals, natural people, who have the contradictions and inconsistencies inseparable from humanity. The great artists "hold the mirror up to nature," and this mirror reflects with absolute accuracy. The moral and the immoral writers—that is to say, those who have some object besides that of art—use convex or concave mirrors, or those with uneven surfaces, and the result is that the images are monstrous and deformed. The little novelist and the little artist deal either in the impossible or the exceptional. The men of genius touch the universal. Their words and works throb in unison with the great ebb and flow of things. They write and work for all races and for all time.

It has been the object of thousands of reformers to destroy the passions, to do away with desires; and could this object be accomplished, life would become a burden, with but one desire; that is to say, the desire for extinction. Art in its highest forms increases passion, gives tone and color and zest to life. But, while it increases passion, it refines. It extends the horizon. The bare necessities of life constitute a prison, a dungeon. Under the influence of art the walls expand, the roof rises, and it becomes a temple.

Art is not a sermon, and the artist is not a preacher. Art accomplishes by indirection. The beautiful refines. The perfect in art suggests the perfect in conduct. The harmony in music teaches without intention the lesson of proportion in life. The bird in his song has no moral purpose, and yet the influence is humanizing. The beautiful in nature acts through appreciation and sympathy. It does not browbeat, neither does it humiliate. It is beautiful without regard to you. Roses would be unbearable if in their red and perfumed hearts were mottoes to the effect that bears eat bad boys and that honesty is the best policy.

Art creates an atmosphere in which the proprieties, the amenities, and the virtues unconsciously grow. The rain does not lecture the seed. The light does not make rules for the vine and flower.

The heart is softened by the pathos of the perfect.

The world is a dictionary of the mind, and in this dictionary of things genius discovers analogies, resemblances, and parallels amid opposites, likeness in difference, and corroboration in contradiction. Language is but a multitude of pictures. Nearly every word is a work of art, a picture represented by a sound, and this sound represented by a mark, and this mark gives not only the sound, but the picture of something in the outward world and the picture of something within the mind, and with these words which were once pictures, other pictures are made.

The greatest pictures and the greatest statues, the most wonderful and marvelous groups, have been painted and chiseled with words. They are as fresh to-day as when they fell from human lips. Penelope still ravels, weaves, and waits ; Ulysses' bow is bent, and through the level rings the eager arrow flies ; Cordelia's tears are falling now. The greatest gallery of the world is found in Shakespeare's book. The pictures and the marbles of the Vatican and Louvre are faded, crumbling things, compared with his, in which perfect color gives to perfect form the glow and movement of passion's highest life.

Everything except the truth wears, and needs to wear, a mask. Little souls are ashamed of nature. Prudery pretends to have only those passions that it cannot feel. Moral poetry is like a respectable canal that never overflows its banks. It has weirs through which slowly and without damage any excess of feeling is allowed to flow. It makes excuses for nature, and regards love

as an interesting convict. Moral art paints or chisels feet, faces, and rags. It regards the body as obscene. It hides with drapery what it has not the genius purely to portray. Mediocrity becomes moral from a necessity which it has the impudence to call virtue. It pretends to regard ignorance as the foundation of purity and insists that virtue seeks the companionship of the blind.

Art creates, combines, and reveals. It is the highest manifestation of thought, of passion, of love, of intuition. It is the highest form of expression, of history and prophesy. It allows us to look at an unmasked soul, to fathom the abysses of passion, to understand the heights and depths of love.

Compared with what is in the mind of man, the outward world almost ceases to excite our wonder. The impression produced by mountains, seas, and stars is not so great, so thrilling, as the music of Wagner. The constellations themselves grow small when we read "Troilus and Cressida," "Hamlet" or "Lear." What are seas and stars in the presence of a heroism that holds pain and death as naught? What are seas and stars compared with human hearts? What is the quarry compared with the statue?

Art civilizes because it enlightens, develops, strengthens, and ennobles. It deals with the beautiful, with the passionate, with the ideal. It is the child of the heart. To be great it must deal with the human. It must be in accordance with the experience, with the hopes, with the fears, and with the possibilities of man. No one cares to paint a palace, because there is nothing in such a picture to touch the heart. It tells of responsibility, of the prison of the conventional. It suggests a load, it tells of apprehension, of weariness and ennui. The picture of a cottage, over which runs a vine, a little home thatched with content, with its simple life, its natural sunshine and shadow, its trees bending with fruit, its hollyhocks and pinks, its happy children, its hum of bees, is a poem—a smile in the desert of this world.

The great lady, in velvet and jewels, makes but a poor picture. There is not freedom enough in her life. She is constrained. She is too far away from the simplicity of happiness. In her thought there is too much of the mathematical. In all art you will find a touch of chaos, of liberty; and there is in all artists a little of the vagabond—that is to say, genius.

The nude in art has rendered holy the beauty of woman. Every Greek statue pleads for mothers and sisters. From these

marbles come strains of music. They have filled the heart of man with tenderness and worship. They have kindled reverence, admiration, and love. The Venus de Milo, that even mutilation cannot mar, tends only to the elevation of our race. It is a miracle of majesty and beauty, the supreme idea of the supreme woman. It is a melody in marble. All the lines meet in a kind of voluptuous and glad content. The pose is rest itself. The eyes are filled with thoughts of love. The breast seems dreaming of a child.

The prudent is not the poetic ; it is the mathematical. Genius is the spirit of abandon ; it is joyous, irresponsible. It moves in the swell and curve of billows ; it is careless of conduct and consequence. For a moment, the chain of cause and effect seems broken ; the soul is free. It gives an account not even to itself. Limitations are forgotten ; nature seems obedient to the will ; the ideal alone exists ; the universe is a symphony.

Every brain is a gallery of art, and every soul is, to a greater or less degree, an artist. The pictures and statues that now enrich and adorn the walls and niches of the world, as well as those that illuminate the pages of its literature, were taken originally from the private galleries of the brain.

The soul—that is to say the artist—compares the pictures in its own brain with the pictures that have been taken from the galleries of others and made visible. This soul, this artist, selects that which is nearest perfection in each, takes such parts as it deems perfect, puts them together, forms new pictures, new statues, and in this way creates the ideal.

To express desires, longings, ecstacies, prophecies, and passions in form and color ; to put love, hope, heroism, and triumph in marble ; to paint dreams and memories with words ; to portray the purity of dawn, the intensity and glory of noon, the tenderness of twilight, the splendor and mystery of night, with sounds ; to give the invisible to sight and touch, and to enrich the common things of earth with gems and jewels of the mind—this is Art.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

CONTRACTION, AND THE REMEDY.

MONEY is a universal order for property and a legal tender in payment of debts. Its value depends not upon the material of which it is made, but upon the number of dollars, or other units of money, in circulation. If the number of dollars in circulation were doubled, each dollar would lose a part of its purchasing power, and the price of property would advance. On the other hand, if the circulating medium were reduced one-half, the purchasing power of each dollar would be greatly increased, and the price of property correspondingly depressed.

It is assumed, and not without some reason, that governments cannot be trusted to regulate the amount of the circulating medium, and that it is necessary to use a material obtainable only by labor, and of which a supply in excess of the demand cannot be furnished. Gold and silver were selected as money metals, and were jointly used as the basis of a circulating medium for more than two thousand years previous to 1875. If the quantity of these metals had at all times borne the same ratio to population it would have furnished a just measure of the value of property and secured an honest adjustment of contracts. Unfortunately, the unequal production of these metals has sometimes caused expansion and sometimes contraction. Notwithstanding this, no general consent has been given for the adoption of any other standard for fixing the amount of the circulating medium.

For centuries previous to 1875, debts were contracted with the understanding that they might be paid in either gold or silver. A debt, in the language of the street, is a "short" sale of money. It is an agreement to deliver at a future time that which the person making the promise does not possess. Debtors took the risk, while the two metals were used, of an increase or diminution of the circulating medium which might result from the varying supply of these metals, but they did not contract with a view of

the disuse of either. There is evidence to show that at the commencement of the Christian Era the amount of gold and silver in circulation in the Roman Empire (then the civilized world) was very great—perhaps as much as two billion dollars. Between that time and the discovery of gold and silver in Mexico and South America, wear, loss, and consumption in the arts, reduced the circulation more than one hundred million dollars each century. During all that period of contraction more property was required to liquidate a debt on the day of payment than would have satisfied the demand when the contract was made. Wages were reduced from year to year, until at the end of fifteen centuries the laborer found himself a feudal slave.

The supply of the precious metals from the New World furnished the debtor an opportunity to free himself from the bondage in which contraction had held him for so many generations. Labor and all its products advanced in price. Between the years 1500 and 1800, this new supply kept pace with the growth of population; man was aroused from degraded barbarism by the vitalizing influence of a gradual and constant increase in the volume of money; the march of civilization was strong, vigorous, and constant.

About the beginning of the present century the supply of gold and silver was greatly diminished by the Spanish-American wars. Contraction followed and continued until 1850, when the average price of labor and its products reached its lowest point within a century. The financial depression of that eventful period is still fresh in the memory of living men.

From 1850 to 1875, the discoveries of gold in California, Australia, and elsewhere swelled the annual production of the two metals to near two hundred millions. The effect upon trade, commerce, and every industry throughout the world was electrical. Notwithstanding the Crimean War, the Italian War, the War for the Union, the Austrian-Prussian, and the Franco-Prussian wars, and many other smaller wars, wealth and population advanced without a parallel in history. The value of property in the United States rose from seven billions, in 1850, to over thirty-one billions, in 1870. The average price of labor and its products rose more than 33⅓ per cent. The best energies of man in industry, science, and art were stimulated to their full capacity by an abundant circulating medium.

Since 1875, the average price of commodities has declined over 30 per cent., and is now lower than in 1850. The impetus given to progress during the twenty-five years of an abundant circulating medium is no longer felt. The civilized world is trembling on the verge of bankruptcy. Labor strikes, financial distress, and universal depression proclaim in language not to be misunderstood the evils to come if no remedy can be devised. Prosperity has been checked, and the world filled with misery and alarm by the contraction resulting from the disuse of one of the precious metals as money.

When the supply of gold was most abundant from California and Australia, Chevalier, of France, and other political economists of Europe, contended that the use of gold as money was unjust to the creditor class, and particularly the bondholders; that it would drive silver, then considered the better metal, out of the country, and that it was the duty of all governments to demonetize gold. Holland and Belgium yielded, and adopted the silver standard. Austria and Germany, in 1857, excluded gold from their mints, and thereby demonetized that metal to the extent of their power.

The increased production of silver during 1871–73 indicated that it would become more plentiful than gold. The arguments used in advocating the demonetization of gold when it was the more plentiful metal were in turn urged against silver. Between 1871 and 1875 the bondholders prevailed upon the United States and every government in Europe to exclude silver from their mints, and thereby secured its demonetization. The motive for this action was avarice. There were not less than one hundred billions of debts, public and private, in the civilized world, which by the terms of the contracts were payable in either gold or silver at the option of the debtor. The demonetization of silver compelled payment in gold alone, and about doubled the value of bonds and other securities, and increased to the same extent the days of labor and amount of property required to liquidate these vast obligations.

Since 1875 the annual supply of the precious metals has been fully two hundred millions, but one-half of it has been discarded as a money metal by every mint in the United States and Europe. Silver has been driven to Asia for a market. There has been no demand for it elsewhere for use as money except the twenty-four millions annually required for coinage, under the act of 1878.

The total production of silver since 1873, when it was practically demonetized, although not excluded from all the mints and reduced to a commodity until 1875, has been about one thousand six hundred millions. The product of gold during the same period has been equal to that of silver, making a grand total of about three thousand two hundred millions. About two hundred and eighty millions of silver has been coined by the United States. The remaining one thousand three hundred millions has been discarded by governmental action, for which no other reason has been given than that furnished by Chevalier and others for the demonetization of gold.

What other reason can be assigned for the present decline of prices, stagnation, and hard times, than this enormous contraction of the world's money? Favorable seasons and universal peace cannot have produced it.

In the recent report of Edward Atkinson, who was appointed by the President to visit Europe during last year "to investigate the status of bi-metallism," the following appears:

"I have met and consulted many of the financial ministers, the chief officers of all the national banks in the countries named, except one, namely, that of Holland; many officers of private banks and many bankers of distinction, most of the members of the Royal Gold and Silver Commission of Great Britain, which is now engaged in the examination of the same question, and lastly, many leading economists, statisticians, and legislators" (p. 3).

He informs the President, as a result of these interviews, that there is no prospect of the remonetization of silver in Europe. Did anybody doubt what his report would be after consultation with the persons named? It would be absurd to expect any other advice from the class of persons who destroyed silver for the avowed purpose of enhancing the value of bonds. Why should Mr. Atkinson be sent to Europe to ascertain what everybody already knew? Why did he seek advice from the class of persons who forged and riveted the chains of contraction by which the people of the United States are being dragged to financial ruin? Have the people on this side of the Atlantic no right to be consulted? The question has never been asked them whether they prefer the demonetization of silver and perpetual contraction, or the use of both metals and a liberal supply of circulating medium. The whole matter has been arranged by the bondholders and their

servants without regard to the wishes of the people. The assumption that the United States is dependent upon Europe for a circulating medium is as false as it is degrading. It is the duty of this Government to have an independent financial policy. Europe will never provide for the people of the United States.

It is now possible to obtain a liberal supply of money on a metallic basis—an opportunity rarely, if ever, enjoyed by any nation. All that is required to remonetize silver is for the United States to receive that metal in exchange for money at the standard value established by law. Silver would then be at par throughout the world, for no one would sell it for a less price in Europe, Asia, or Africa, than could be obtained in the United States. The objections that the United States would be flooded with silver, or that gold would be driven out of the country, have no foundation. The amount of silver bullion in Europe and America is trifling, probably less than ten millions. The fear of further depreciation by governmental action causes its shipment to Asia as fast as produced. The entire mass of coin silver, exclusive of debased subsidiary coin in all Europe, is less than one billion dollars. This coin silver is circulating as a full legal tender on a par with gold at the ratio between the two metals of fifteen and a half to one. Our ratio is about sixteen to one. It would require an ounce of gold to buy fifteen and a half ounces of silver coin in Europe. The fifteen and a half ounces so purchased could not be exchanged at the United States mint for an ounce of gold ; it would require the addition of one-half ounce of silver before the ounce of gold expended in Europe could be returned, a loss of over three per cent., besides exchange. A large supply of silver from Europe cannot be expected. The probability is that the supply will not equal the demand, and that after the remonetization of silver, greenbacks must remain in circulation and be increased, rather than diminished.

The bondholders' contention, that the price of silver has depreciated on account of overproduction, is refuted by the facts. Between the years 1500 and 1846, two-thirds of the aggregate production of the two metals was silver ; from 1846 to 1850 their production was equal ; from 1850 to 1875, two-thirds of the aggregate production was gold ; from 1875 until now their production has been about equal. For two hundred years previous to 1875 the ratio between the two metals was compara-

tively stationary at about fifteen and one-half ounces of silver to one of gold. Since silver has been demonetized it has fallen, as compared with gold, nearly thirty per cent., although the ratio of production of silver to gold has been much less than it was in the two hundred years preceding its demonetization. It can be easily shown that every change in the relative value of the two metals has been the result of legislation, and not of production.

It would require several hundred millions additional circulation to furnish sufficient money per capita to relieve present necessities and secure an honest adjustment of contracts. The paper money in and out of the Treasury amounts to over six hundred millions. The substitution of coin, or, what is better, coin certificates, for this paper, must be satisfactory to the advocates of metallic money. The issuance of five hundred millions of coin certificates upon the deposit of bullion, would cost the Government nothing, revive every enterprise, increase wages, and secure peace and contentment.

The expense of coining and the wear and loss of coin while in circulation would be avoided by the use of coin certificates. The constant shrinkage of the supply of the precious metals from these causes admonishes us that contraction may be produced in like manner in the future as in the past. There can be no loss of bullion stored in the vaults of the Treasury ; its commercial value to settle balances with foreign countries is greater in that shape than in coin. The loss of the coin certificates in circulation would more than compensate the Uuited States for assaying and storing the bullion, and furnishing the certificates for circulation free of charge.

I challenge the opponents of silver to propose a better monetary system than the one above suggested. The National Bank plan has already proven to be a failure. It does not furnish an honest measure for the adjustment of contracts, or tend to maintain an even range of prices by providing at all times the same amount of money per capita ; on the contrary, the amount of circulation furnished by the National Banks is constantly fluctuating and altogether inadequate. According to the report of the Comptroller of the Currency, there has been a decrease in National Bank circulation since November 1st, 1883, of about one hundred and fifty millions. No attempt whatever has been

made by legislation to adopt any system whereby the circulation should be made to correspond to the increase of population. The whole matter seems to have been left to accident or the manipulation of stock jobbers.

With no monetary system proposed looking to the regular supply of a circulating medium, and while the country is trembling on the brink of financial ruin, we are told that Europe declines to discuss with us the proposition of using silver as money, and that, therefore, we must adhere to the single gold standard without regard to consequences.

If silver is not used for money, and gold is the only standard, the alternative is presented either to discard gold, as well as silver, and devise some other system, or sink into barbarism for want of an adequate circulating medium. The supply of gold is constantly decreasing. From 1871 to 1875, the annual production of gold, according to Dr. Adolf Soetbeer, the German statistician, was over one hundred and thirteen millions, while during the last five years it probably has not exceeded ninety millions. The Director of the Mint, whose estimates, I fear, are very much exaggerated, puts it much less than one hundred millions. It is a fact known to bullion producers that at least one-third of the output of gold comes from silver mines, where it is found in combination with that metal. When these mines are closed, as they must be by the continued fall in the price of silver if that metal is not remonetized, the decline in the production of gold will be enormous.

The situation imperatively demands that both metals be discarded, or that both be used together as money. If this demand is not heeded the calamities in store for mankind resulting from violent and continued contraction cannot be over-estimated.

WM. M. STEWART.

"THE GENIUS OF BATTLE."

FROUDE speaks of Newman as the embodiment of subtlety, because when an Oxford curate in his Anglican days, the Cardinal would preach an apparently harmless sermon, to develop some one phrase which might unsettle the faith of the young men from whose ecclesiastical communion he was contemplating a withdrawal. General W. F. Smith's article on "The Genius of Battle" in the February number of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is open to the same criticism. Reduced to its final analysis, the article may be summed up in two sentences:

> "M. Thiers . . . says when war is conducted as a purely mechanical routine . . . it is hardly worthy of history." "War conducted as a mechanical routine was perfectly exhibited in the 'Campaign of Attrition,' inaugurated by General Grant on the 5th of May, 1864."

These two sentences, General Smith, in imitation of the subtle purpose attributed to Cardinal Newman, has written a whole article to embody.

General Smith belongs to a class of patriotic, hopeful, and intelligent men, who, having had in the war as good an opportunity as Grant, Sherman, and Thomas, gave their minds to other than military duties, and now spend much time in explaining why they failed. In 1861, General Smith was one of a hundred promising youths, with a military education, of whom far more was expected than from Grant or Sheridan. After winning reputation as a builder of pontoon bridges, and special commendation and promotion from Grant, General Smith was unfortunate enough to lose the confidence of his chief, and with it further opportunity of usefulness. History would be content to close the General's military career with this cold statement. But the General is impatient with history as it is, and is busy in writing it as he would like it to be. According to the new chronicles,

having failed in the war, except as a builder of pontoon bridges, none of those who succeeded were true generals, while Grant especially, in the words of Thiers, "was hardly worthy of history." What gives a certain quality to these criticisms, and renders them partly unanswerable, is the fact that Grant is dead.

As one who loved and honored Grant, I would like to submit some hasty notes in reply to General Smith, more as suggestions, however, than as a consecutive answer to an article ingeniously written to conceal an ignoble assault upon the dead captain.

General Smith epitomizes the qualities which constitute a great captain. "The number" of great captains "may be counted upon the fingers of one hand," and among them "Napoleon stands pre-eminent."

Leaders of armies—"great captains"—war heroes, in these modern constitutional times, when government is the will, and sometimes the caprice of a free people, cannot all be emperors, kings, or even presidents. Generals must take their armies and war resources from legislatures; they must consider the civil policy of their government, and act in accord with that policy. They must produce their best results with a view to the government's stability.

Our civil war was, therefore, truly civil, curiously marked on either side by the dependence of civil authority upon military success, and as such to be studied as unique among wars. I know of no campaigns resembling it, unless those of Marlborough, who arranged the marching of his columns according to the votes of the House of Commons.

The attack of Beauregard on Sumter was a civil act, intended to force Virginia into secession. Grant considered the exigencies of Lincoln's administration in his move on Vicksburg. Sherman's capture of Atlanta was a political answer to the declaration of the Democratic convention that the war was a failure. Sheridan's Shenandoah campaigns in 1864 were swayed by the necessity for re-electing Lincoln. Here are definite examples of war under representative constitutional conditions—of war governed by civil rather than military considerations.

Beauregard, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, in these campaigns, were subordinate to their governments, as Washington and Wellington had been before them. So likewise was Napoleon in his

earlier campaigns, so long as France had a government reputable enough to inspire his respect and strong enough to insure his obedience. His pre-eminence as a great captain came from the absolute possession of the resources of a vast empire. Washington, Wellington, and Grant are great captains, whose achievements were under civil control. While history shows that this irresponsibility of Napoleon gave him mighty opportunities, it shows likewise that it led to self-will, ambition, vanity, and to what surely comes as the consequence—humiliation and downfall. History, on the other hand, in the case of Washington, Wellington, and Grant, shows splendid, enduring results, the career of each a blessing to civilization, and their names to live with lustrous and enduring fame.

General Smith sees in modern history but one great captain whose powers were "used in the cause of liberty"—and no such man among his comrades and friends in the Union army. This is a pathetic confession by a soldier who, like Napoleon, had the chance to have shown what great powers could have accomplished. I have read few things more touching, for General Smith writes as one who remembers the great days, and who would live in history as having done something more than build pontoon bridges for the armies of Thomas and Sherman to cross.

Let us be just to our own time. If history is truly read, will it not appear that Washington fought for independence of British rule, rather than individual freedom? Was not our early war a Parnell movement for Home Rule—and not like that of Garibaldi for the freeing of a nation from alien domination, and of Garrison for the enfranchisement of a race? Washington bought and sold slaves. The constitution of 1789, although studiously avoiding the word "slave," protected slavery. We give to Washington absolute love and veneration, but is it not rather as the founder of a nation regarding slavery as a sacred institution than as a soldier of liberty. I find Washington to be my great captain of American Independence. But I find Grant, Sherman, and their companions to be my great captains of American liberty, and, so far as the liberty of the citizen is above the independence of the State, so will the war for liberty in 1861 stand in history above the war for Independence in 1776.

Grant's civil object as a soldier was to safeguard the Government. In the beginning the war was for the Union. He was the

soldier of the Union. The war became a war for Freedom. Grant became the soldier of Freedom, moving ever in the orbit of Washington and Wellington, a soldier in obedience to the law, a soldier who would have as readily suppressed the secession of New England as the secession of Virginia.

As a military study the "campaign of attrition" is scientific, and will be sustained by the highest authorities on the art of war. The problem before Grant was what has rarely devolved upon a great captain. It was not the defeat, but the destruction of his enemy. He could not fight, like Wellington or Moltke, for a peace conference, or a treaty—fight while diplomatists were in negotiation—he had to destroy or be destroyed. He had an enemy with whom he could not treat, with whose commander he was sternly forbidden to have a conference on any but military matters. His "campaign of attrition" was, therefore, to hold as in a vise his immediate antagonist, sending minor armies to destroy the country upon which that enemy subsisted. When those armies came within supporting distance Grant launched forth and conquered in one of the greatest battles of history. He not only defeated but destroyed his enemy, securing freedom to millions of slaves, and assuring a republican form of government to hundreds of millions of freemen. "If," says Thiers, in the passage quoted by General Smith, "the identification of the multitude with a single individual, which produces force in the highest degree, serves to protect, to defend a noble cause, that of liberty, then the scene has a grandeur in its moral as well as its other aspects."

I see this grandeur in the achievements of Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, who are the great captains of this age, and as such will be honored by our children. I take Grant as the chief and type, one of the host of patriotic people who, suddenly aroused to war, met it as brave men should. Some had professional education, some limited experience, but they had one soul, one purpose. They were the heroes, and because of what they did Freedom is the law of the land.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

FOSSIL FALLACIES.

"*People who live in glass houses should not throw stones.*"

They are the only ones who may. The fact that men so cleverly excuse or justify their own weaknesses, is proof conclusive that they have no right to deal severely with those they chance to be free from. The same course of reasoning that mitigates their faults applies to others, and calls for charity and tolerance and [illegible]lity.

I[illegible]s new doctrine is the one to which we must come.

The gossips and critics and censors must preface their comments with an admission that they share the fault at which they strike. Else are they unfair, unjust, incompetent. Their very immunity and perfection disqualifies them.

The sentiment must prevail, that it is cowardly to throw stones that hurt and wound, when unable to understand or appreciate—when securely fortified behind the fortress of immunity.

This newer doctrine is the better one. When it prevails we shall all be wiser and happier, than in these days, when we are "censors of such vices as we are not tempted to commit, and satirists of such virtues as we are not allured to imitate."

"*Contentment is better than riches.*"

That sounds like the despairing wail of a disappointed man. It is a patent medicine, intended for those who have tried for success and have failed. It is warranted to have the same soothing effect that the conclusion about the grapes had on the fox. If taken in sufficiently large doses it will make a man a helpless nonentity. It is a narcotic that does more harm than good. It puts to sleep the very ones who need waking.

The fact is, contentment is satisfied laziness. Those who better themselves and get the grapes do not think they are sour.

A true man is not necessarily discontented, but he is ever aspiring. He would do more—be more—get more.

He does not care for absolute contentment. The utmost he will admit is that contentment, with riches, is better than without them.

"*Men were born to succeed, not fail.*"

Then a vast number of men do not serve the purpose for which they were born. Success is the exception—failure the rule. The retrospect is a picture of unfruitful effort. The contemplation of it should make us more active and earnest; but we take a good look at the picture and go right along accumulating—"nothing but leaves."

WALTER GREGORY.

II.

THE WORKINGMAN'S SUNDAY.

DR. FELIX L. OSWALD, in his article on "The Coming Civilization," speaks as follows concerning the Sunday of the future for workingmen: "The workingmen of the future will most emphatically protest against mediæval methods of government interference with legitimate rewards of industry; as, for instance, by the suppression of public recreation on the only day when about ninety-nine per cent. of our laborers find their only chance of leisure." If the workingmen of the future are wise they will do nothing towards breaking down the legal restrictions which are still thrown around Sunday observance in this country. They ought, on the contrary, to use all their influence to preserve Sunday as a day of complete rest. The workingman, surely, needs one day of rest out of seven. The introduction of public amusements on Sunday would diminish the respect and reverence with which we, as a nation, have always regarded that day, and it would be but a short time before the "Lord's Day" would be completely secularized. As a proof of this, take the Sunday of the present in France and Germany. In those countries is surely realized Dr. Oswald's ideal of the workingman's Sunday. There is an unlimited license in regard to amusements, and, what seems to follow as a necessary consequence, an almost unlimited license in regard to business. From the statistics lately collected by the Prussian Government fro[illegible]y of its thirty-five departments, we learn that of the 500,156 manufacturing ta[illegible]lishments of all kinds in those provinces, 57.75 per cent. were operated on Sunday. Of the 147,318 establishments interested in trade and transportation in twenty-nine provinces, 77 per cent. were operated on Sunday. In France the case is not quite so bad, but it is well known that the amount of business transacted on Sunday in Paris is immense. In each of these countries thousands of laborers and clerks labor from one week's end to another without any opportunity for rest, recreation, or self-improvement. What a strain this must be on wearied muscles and overwrought nerves; and how intensely must the tired laborer long for one day in seven in which to take rest! But he has voluntarily reduced himself to this degraded condition, and there is no redress for him now, for if he refuses to work on Sunday his employer dismisses him, and secures some one who will.

Now, does the American workman propose to follow the example of his French and German brother? It will be a sad day for himself and his country when he does so. Already is there a strong tendency here towards the secularization of the Sunday. Many of our railroad companies run their freight and passenger trains on Sunday, and if their employés refuse to work they are promptly discharged. Other corporations, and even private individuals, are following in the wake of the railroad companies. Nothing would please avaricious capital and grasping monopoly better than to see a complete secularization of the Sunday in the United States, and nothing would tend more towards the degradation and demoralization of our working classes, and through them of the whole country.

WILLIAM BLACK STEEL.

III.

MAN'S ORIGIN.

IN an article entitled "Possibilities of Animal Intelligence," lately published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, appears this sentence: "Before he showed mental activity, man, according to the best and now agreed authorities, led by

Cope, was an anthropoid ape, etc." There are three theories as to the origin of man. The first explains his presence by a special creation ; the second theory of origin is by heterogenesis, the supporters of this theory arguing that there is nothing incredible in the supposition that a child capable of inventing a tool and building a fire could have been born to an anthropoid ape.

The third, or "Darwinian theory," is that of evolution under known laws. Darwin's theory is sometimes stated to be that man is descended from the monkey, or one of the apes. This is an error, which was corrected by Darwin himself. His statement was that "man is the descendant, with other species, of some ancient lower and extinct form." While the early remains of man show that he originally occupied a position scarcely above that of the beasts, and that he has reached his present height of intellectual and moral enlightenment through the complex motive forces of civilization, consisting of the growth of wants, social and national endowments, geographical surroundings, the commingling of nations, and the influence of great men; yet no competent anatomist to-day would maintain that the human species was, or could be, the offspring, however remote, of any other known species of animal of all the millions of families scattered all over the globe. Not one has been discerned that does not lack the true specific characters of man, and although many anomalies in human anatomy have been shown, the "connecting link" between man and any lower species has never been pointed out. The inference drawn from the argument from embryology does not, by any means, justify the conclusion that the development of the embryo portrays within the limits of nine months the life history of the race through the countless ages of geologic time. We must draw a distinction every where between what belongs to the brute and what belongs to man. A profound interval, without connection, separates the human race from all others. No other species comes near the human species; no genus even or family. The human family stands alone. Anthropology, ethnology, and prehistoric archæology all prove this. Man is the only animal that, by cultivating the different elements which make up the sum of what we call civilization, has conquered the organic world, and he has done this by virtue of a potentiality of growth which knew no limits, and foreign to any other known species of animals. If "missing links" are sought for, we would venture to suggest that a fruitful field for research is in the gap which intervenes between the close of the paleolithic and the beginning of the neolithic age. There are indications of a long period of time in which numerous geological strata were deposited which contain no human remains. The climate passed from an arctic temperature almost to that with which we are now acquainted. The mammoth, the reindeer, and the great felines disappeared and never returned, and with the beginning of the neolithic period we are brought abruptly into the presence of a new race of men, with a great advance in the arts and in social organization. What became of paleolithic man? Did he die out or migrate? or was he exterminated? or did neolithic man enter Western Europe from Central or Western Asia, bringing with him his arts and his cereals?

EDWARD C. MANN, M. D.

IV.

THE SALOON IN INDIAN TERRITORY.

Two years ago it was my lot to spend several months in the immediate vicinity of the Indian village described by Gail Hamilton in the REVIEW for January. Judging from my experience there I am inclined to think that the article referred to is unintentionally misleading in regard to the sale of liquor in the territory. The prohibitory law referred to does not apply to the United States Reservation

at Fort Gibson. On Indian land there is not one open saloon to be found. The territorial police are very vigilant in ferreting out smugglers, and the United States Court at Fort Smith, Arkansas, before which such offenses are tried, is very prompt and stringent in punishing them. The best informed men there told me that there would not be much trouble with whisky there if its sale was not allowed on the United States Reservations. All agreed that the establishment of open saloons among the Indians would make the Territory utterly uninhabitable for whites, and hasten greatly the extinction of the Indians themselves. The first instinct of a drunken Indian is to shoot. The mark may be horse, cow, pig, man, or empty space—no matter what, just so that he may shoot.

W. H. JOHNSON.

V.

THE COAL STRIKE.

ONE of the phenomena of the present time is the unanimity with which a demand for the restriction of immigration comes from all parts of the country, and from all classes of people. The demand has been made in poetry and prose; by the pulpit and the press; by the laborer and the capitalist; by the rich and by the poor, and underlying it is a universal and earnest public sentiment.

This sentiment, while it has been of slow growth, has apparently suddenly found its voice. The reason is plain. Immigration has not only been unchecked but it has been unduly forced beyond its natural proportions. Not only have foreign governments shipped to our shores their paupers and criminals, but American employers have imported cargoes of human beings who were in no sense fit to become American citizens. We have an illustration of what follows such a procedure in the rioting among the strikers in the coal regions.

The coal barons have only to thank themselves for this injury to their business, and if they only were affected the general public would probably let them suffer without comment. But events have shown that these coal barons have done something far more widely reaching in effect than at first appears. They have introduced into this country hordes of ignorant, debased, and ferocious Poles and Hungarians. They were introduced, not because they were better workmen, but because they might be hired cheaper. In order that the millionaires of the Schuylkill Valley might save a few cents this gangrenous element was introduced into our national life.

The result is that these recent introductions have become worse than the evils they were intended to supplant. They have demanded more than their predecessors were satisfied with, and have broken out into rioting and violence. They have cast discredit upon organized labor, and the impunity which they have hitherto enjoyed is but an invitation and inducement to the ignorant and violent classes throughout the country to be disorderly.

The thoughtful American sees, therefore, the perils which are threatened by the immigration of a debased population—the coal strike is but one example from which he gains wisdom.

It may be said that it was the awful crime of the Chicago Anarchists which fanned the slumbering sentiment of the people into flame. It was the horror of that crime which roused the nation to a realization that the motives and objects which brought foreigners to this country had changed from what they were in the past, that men came here now, not that they might labor and become good citizens, but rather that they might propagate doctrines in every respect hostile to our theory of government. The liberty which our institutions offer them, they turn to license. They are vipers who would sting their preservers.

The riots accompanying the various labor strikes of the past few years have

made it plain to all careful observers that the native American laborer is quiet and peaceable, though jealous of his rights, and that it is the foreign born laborer who seizes every chance to foment strife and indulge in violence.

This is one of the lessons of the present strike.

OLNEY SEARLES.

VI.

CLASSICAL TYPES.

IT is very unfortunate that no copies have survived of the daily journals published in the palmy days of Nineveh, Babylon, Greece, or Rome. Stereotype plates were not invented then, at least no evidence exists of their use, but from the few scraps of gossip that have come down to our degenerate age we may form some idea of the topics antique and even prehistoric, that interested society. It would seem that prevailing tastes at the centres of intellectual culture were not wholly unlike our own.

The arena then, as the stage to-day, afforded material for a goodly portion of current gossip. To limit ourselves to a single item, the gladiator appears to have been placed upon a very enviable pinnacle of fame. It has come down to us through various channels of information that he was petted and made much of by the grand ladies of his time; that he had all that heart could wish in the way of luxuries, and that, at least while he was young and handsome and strong, he could do about as he liked, and no questions asked. His simulacrum has survived in the marbles of Praxiteles and in the bas-reliefs of a still earlier day, and literature preserves the records of his feats of arms. Fortunately, perhaps, for him, he generally got himself speared or otherwise put out of the way before he fairly began the downward course, and the fellow that hurled the fateful spear or wielded the short broadsword, stood ready to take his place in popular favor. All this is very nice and classical, when read about in Assyrian, or Greek or Latin, and one is tempted to speculate whether it gave rise in its day to the species of derogatory remark that follows the footsteps of our modern gladiators. Here, for instance, are our sister cities of Boston and London. They have both of them gone crazy of late, each in its own fashion, over a modern representative of the arena —that is to say, of the prize-ring.

In the American city a sculptor has reproduced his magnificent physique in enduring marble, which recently attracted admiring crowds in a public hall. The fact that the distinguished subject broke his arm not long since in a drunken brawl was announced as a public calamity, while his little eccentricities in the way of wife-beating and other brutalities are passed over as lightly as possible in all really competent and appreciative circles. Like most of his famous countrymen he has lately indulged in a trip to England, and has been received with distinguished honors alike by royalty and the press, for he granted the Prince an interview and accepted from him a mark of distinguished consideration. *Punch* has given him the benefit of gratuitous advertisements in the shape of cartoons, and, upon the whole, he has received more attention than any American of his time. Certain fastidious classes in both countries affect to look with contempt upon such demonstrations, but they find nothing offensive in the deification of the classical gladiator. Agonistes of Athens and Retiarius of Rome were probably quite as conspicuous for personal ruffianism as any of our modern pugilists, but we do not find them objectionable as objects of art or as types of the perfected manhood of those days. We praise the Greek system that developed the physical at the same time with the intellectual, but forget that perfection in either must have been attained at the expense of the other. If the world lasts long enough to retire the present time into a remote and classical past, perhaps the Bostonian statue will be

unearthed minus an arm or two, and placed in the great art gallery of the time to be admired of all beholders, and perhaps files of our daily papers will be cited to show how in this nineteenth century the whole man was cultivated until approximate perfection was reached in the type thus wonderfully preserved by the sculptor's art.

ADRIAN REXFORD.

VII.

PERNICIOUS LITERATURE.

THE evils which affect our political system are but the natural results of the corruption of society and the individual members of the body politic. In all of our great cities are localities which are the breeding places of crime—cess-pools toward which the vice of the surrounding country drains—and from these sinks of iniquity arise the poisons which eat out the moral life of the nation. Broadcast over the land—thick as dead leaves blown by the autumn winds—fly printed leaves from the tree of evil knowledge. In them crimes are gilded; lawlessness is valor; murderers, thieves, and criminals are the heroes. The man, or woman, or child who peruses them, goes to the State prison, the gambling house and the brothel to find the companions of his leisure hours, the personages who will dwell in his thoughts when his hands are busy. Courage, independence, heroism, and a spirit of self-sacrifice are qualities which have become antiquated and obsolete. Argosies of fancy and of fact, which wove spells of tenderness and honor around the lives of the great and good men and women of times gone by, have been allowed to go down into the abyss of out-of-print; and in their stead we have a Babel of dialects, a hodge-podge of criminals and detectives, a pemmican of adventure—bear and Indian and scout and trapper and cow-boy boiled down to the dregs of condensation.

All the quaintness and innocence of childhood—its originality—its tenderness—its sprightful tricks—its infinite, unconscious drollery—the serious earnestness of its fun—the natural religion of its plays—the delicious oddity of its sayings—all, all disappear when the child has fed its mind upon that pernicious literature which the great cities spread over the country.

It is next to impossible to reform those who have lost all faith in the sincerity, honor, or goodness of human nature—who believe that people in general are all bad, who have been taught that all criminals are heroes. In such hearts there is a reservoir of rage and vice, invisible save when some flame, hotter than usual, bursts momentarily forth. And if our national life is growing worse, if society is growing more corrupt, it is because our young men and women, who are entering into manhood and womanhood, have, in childhood, fed their minds on pernicious literature.

Childhood is the time when the ideals of life are formed. In the dreams of childhood are found the germs of many a man's career. The seeds sown in the mind of the child will germinate into the character of the man and ripen into the pleasant fruit of good deeds or the Dead-Sea-apples of sin. And so, if we would have citizens capable, by voice and vote, of wisely governing and directing the affairs of the nation, we must see to it that the children of the land are early taught to be manly and honest, pure and true.

But, apart from these considerations of the worldly power and prosperity of the nation, there is a higher duty which we are called upon to fulfill—a duty whose performance or omission must be accounted for when the great Judge of all men puts to us the question, "Where is thy brother?" Think you that the old, old answer with which humanity has so long stifled its conscience will suffice then? Shall we be absolved from blame if we give the answer of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" When eyeballs glaze and ears grow dull—when the golden

cord that binds the soul and body together is frayed and breaking, and life is ebbing away—what will it matter to us then that we have been clad daintily, that Science has been our guide, or that Art has surrounded our lives with all that is fair and pleasant? Better far, if out of the darkness of the Valley of the Shadow of Death we hear a voice speaking to us words like these: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

ARTHUR DUDLEY VINTON.

VIII.

COLONEL INGERSOLL ON CHRISTIANITY.

COLONEL INGERSOLL'S opinion of Christ is, of course, of great value to the world but it would have been in better taste had he trusted to his admirers to draw the comparison with which he favors us when he applies to Christ words ostensibly quoted from some attack upon himself. Christ was indeed also a "reformer" and an "infidel," but there was nothing "cruel in his treatment of the belief of others."

It is there that the resemblance ends.

Christ, indeed, came "not to bring peace but a sword." He did most truly war against the belief of others with a calm persistence that bespoke his high purpose; but it was not to throw down their gods and leave their temples desolate; to overthrow the result of ages of groping for the cause of things and leave the world helpless, like a child crying in the dark. If he destroyed their gods it was to give them that which symbolized more adequately the Truth,—that is, the Power of the Spirit. More than that, he was too wise a teacher to attempt, witness his own words quoted by John (chap. xvi.), "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot *bear* them now."

In his day the world had outgrown the purely sensuous religion of the Greeks, and a glimmer of the possibility of a spiritual side to man's nature had begun to break through the aura of popular thought. Yet, because men had found their feet was not to him a reason for leaving them in their weakness to learn the way alone. Instead of that support they had outgrown he gave another, lest they should faint and fall by the way. He never said, "There is no God," but, there is but one God in whom is all the power of your many gods vested.

For the Jew, who already had the revelation, he carried it a step further when he declared the right of all men to salvation, and for all he prepared the way for the evolution of the whole Truth by giving to the world precepts whose practice would serve to subordinate the brute side of man's nature and foster the spiritual side, through which only can the truth be perceived. It is by symbols that we learn; it is by faintly realized ideals that we form new ones. If the gifted Colonel would but remember that the world is yet young, that it needs still its pictures and its stories of its Bayards and its Richard of the Lion Heart—although the period of Santa Claus and the ogres and the fairy prince have been outgrown—to help it to believe in the truth of those ideals which it evolves as its grows, each purer than the last!

Let him remember that he and others like him, to whom has been vouchsafed the comprehension of a portion of the truth, bear the same relation to their fellows as the Jews to the Pagans. Let him, then, have patience with those who creep because he can walk erect. Let him imitate the man he professes to admire, and if he has a better crutch to give the man who limps along the path that he has come, let him give it him in the name of mercy; but let him stay his hand from breaking that which serves, however inadequately, to help the wretch to gain that point where his weakness and deformity may be changed to strength.

L. R. ZERBE.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I.

THE INQUISITION OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE special task which Mr. Lea undertakes in this elaborate work,* of which the first volume only is just issued, is a judicial and dispassionate investigation as to the origin, development, and character of the Inquisition. According to the author's view of the Holy Office it was not an organization arbitrarily devised and imposed upon Christendom, but rather a natural, if not inevitable, evolution of the forces at work in the thirteenth century. What those forces were are set forth in the opening chapters, which describe the "spiritual despotism" which, for the time, held absolute dominion over the consciences of men, and which was a development of the ancient episcopate in the direction of a centralized hierarchy. With this came the corruption of the higher clergy and the general prevalence of abuses in the Church. Mr. Lea is no apologist for the Church of this era, and the picture he paints is one with which Protestant readers are usually familiar. From this state of things a reaction in time set in, which began in the awakening of the human mind and consciousness. This led to heretical movements, which were concerned, not so much with subtleties of doctrine, such as disturbed the quiet of the early centuries, but with protests and combinations directed against ecclesiastical corruptions and scandals. Of course there were extravagances, blunders, and foolishness among heretics, but these were but the extreme lengths to which the reactionary pendulum swung. Meanwhile, the morals of the people sank to a low ebb, and the outlook was dark and deplorable. Then the spiritual powers took upon themselves the task of righting matters, but they began at the wrong end. Instead of cleansing the Augean stable of ecclesiastical corruption, they fought the heretics with fire and sword. But there arose within the ranks of orthodoxy the Mendicant Orders, ascetic, pious, and yet not Protestant or heretical. Here was an instrumentality which the Church could use with effect, and these orders became willing tools for the suppression of free thought and free speech. Thus grew the Holy Office.

"As the institution gradually assumed shape and organization in the effort to find some effectual means to ferret out concealed heretics, the Dominicans were the readiest instrument at hand, especially as they professed the function of preaching and converting as their primary business. As conversion became less the object and persecution the main business of the Inquisition, the Franciscans were equally useful."

Not that there was any formal commitment of Inquisitorial functions to these

* "A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages." By Henry Charles Lea. In three volumes. Vol. I. Harper & Brothers.

orders, for, as occasion required, the Papal See would confide these functions to clerics of any denomination; but from the character, peculiar discipline, and moral influence of the orders, the work of the Inquisition gradually fell chiefly into their hands. Nor was persuasion the only weapon employed. Force was found to be necessary to bring wandering sheep back to the fold, and force led to persecutions and horrors which sorely tax the Christian apologist to palliate or defend.

Mr. Lea cites abundant authorities for the facts which he brings together relative to the development and character of the Inquisition. The idea of the thing is in itself proper and wise. What so natural as the Church sending her pious and devoted servants to inspect the spiritual condition of a parish or district to advise, suggest, and abjure the people and clergy to fidelity to the Church, and to exhort them to greater holiness and consistency of life? Very different, however, were the frequent visitations of the Inquisition, which grew to be a standing terror.

"It is easy, in fact, to imagine the terror into which a community would be thrown when an inquisitor suddenly descended upon it and made his proclamation. No one could know what stories might be circulating about himself, which zealous fanaticism or personal enmity might exaggerate and carry to the inquisitor, and in this the orthodox and the heretic would suffer alike. All scandals passing from mouth to mouth would be brought to light. All confidence between man and man would disappear. Old grudges would be gratified in safety. To him who had been heretically inclined the terrible suspense would grow day by day more insupportable, with the thought that some careless word might have been treasured up to be now revealed by those who ought to be nearest and dearest to him, until at last he would yield and betray others rather than be betrayed himself. Gregory IX. boasted that, on at least one such occasion, parents were led to denounce their children and children their parents, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands."

We have not space to follow the author through the chapters descriptive of the Inquisitorial process, its rules of evidence, its power of sentencing and punishing the obnoxious, and its influence in molding the secular jurisprudence of that and succeeding ages. We may sum up to the author's opinions, based upon his elaborate researches, by quoting the concluding sentences of the volume: "It would be impossible to compute the amount of misery and wrong inflicted on the defenseless up to the present century, which may be directly traced to the arbitrary and unrestricted methods introduced by the Inquisition and adopted by the jurists who fashioned the criminal jurisprudence of the continent. It was a system which might well seem the invention of demons, and was fitly characterized by Sir John Fortescue as the Road to Hell."

Thus far the author deals with the Inquisition as it existed previous to the Reformation, reserving to future volumes a discussion of the Spanish Inquisition and of the Inquisition of later times. Objection may be taken from a Roman standpoint to many of the statements and conclusions of the work, but there seems to be no sufficient reply to the mass of evidence furnished even by the records of the Inquisition itself as to its character. It was undoubtedly a product, as our author says, of the forces of the age, and cannot be defended from any modern standpoint of churchmanship. Mr. Lea writes in the true spirit of the historian, searching for facts and disclosing them without fear or malice. His labors, if completed, will give to the world the first real history of this great power of the Middle Ages. We sincerely compliment him on the clear and logical method and style of the work, in which the reader's interest will not readily flag. Certainly the perusal of this volume creates a desire for the speedy appearance of the others.

II.

THE ENGLISH IN THE WEST INDIES.

MR. FROUDE'S reputation as a historian will secure him a large audience for this exposition of a very interesting subject. The book* is the result of a visit which Mr. Froude paid to the islands last year. He relates in an easy, colloquial style what he saw and heard, and gives his impressions freely upon the condition and prospects of this region. No one will be disappointed with the entertainment provided in these pages, for the descriptive portions are the work of a master hand, and the views expressed on the social, commercial, and political outlook are worthy of serious attention on many grounds. Having begun its perusal the reader will probably find it difficult to lay the book aside until it is finished, even if he should have started out without feeling any special interest in the subject. Those who have not visited the West Indies will have the agreeable sensation of being themselves guided through a most interesting part of the earth's surface, and of being introduced to very pleasant society.

Mr. Froude takes a conservative view of the political situation in the West Indies. He thinks that England has already gone too far in the direction of granting the franchise and constitutional privileges, and that the outlook is extremely serious for the future. It is a fact that the Negro race largely preponderates in the British West Indies, and Mr. Froude points to Hayti as an illustration of what the islands may become under the rule of the blacks. The West India Islands are no longer of any very great importance to England, commercially or otherwise, and the inclination of the Empire is toward giving practical independence to her distant colonies. Ireland is too closely identified with national matters to expect from England anything but a very slow and cautious assent to her views as to Home Rule, but Australia and Canada are welcome to manage their own affairs. It is different with India, because India is really a conquered country occupied by millions of an essentially different race. To give constitutional liberty to India would be to abandon it, and no one thinks of this happening. India is too valuable a possession to throw aside for an idea. If the West Indies were of commercial importance to Great Britain, the question of their internal government would become a very serious one to the Empire. It is a serious one now to the islands themselves, but the tendency is to throw the government practically upon the negroes, and this would be to drive the diminishing number of the English from the islands. What would then become of them? Hayti stands out as a warning. The negroes there have it all to themselves and they have not made a very good impression upon the civilized world as yet, not to speak of the horrors and atrocities of the Haytian Revolution. Mr. Froude formed a high estimate of the capabilities of these islands, and he has a great deal to say on this point. He does not think they are dependent upon the sugar trade. He mentions the case of an American gentleman who clears $20,000 a year from a small orange grove in Jamaica. Another had found a fortune in bamboos. The English in the islands take a despondent view of the situation, and with good reason, if they are to see the government turned over to their former slaves. But given a stable government, either under the United States or Great Britain or any first-class power, with the blacks as peasant proprietors or laborers, working their way up to the franchise under wise regulations, then the West Indies have a bright and prosperous future before them.

* "The English in the West Indies; or, the Bow of Ulysses." By James Anthony Froude. With illustrations engraved on wood by G. Pearson, after drawings by the Author. Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is Mr. Froude's argument, and it is impossible to be otherwise than impressed with its cogency. "Let it once be known," he says, "that England regards the West Indies as essentially one with herself, and the English in the islands will resume their natural position, and respect and order will come back, and those once thriving colonies will again advance with the rest on the high road of civilization and prosperity."

III.

RECENT BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT AMERICANS.

THE influence of a great man's life* is sometimes best estimated from a distant period of time, when the events of which he was a part may be regarded dispassionately and may be seen in their exact relative importance, without the glamour which attaches to those close at hand. On the other hand, personal reminiscences of important persons or events are not only interesting but valuable, affording many sided views of historical themes and suggesting lines of thought and revealing motives for action which are not accessible to the historian of a later period. The life of Wendell Phillips, a new edition of which is just published, has a value depending chiefly on the latter conditions. Doubtless a better biography of Mr. Phillips will some day be written, but Mr. Austin has shown great wisdom in allowing the "silver-tongued orator" and his friends to speak wherever it is possible; and so numerous have been the writings of the orator, and so full and complete the reminiscences of his friends now living, that there has been practically very little for the biographer to do but weave these together in narrative form.

The path of Mr. Phillips' life was apparently a flowery one. No struggles with poverty; no unsatisfied longings for educational advantages or for recognition in his chosen profession; no attempts to gain social distinction, mark his career. His father was the first Mayor of Boston, and by birth and office held a high social position, and trained his children wisely; while the mother was of sweet and noble disposition and inculcated the highest principles of morality. All the best influences of literary Boston were open to the lad, and were carefully improved.

As the friend of the down-trodden and an active worker in every reform, Mr. Phillips' life of necessity impinges on some of the most important events of the century. The Anti-Slavery movement, prison and labor reforms, the temperance cause, woman suffrage, the oppressions of Ireland and of the Indians, all these were of deep and absorbing interest to this lover of his kind. When invited to address the public by lyceum bureaus, his terms were "one hundred dollars and expenses if upon a literary subject; free of charge if upon slavery." We are indebted to Mr. Austin for a concise and very convenient history of the philanthropic movements with which Mr. Phillips was connected, especially of the Anti-Slavery movement, which is traced from its beginnings. Many valuable addresses, some of which have never before been published, find place in this volume. Among these we notice one on The Crisis in Irish Affairs; a Reply to Dr. Howard Crosby's Anti-Total Abstinence discourse; a Reply to Dr. Bartol, on The Liberal Clergy and The Interests of Rum; his "statement" in the Grant-Sumner controversy; campaign speeches for Grant, and his last public utterance at the unveiling of the statue of Harriet Martineau. The closing chapters contain some of the many eloquent eulogies and tributes called forth by Mr. Phillips' death and are of much interest.

* "The Life and Times of Wendell Phillips." By George Lowell Austin. Lee and Shepard.

It would scarcely be possible to put forth an uninteresting life of Benjamin Franklin* and the volume recently added to the American Men of Letters series presents a correct, readable and entertaining narrative. The plan of the series necessitates the prominence given to Franklin as a literary man. The full text is given of "Father Abraham's Wise Speech at a Vendue of Merchants' Goods," while the history of the Hutchinson letters, the political papers and the autobiography is the most complete and satisfactory of any we remember to have seen.

Mr. McMaster confesses his difficulty in determining Franklin's rank among men of letters. His name is connected with no great work of fiction, poetry or history. "He founded no school of literature. He gave no impetus to letters. . . . To place him with respect to Irving, Bryant, Cooper, Prescott, and the host of great men that came after him is impossible. There is no common ground of comparison." But among the number of pamphleteers and essayists of wide influence in his time, he easily holds the first rank. His versatility and sloth led him to attempt much that he never finished. The Do Good Papers, Poor Richard's Almanac, the printing-house, electricity, politics, electricity again and diplomacy, each interested him for a time. "Neither vanity nor persuasion could make him complete the autobiography." Yet "to say that his life is the most interesting, the most uniformly successful, yet lived by any American, is bold. But it is nevertheless strictly true." His writings are characterized by short, pithy sentences, short words, humor, good sense and clearness. His language is plain, vigorous English, not diversified by flowers of speech.

Having so far indicated the merit and character of the book under discussion, we must now confess that the work falls far below what it should be, and cannot be classed with the "Life of Henry," elsewhere noticed, or the best of the series of which it forms a part. The style, especially in the earlier portion of the work, is loose and often ambiguous and obscure, and the construction is at times so faulty that the reader must needs look to his pages before deciding whether or not he has turned the wrong leaf. Or he may imagine that typographical errors are the cause of his vague conception of some portions of the narrative. Repetitions are found, digressions are often so long that the original subject is lost sight of, and there is occasionally a strong suggestion of cyclopædic information loosely combined. Franklin as a human being does not exist in this book. His thoughts, sympathies, opinions and purposes, when noted at all, are separated from his personality. He is seen as the journalist, the scientist, the philosopher, the diplomat, the man of letters, but never without his company manners, if we may be allowed the expression.

The frontispiece of the volume is embellished by a copy of the painting of Franklin belonging to the Historical Society of Philadelphia, in which the venerable philosopher appears decorously seated by his writing table, supplied with an inkstand and a very prim quill, which has, nevertheless, a dissipated air. Immaculate ruffles fall over his pudgy hands, and a most complacent expression rests on his face. The background is diversified by a convenient zig-zag streak of lightning, which obligingly sat for its portrait.

A life of Washington, in which no line of ancestry is given, no mention made of the cherry tree, and in which the hero is not called the Father of his Country or the President of the United States, is a novelty, and Mr. Hale's work† is well named.

* "Benjamin Franklin as a Man of Letters." By John Bach McMasters. American Men of Letters Series. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

† "The Life of George Washington Studied Anew." By Edward Everett Hale. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The author adheres strictly to the rules for biographical writing, which he lays down in the preface, and carries out his plan of making Washington a human, living, breathing personage, instead of the dignified President or military leader so commonly placed on a height among his fellow-men, where none may dare approach to call him brother. Like so many other juveniles—for this belongs to the Boy's and Girls' Biographical Series—this is very good reading for older people. Mr. Hale has long been intending to write a biography of this sort. He even professes his desire to plan a life of Washington in which no mention should be made of the French War, the Revolution, or the Presidency, but was dissuaded from this heroic scheme. However, only the barest outlines of these topics are presented, less than half a chapter being devoted to the presidential terms. The material for the greater part of the history is taken from the diaries extending from early boyhood to the last days spent on the Virginia farm, and the letter-books, which are unusually full and complete. No portion of the book is more interesting than that which describes the boy as a young surveyor.

Mrs. Washington is introduced as an important member of the family and the centre of the hospitable home of later years, now paying for the tuning of her daughter's harpsichord, now visiting the meat house, inspecting the sugar barrel, cutting out clothes for the servants, ordering Christmas turkeys, or making "cherry bounce," her recipe for which is given. The volume is attractively bound and printed, but is worthy of better illustrations.

To the glorious company of such men as Rufus Choate, the lawyer; Danie Webster, the statesman; Abraham Lincoln, the statesman and liberator, and Ulysses Grant, the soldier and statesman, Mr. Boutwell invites his readers in an unpretentious little volume of the biographical order.* The thoroughly delightful sketches do not, however, claim or merit consideration as formal biographies, or even as biographical studies. No chronological order is followed, even important dates are often missing, and there is frequently unpleasant lack of systematic arrangement. But these deficiences, which can hardly be called such in a work of this character, are more than atoned for by the inspiring narrative of these noble men, and the commingling of the delightful reminiscences of Mr. Boutwell's acquaintance with them with which the pages are filled. Upon this latter consideration alone, the author bases his claim to recognition. There are numerous incidents which have never before appeared in print, and even those who have exhausted the biographies of these heroes will find many facts of a personal nature, of which they had been in ignorance. All reference to possible weakness in his characters has been carefully omitted, for a reason thus stated by the author: "I have written in obedience to the rule or maxim that we value a man by the measure of his strength at the place where he is strongest. Human errors and weaknesses, from which none of us are exempt, cannot be set off properly against great thoughts expressed or acts performed. Errors and weaknesses mar the man, but they cannot qualify the greatness achieved." In pursuance of this plan, there are presented to us four strong, high-minded men of genius, and the sketches are such as a man might write, were the shade of the departed hero glancing over his shoulder. Following the chapters on Lincoln, Mr. Boutwell introduces his own eloquent eulogy, delivered before the city government of Lowell, April 19, 1865.

*"The Lawyer, The Statesman and The Soldier." By George S. Boutwell. D. Appleton & Co.

IV.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRITH.

THERE are few artists who have attracted such attention from the general public as W. Frith, or who have received more evidences of popular appreciation. Engravings from the more celebrated of his pictures are everywhere to be met with, and they are always sure to command admiration. Who has not seen Mr. Holl's engraving of "The Old English Merry Making," with the grand old oak tree in the centre, the dancers, the old grandfather, the gypsies and the peasants smoking their pipes with tankards of ale before them. This was one of the earliest of our artist's great works. Then came "The Coming of Age," and afterwards "Ramsgate Sands," "The Derby Day," "The Railway Station," "The Marriage of the Prince of Wales," and other paintings known the wide world over. An autobiography of Frith, if characterized by the qualities of the man, could not fail to be interesting. One likes to meet such men in familiar intercourse, and when they sit down to write out the story of their lives, they are in a sense making advances to and seeking the sympathy of every reader.

There is a great deal that is really charming about this book.* First of all, the style is natural and unaffected; there is no cropping out of ill-disguised vanity, as if the author should say, "I want you to understand without my telling you, that I am a very big personage and have condescended to invite you into my confidence that you may be duly impressed with my grandeur." Mr. Frith writes with candor about himself and his works. "I know very well," he says, "that I never was, nor under any circumstances could have become, a great artist; but I am a very successful one." By "successful" we suppose is meant that the public appreciated his works and that they fetched high prices. "Ramsgate Sands" was bought by the Queen for a thousand guineas. The "Derby Day" brought fifteen hundred pounds. The "Railway Station" four thousand five hundred pounds. The people crowded to the exhibitions of the Academy to see these paintings. Mr. Frith's income was very large and he lived in elegant style, but not extravagantly. For the "Marriage of the Prince of Wales" he received three thousand guineas. Judged by a money standard he certainly was a successful artist. What he means by "great" is not so clear, except it be by comparison with the great masters of the middle ages, or with other distinguished modern artists. Mr. Frith's idea was that he owed his success not to any genius or special talent, but to sheer, honest work. He says: "If some of my young student friends could see my diaries for the last five and forty years, they would see a record of incessant work that, I believe, would surprise them." Even work was not the only good thing. He had the good fortune to have parents who were able and willing to help him through his days of early disappointment and discipline, when fifteen pounds for a portrait was to him an enormous sum, and when his income was not enough to pay for his washing. As for youthful predilections, he seems to have had none. His father was a respectable hotel keeper and was struck by his son's crude attempts at copying pictures, and so determined in his own mind that he should be an artist. Strange to say, the boy wanted to be an auctioneer, and but for the father's persistence an auctioneer he would have been. Sadly enough, the good-hearted man did not live to witness his son's successful career.

The pages abound with anecdote and pungent pithy counsels to young artists, from which we could fill many pages of entertaining extracts. Speaking of that delicate subject, the study of the nude, he says: "If the well-meaning objectors

* "My Autobiography and Reminiscences." By W. P. Frith, R.A. Harper & Brothers.

knew half as much as I do of the subject, they would hesitate before they charge a small section of the community with immorality, which exists only in the imagination of the accusers. I declare I have known numbers of perfectly respectable women who have sat constantly and habitually for the nude, and, if it were unfortunately otherwise, we painters could not do without them. Many men draw every figure naked in their compositions before they clothe them. I did so for years, and ought to do so now. Then again, if the nude female figure had always been denied to artists, such statues as the Venus of Milo—the delight and wonder of the world—could not have been executed. Numbers of the great works of the old and modern masters would never have seen the light, and generations of their worshipers would have been deprived of exquisite pleasure and untold improvement.

If there was one other thing besides hard work and favoring circumstances that helped Frith, it was his discovery of his "natural bent," which was towards the illustration of modern life. In this respect he had the same *forte* as a painter which Charles Dickens possessed as an author. He looked around him for his subjects. For want of a "natural bent," as he puts it, young artists are prone to the vice of imitations and hero worship. "Until a young painter finds out his natural bent—if he have one—he is apt not only to imitate the manner of his favorite artist, but to try to paint similar subjects, illustrating the same book or poem, or in some way or other follow in the revered footsteps. Strong-headed men avoid this pitfall." And then he tells how he fell into it and how he got out of it.

One of the most interesting features of this book is in the anecdotes and reminiscences of Frith's contemporaries in the artistic and literary world.

V.

PURITANISM AND THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

A REPRINT of an English edition of Dr. W. H. Stowell's standard work on the "Puritans in England," and of Mr. Daniel Wilson's book on the "Pilgrim Fathers" has been issued in one volume by the Worthington Company.* It is not paying too high a compliment to these books to say that they ought to be in every theological library. Dr. Stowell's history took a high position on its first appearance for its scholarly and exhaustive treatment of the subject, and Dr. Wilson's treatise is a valuable contributions to the history of this country.

Dr. Stowell entered upon his task with a determination to keep free from party bias and to take a clear retrospect of historical facts. "It is not now necessary," he says, "that a man should be a bigot before he can discern the faults of the Puritans, or that he should be one of their followers in order to appreciate their abilities, their learning, and their piety." The historical sketches go back to the days of Tindal and Latimer, for he considers the true Puritan spirit to be but a perpetuation of the spirit of the old English reformers. The history of the Puritans proper begins with the first Convocation of the Reformed Church of England in the reign of Henry VIII., and their subsequent attitude to the English Church was that of objectors to certain of its forms and ceremonies, or to the arbitrary oppression by the Church of the consciences of men. "During the reign of Mary—we quote from page 151—many of the Protestant clergy who had maintained a correspondence with the Continental Reformers in Edward's reign found shelter from the storm of persecution in several parts of Germany, and especially of

* "A History of the Puritans and Pilgrim Fathers." "The Puritans in England," by W. H. Stowell. "The Pilgrim Fathers," by D. Wilson. Worthington Company.

Switzerland. Among the great divines of Switzerland they not only became more deeply rooted in the doctrinal system which goes under the name of Calvin, but they likewise beheld with approbation the simpler, more popular, and, as they believed, more scriptural systems of church government which prevailed in the Swiss churches."

It is interesting to go back and trace the causes which, in the remote past, had so much influence in shaping the outward forms of religion in our country. Whatever may be objected to the Puritans, it is certain that on this side of the world the vast majority of Christian congregations are still under the influence of their opinions and principles to a very great extent. It is impossible for us to understand ourselves, or to know our own origin and history as a people, without an acquaintance with the great struggle for liberty of conscience in England and on the continent of Europe in the century preceding the first settlements in New England. When the Puritans in the reign of James I. humbly demanded liberty in regard to genuflections, white surplices, and other matters of ritual, and the king replied that if they did not conform he would hurry them out of the country, neither he nor they could foresee the marvelous consequences which were to follow such oppressive measures in the spread of Puritanism in the Western Hemisphere.

The Westminster Assembly of Divines and the origin of the Confession of Faith held by the Presbyterian Churches of this country form part of this history, as also the sequestration of Episcopal clergymen during the protectorate, when the Puritans were in the ascendency for a time. Dr. Stowell gives an impartial record of these things, as also of the odious Act of Uniformity which drove the Puritans as a body from the Church of England, and practically gave rise to British Non-Conformity.

The leading facts connected with the Pilgrim Fathers are well-known, and it it only necessary to add that Mr. Wilson gathered them together with great care and presented them to the world in a few compact and graphic chapters.

VI.

"APRIL HOPES"—A NOVEL.

NOTWITHSTANDING the frivolous, morbid, and introspective women, and the weak, ignoble, unreliable men who figure so largely in his imaginative works, Mr. Howells has such rarely keen powers of observation in human affairs, and especially in feminine human affairs, and so much of witty appreciativeness in his conceptions, that no one who enjoys a bright book can afford to leave one of his novels unread. In "April Hopes,"* the vicissitudes in the love affairs of Miss Alice Pasmer and Mr. Dan Mavering form the pivotal point of the story, and we are treated to a minute analysis of the operations in what might be termed Miss Pasmer's mind, could such a quantity be imagined. The opening description of a Harvard class day, on which occasion the principal characters first meet, is capitally done, and will transport each Cantabrigian back to the festivities of his own particular graduation. The Professor's wife is well drawn in Mrs. Saintsbury, who is "one of those women whom everything reminds of their husbands."

There is a fine study of a disappointed lover in the sketch of Dan, after his first rejection (for there were several) by Alice. He goes to his state-room and "lets his misery roll over him. It washed him to and fro, one gall of shame, of self-accusal, of bitterness, from head to foot." He dramatizes conversations and determines "to spend the miserable remnant of his life in going about doing

* "April Hopes." By W. D. Howells. Harper & Brothers.

good." But at the first smile from a pretty woman his spirits grow visibly lighter. The Pasmers are types of a recognizable class. When Dan calls to asks consent to his marriage, Mr. Pasmer "from time to time looked about with the vague glance of a man unused to being so long left to his own guidance, and one of these appeals seemed at last to bring Mrs. Pasmer through the door, to the relief of both the men, for they had improvidently despatched their business and were getting out of talk. Mr. Pasmer had, in fact, already asked Dan about the weather outside when his wife appeared." The scene after Dan's father and sister have paid the Pasmers an official call, following the betrothal, is one of the best things in the book. Dan impatiently awaits the family criticisms. He is "depressed with a certain sense of Alice's father and mother which seemed to have imparted itself to him from the others." The sister's raillery, Dan's fury, and the final conclusion, "to make the best of it," are true to nature. "I think the family are well enough," says Eunice Mavering; "Mrs. Pasmer is thoroughly harmless, and Mr. Pasmer is a most dignified personage; his eyebrows alone are worth the price of admission." Nothing in Mr. Howell's previous novels has equaled the imbecility of the lovers' interview after their first reconciliation. If the average Boston girl is the slave of her ideals to the extent here discovered in Alice Pasmer, let Mr. Howells hereafter seek his heroines elsewhere. Whatever her faults, the New York girl, at least, is not devoured by her unwholesome notions, nor is she morbid. On the whole, the novel is much pleasanter reading than most of the author's recent works, and ends happily in ending so soon. One closes the book picturing all the wretched misunderstandings and the petty jealousies which are pretty sure to follow a match which is so evidently a "misfit."

VII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AN ingenious contribution to the Bacon-Shakespeare literature* comes to us across the continent with the title of "Bacon and Shakespeare in the Sonnets." By a somewhat circuitous and decidedly original process of reasoning, the sonnets are made to tell the true history of the dramas, with the reasons why their authorship was concealed. The curious reader will be able to judge for himself concerning the plausibility of the scheme by means of the key which we subjoin:

I, My, Mine, Me	Impersonation	of	Bacon in person.
Myself	"	"	" Bacon as author.
My Love	"	"	" The dramas.
My Friend	"	"	" Shakespeare.
My Mistress	"	"	" Tragedy.
Thou and Thine	"	"	" Truth.
Thy and Thee	"	"	" Thought in the abstract.
Thyself	"	"	" Thought in delineation.
You and Your	"	"	" Beauty in the abstract.
Yourself	"	"	" Beauty in delineation.

Sonnets 18 to 87 inclusive, by this application, are supposed to describe Bacon's literary work; 88, 89 and 90 express his fears lest he should be discovered as a writer of dramas; in 133 to 137, he abandons all interest in the dramas in Shakespeare's favor, and enjoins the strictest secrecy concerning his poetical work, in order that he may obtain a public office.

* "Bacon and Shakespeare in the Sonnets." By H. L. Hosmer. The Bancroft Company. San Francisco.

The author may possibly be accused of arranging his facts to suit his theories, but his ideas are certainly ingenious enough to be entertaining and are well carried out.

The fine romantic flavor which attaches to the story of the Nineteenth Century Robinson Crusoe* is sufficient to warrant the publication of this second edition. The solitary of Juan Fernandez is in danger of losing all his laurels to this modern castaway, who, with his compendium of the useful arts and science, book of navigation, box of seeds, and a few articles of trifling value is tossed upon the shores of an uninhabited South Pacific Island, where he discovers coal, iron, sulphur, saltpetre, pearl oysters, and finally a pirate's sunken treasure of gold and silver. His ingenuity, aided by the compendium, enables him to make steel, glass, matches, a steam yacht, a brick kiln, torpedoes with which to defend his harbor, and a balloon by means of which a manuscript account of his fate reaches Texas and he is relieved. A more fascinating book of the sort can hardly be imagined.

An acceptable little story by Jane Andrews,† from whose pen the children always expect a treat, is the history of a year in a family of brothers and sisters of very natural dispositions. The chief incidents depend on the temporary adoption of a little Irish baby by a daughter of the family, whose careless, untidy habits and fondness for novel-reading are permanently changed by the new and wholesome interest in something outside of herself.

Mr. Ballou's unpretending records of travel‡ are always of interest on account of the bright and comprehensive manner in which he describes strange countries. In his latest volume he takes the reader through some of the islands of the Southern Pacific, describes vividly the objects which would readily attract the attention of the traveler, and imparts, by the way, a wonderful amount of information concerning the natural beauties, wealth and civilization of Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand and lesser islands, which are, for the most part, unfrequented by visitors. It is noted as a curious fact that New Zealand's climate and resources were so highly appreciated by Benjamin Franklin that, at one time, he attempted to induce emigration thither from America, and printed an article with this object in view.

A compact little volume of the International Scientific Series, about everyday weather,§ is conveniently divided into two sections, the elementary and the advanced, so that the unscientific reader may learn the results of the latest investigations of atmospheric phenomena, told in plain language, and leave to the student the later and larger portion of the work. The chapter on heat and cold supplies some interesting facts and theories concerning the blizzards of the United States. Among other topics of interest, we notice chapters about clouds and cloud prognostics, isobars, wind and calm, variations of weather, local, diurnal, annual and secular, and types and spells of weather.

* "Perseverance Island; or, The Robinson Crusoe of the Nineteenth Century." By Douglas Frazer. Lee and Shepard.

† "Only a Year and What It Brought." By Jane Andrews. Lee and Shepard.

‡ "Under the Southern Cross, or Travels in Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Samoa and other Pacific Islands." By Maturin M. Ballou. Ticknor and Company.

§ The International Scientific Series. "Weather: A Popular Exposition of the Nature of Weather Changes from Day to Day." By the Hon. Ralph Abercromby. D. Appleton & Co.

The early civilization of the East has already been discussed by Madame Ragozin, in "The Story of Chaldea," which is now followed, in natural sequence, by "The Story of Assyria."* The narrative is characterized by simplicity, clearness and moderation, and the mass of material necessary to its preparation has been judiciously condensed and arranged. The authoress is an archæologist of more than ordinary ability and has made liberal use of the monumental inscriptions of this region and also of the Biblical records of the Hebrew prophets.

In a series of six letters,† written during two southern tours in the years 1867 and 1887, Mr. Kelley discusses anew the Southern problem, with especial reference to material resources. A clear and comprehensive statement is given of the manufacturing, mining, and agricultural facilities of the South, which will be of equal and unusual interest to the general reader as well as to the man of business. One of the most useful chapters contrasts the effects on the soil of cotton growing and general agriculture, and discusses the mistaken ante-bellum policy, which, by disregarding the importance of rotation of crops, exhausted the land and impoverished the people. The author's well-known practical knowledge of many branches of industry of which he writes will add much to the importance of this work. There is, apparently, an attempt in some parts of the book to "boom" certain sections of the country, and allusions to friends and acquaintances who are interested in Southern enterprises are so frequent and so fulsome as to suggest the reportorial pen.

A series of realistic sketches of Russian life introduce us to Vladimir Korolenko,‡ a young man who has been twice imprisoned and twice exiled in the Yakrit district of Siberia, on suspicion of having entertained Nihilistic views. His earlier literary attempts were unsuccessful, but the scenes through which he passed while in exile, jotted down to relieve his overburdened heart, were at once accepted and won him a place among popular Russian authors.

Korolenko exhibits the same tendency to photographic accuracy in reproducing places and events that charm us in Tolstoï sketches; but there is a brighter, more joyous vein in the younger author's work—a more graceful fancy, which finds subject for expression in the sounds of the forest, the soughing pines, and the bright, merry birches, the Easter procession, and the old bell-ringer. Whatever the external aspect of a Russian tale, one feels that in this grand and melancholy prison-home there must ever be a dark dungeon yawning beneath, which an unwary slip may discover. And Korolenko's work is not lacking in ghastly surprises of this sort. The work of the translator, Mrs. Aline Delano, a Russian lady now living in Boston, is, in the main, very well done.

Dr. Macdonald touches upon difficult and delicate ground in this little novel,§ and some of the situations appear to us a little over-strained. Nevertheless, it bears the author's stamp of naturalness, and the characters of the story are vividly painted. Just what the point of the novel is we are a little puzzled over. It is a

* "The Story of Assyria. From the Rise of the Empire to the Fall of Nineveh." Continued from "The Story of Chaldea." By Zenaïde A. Ragozin. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

† "The Old South and The New." A series of letters by Hon. William D. Kelley G. P. Putnam's Sons. Questions of the Day Series. XLV.

‡ "The Vagrant and Other Tales." By Vladimir Korolenko. Translated from the Russian by Mrs. Aline Delano. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

§ "Home Again." By George Macdonald. D. Appleton & Co.

record of the experiences of a bright youth with literary ambition who left his father's farm in an English county to make a mark and a purse for himself in London, among the literary giants. We are not surprised to find that he wears out his shoes and becomes shabby and disheartened, but it seems a rather long leap within a year from this demoralized condition to the position of book reviewer on a leading literary journal, talking sentiment and literature to the daughter of a nobleman in her father's mansion. He falls desperately in love with this girl, of course, and finds time, amid the distractions of society and reviewing, to write a book of his own, but after a few interesting episodes of courtship he is fearfully snubbed by the lady and his book is cut to pieces by a rival reviewer, so that he falls dangerously ill, bids good-by to his literary career, and comes home, not to die, but to do some honest work on his father's farm, and marry a sensible girl, the companion and playmate of his boyhood. In Dr. Macdonald's hands this little plot becomes interesting and furnishes texts for some wholesome moralizing.

The collection of minor stories * by Tolstoi, here offered to the public, is chiefly interesting as representing the Count's earlier literary efforts. Beyond this, they are not specially remarkable. There is evidence within them of the peculiarities of thought which become more fully developed in the author's later works, and nearly all of them are evidently founded upon his personal reminiscences and experiences. Besides their literary merits or demerits they are valuable as giving glimpses of life in Russia and in the Caucasus.

The Hon. Emily Lawless, who writes "The Story of Ireland" † for the Putnams' series, has brought together enough historic material to establish the claim of the Emerald Isle to a place among the nations of the earth. There were days when, as in England, noble lords and fair ladies lived in splendor and were the pride of their country, and when Ireland's sons believed in her future. The story of these days, of the early English invasions, and of the causes which have led to the present condition of the country, are briefly but conscientiously sketched by Miss Lawless. The work will be acceptable for the concise presentation of the important facts in the history of this people whose affairs are, at present, of so much interest to the world.

The tragedy of "Locrine,‡ King of Britain," contains occasional powerful lines which are worthy of the poet, and has dramatic interest, though the plot is older than literature itself. Swinburne's verses never lack the rhythmic beauty and grace which are only the happy accidents of many another song writer. But "Locrine," viewed as a dramatic poem, cannot be classed with Swinburne's best work. The reader's expectation is constantly roused, only to be disappointed ; the thoughts are commonplace or else repulsive, and there is only enough good work in it to remind one of what the poet has done and what he may do in the future. We doubt if Mr. Swinburne himself experienced any considerable degree of satisfaction when he had completed this poem.

In "The Story of the Psalms,"§ Dr. Van Dyke attempts, with a fair measure of success, to discover and emphasize the human element in the Hebrew hymn-

* "A Russian Proprietor and other Stories." By Count Lyof N. Tolstoi. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

† "The Story of Ireland." By the Hon. Emily Lawless. With some additions by Mrs. Arthur Bronson. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

‡ "Locrine. A Tragedy." By Algernon Charles Swinburne. Worthington Company.

§ "The Story of the Psalms." By Henry Van Dyke, D. D. Charles Scribner's Sons.

book, prefacing his work by a brief sketch of its history. Seventeen of the most prominent psalms have been selected for treatment, the sub-titles of which indicate the line of thought which has been followed. For example, the thirty-first is called, "The [illegible] of Disappointment;" the sixty-third, "The Psalm Without a Petition," &c. While the work does not merit especial praise, it is worthy of perusal and will inspire devotional feeling.

The vast extent of territory beyond the Euphrates has comparatively little interest for the general reader, or even for the historical student. Its civilization and traditions have the vagueness of distance. But the story of its conquest by Alexander,* its subsequent history under the reign of the Diadochi, and the working out of the ideas of the dominant people in the following years, when told by the felicitous pen of Professor Mahaffy, will invite and retain the attention of all classes of readers. The author also attempts to show "how considerably Rome was influenced by the ideas of conquered Greece," and "the manner in which Hellenistic influences modified the characteristics of the dominant people."

There is a certain romantic flavor about Mr. Stevenson's writings, even when he attempts to portray the life of his old friend and teacher, Mr. Fleeming Jenkin† ["pronounced *Flemming* to his friends and family"]. A suspicion arises in the reader's mind that, after all, it may be only a romance, so pleasantly are the biographical details of a busy life presented. Mr. Jenkin's father and mother, his grandfather and his Uncle John, his Anne and Austin, when treated by Mr. Stevenson's pen, appear like the characters of an agreeable play. Mr. Jenkin himself, in whatever relation of life considered, was one of the genial, true-hearted men whom every one likes to know and to read about. Before his appointment to the Chair of Engineering at the University of Edinburgh, where Mr. Stevenson, as a student, made his acquaintance, Mr. Jenkin was interested in ocean telegraphy, and his notes of telegraph voyages, and also Sir William Thomson's Notes on Mr. Jenkin's Contributions to Electrical and Engineering Science (the latter forming the appendix), are interesting in themselves, and disclose, better than anything else in the volume, the marked ability of the man and the esteem in which he was held by men of influence. But if Mr. Jenkin had never lived, and this volume were a work of fiction, it would find many readers.

A "Sheaf of Sermons," preached by the Rev. Newman Smyth, at the Centre Church, of New Haven, during the past year, has been collected in a volume and called "Christian Facts and Forces."‡ So far as we can judge, none of the theological idiosyncracies which are popularly attributed to the author are to be found in these writings. There is a vigorous, original presentation of practical themes, the general trend of which may be inferred from the titles, some of which follow: "The Christian Revelation of Life," "Reconciliation with Life," "The Glorification of Life," "Personal Power," "The Gospel a Gift to the Senses." The "Study for a Doctrine of the Atonement" is an unusually clear and thoughtful presentation of an old theme. The author passes by Anselm's Germanic idea of satisfaction *or* punishment; and the later Roman conception of satisfaction *as equal to*

* "The Story of the Nations. The Story of Alexander's Empire." By Prof. John Pentland Mahaffy. With the collaboration of Arthur Gilman, M. A. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

† "Memoir of Fleeming Jenkin." By Robert Louis Stevenson. Charles Scribner's Sons.

‡ "Christian Facts and Forces." By Newman Smyth. Charles Scribner's Sons.

punishment, both of which he finds distant and unreal to the modern thinker, and endeavors to bring the grand central truth of Christianity into vital connection with modern habits of thought. The rhetorical excellencies of the book are numerous.

A second collection of sermons* is from the pen of a well-known and popular religious writer, and contains an exposition of twenty-one themes, each bearing upon some phase in the early life of Christ, concluding with The Temptation. The author's purpose of presenting a connected history of the preparatory years of "The Divine Man" is ably accomplished and the work will be valuable and interesting to the Bible student and to Christian readers generally.

"The Story of Antony Grace"† is a pleasantly written English novel which minutely describes the life and adventures of a lad early left an orphan and supposed to be a penniless. The plot is somewhat conventional, involving considerable persecution and brutality, which is, however, overbalanced by the kindness and generosity of Antony's humble friends, and the story ends happily with the punishment of the vicious and the happiness of the virtuous. The style is excellent and the story entertaining.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

D. Appleton & Co.

Natural Resources of the United States. Jacob Harris Patton, M.D., Ph.D.

Animal Magnetism. Alfred Binet and Charles Féré.

Home Again. George MacDonald.

The Story of Antony Grace. G. Manville Fenn.

A New Rendering of the Hebrew Psalms into English Verse, with notes, critical, historical and biographical, including an historical sketch of the French, English and Scotch metrical versions. Abraham Coles, M.D., LL.D.

Charles Scribner's Sons.

The English in the West Indies; or The Bow of Ulysses. James Anthony Froude.

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

Napoleon and the Russian Campaign. Count L. N. Tolstoi. Translated from the third French edition by Huntington Smith.

The Long Exile and other stories for children. Count N. L. Tolstoi. Translated from the Russian by N. H. Dale.

Macmillan & Co.

A Study of Religion; Its Sources and Contents. James Martineau, D.D., Ph.D. 2 Vols.

Thomas R. Knox & Co.

Shakespeare and the Bible: Parallel Passages and Passages suggested by the Bible, with the Religious Sentiments of Shakespeare. G. Q. Colton, with an introduction by Rev. Robert Collyer.

* "The Divine Man. From the Nativity to the Temptation." By George Dana Boardman. D. Appleton & Co.

† "The Story of Antony Grace." By G. Manville Fenn. D. Appleton & Co.

The Bancroft Company.
Bacon and Shakespeare in the Sonnets. H. L. Hosmer.

Ticknor & Co.
Under the Southern Cross. Travels in Australia, etc. Maturin M. Ballou.

C. N. Caspar.
The Universal Language—Volapük. K. A. Linderfelt.

C. P. Farrell.
Trial of C. B. Reynolds for Blasphemy, at Morristown, N. J. Defense by Robert G. Ingersoll. Stenographer's report revised.

Sheldon & Co.
The Elements of Psychology. A text-book. David J. Hill, D. D.

Woman's Temperance Publishing Association.
The White Ribbon Birthday Book. Edited by Anna A. Gordon and Mary A. Lathbury.

D. W. Leech.
Labor, Capital and Money: Their Just Relations. C. C. Camp.

American Publishing Company.
The Black Phalanx. A History of Negro Soldiers of the United States in the Wars of 1775, 1812, 1861–1865. Joseph T. Wilson.

Robert Clark & Co.
Lyrics of the Ideal and the Real. Coates Kinney.

Townsend MacCoun.
A New Plan of the Acropolis of Athens.

Boston Public Library
DORCHESTER BRANCH

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLXXVII.

APRIL, 1888.

THE HOHENZOLLERN KAISER.

A GREAT monarch, after a long, victorious, and brilliant career, has succumbed to the irresistible forces of Death. Yesterday powerful, admired, loved, revered, to-day he is dust. His historic shade alone remains; but this, uncrowned though it be, is luminous with admirable qualities, which will win to his memory the unfailing admiration, love and reverence of mankind. WILLIAM VON HOHENZOLLERN, King of Prussia, and first Emperor of Germany, by divine right communicated through the people, has passed. His character and all his acts now belong to the domain of History. His memory will not be intrusted to marble alone, but will warmly rest in the hearts of coming generations of his countrymen, and will be cherished wherever Christian civilization prevails.

He was the second son of Frederick William III., and of that Queen Louise whose brave struggle against the first Napoleon is remembered, and whose lovely portrait is familiar to the world. This fit mother of kings wrote of him, while he was yet a boy of ten years: "Our son William, if I am not deceived, will be simple, loyal, and full of good sense, like his father." Born March 22d, 1797, his cradling was in the midst of the frightful echoes of the French revolution. A few years later, the French Dictator crossed the Rhine, and after the battle of Jena drove the royal boy with his mother from Berlin to a refuge in Königsberg. About this

time, at the age of ten years, he received his first commission in the army as sub-lieutenant.

In 1810, the Queen died, prostrated by defeats, by the Napoleonic humiliations, by hopelessness and homelessness. The Prince continued his military studies, and at the age of sixteen began active service in the army at the side of his father, pursuing the French across the frontier, and finally witnessing the great ovation in England with which the allied subjugators of Napoleon were received in 1814.

During the years of peace which followed the devastating wars of Napoleon, the Prince had leisure for travel, and profited largely by the instruction which he derived from it. At home he became accustomed to the simplicity of life which prevailed at his father's court. Economy of expenditure was indispensable. Prussia was greatly impoverished, from King to humblest subject. The French occupation, the patriotic war, the interruption of all productive industries, had drained alike the public treasury and the private purse. At that time, and ever afterward, the Prince, King, Emperor led an unostentatious life, maintaining only so much social ceremony as was requisite for the dignity of a court. This simplicity of life, the absence of softening self-indulgence, his devotion to duty and disregard of personal luxury, accompanied by persistent industry, have drawn closer the bonds which united him to his once impoverished and always industrious people.

At the age of twenty he became a member of the Council of State, and was advanced to the colonelcy of a regiment; and in 1825 he was further promoted to be general of division. In the meantime, in 1822, he accompanied his father to the Congress of Verona, where the royal autocracy of Europe condemned the political liberalism of the continent, and asserted their right to crush it, not only in their own kingdoms but wherever it should appear—a declaration which had its influence in bringing Mr. Adams to the counter-declaration of the "Monroe Doctrine." In 1829 he married the eldest daughter of the Grand Duke of Weimar.

Noble in character and person as this princess was, the marriage was everywhere known to have been dictated exclusively by the interests of the state. The heart of Prince William had long since been seriously, even passionately, engaged to a very attractive and lovely Polish lady of an illustrious name. He long

persisted in his resolution to marry her. Unless born of a ruling family the statutes of his house prohibited the union. She was plainly not of royal lineage ; but learned men, in the interests of the Prince, sought to trace in her veins drops of the blood-royal of old Polish sovereigns. Other jurists denied the claim. It was then even proposed that she should be adopted as daughter by the bachelor brother of the late King of Prussia, thus making her a member of a royal family. The King's counsellors decided that this was no adequate substitute for descending blood. The statutes of the Hohenzollern house must be obeyed. There was no balance in the King's treasury for weighing royal hearts. The champions of the Prince were defeated at all points. The *coup de grace* was given by the Grand Duke of Weimar himself, whose younger daughter had married the younger brother of the Prince, and who now formally declared that if this Polish marriage should be completed, his court would assert the rights of the descendants of the younger branch to the Prussian crown, against those of the elder. The King appealed to the sense of duty in his son, and the cruel statute prevailed. At the age of thirty-two years the Prince gave his hand to this Lady of Weimar, whose intelligence and devotion to her royal and imperial duties have combined with his own to make his reign illustrious. But to the day of his death a Radziwill near his person and confidence has preserved the souvenir of the princess who was so near his heart.

In 1830 he received the command of the Prussian Corps of Observation sent to the Rhine in consequence of the Paris Revolution of July in that year. Ten years later the crown descended to his elder brother, Frederick William IV., who was already in middle life and childless. William, from this time, became the heir presumptive, and the object of more special interest on the part of his people. The new king appointed him President of the Council of Ministers, in addition to his rank and duty as President of the Council of State. While these functions did not withdraw him from his military interests, he was, nevertheless, much occupied, after the accession of his brother, by the rising questions of popular rights and liberties which were agitating the country and forcing the attention of the throne. The people were demanding of the new king the execution of the promises made to their fathers at the time of the expulsion of the French by the patriotic

devotion of the Prussians. In that hope they had endured their heavy sacrifices of blood and treasure. The late king, alarmed by the prevalence of liberal principles on the continent and not willing to offend his autocratic allies, had failed to redeem these promises. His favorite and grim old soldier, Blücher, had said: "Let us not spoil with the pen what we have won by the sword." The king, however, had pledged himself in 1820 to a statute which prohibited new loans and taxes without consent of popular representation. For want of them now the national development could not proceed. The advocates of liberalism were numerous and clamorous, and embraced nearly the whole enterprising middle class, and the entire press of the country. A constitution and national parliament were demanded. King and Prince opposed it. The former so far gave way as to authorize the assembling of the eight provincial diets. A commission proposed, among other things, to give to the assembled diets the right of petitioning the King. The Prince, thinking this to be a dangerous innovation, opposed it; but, standing alone, he afterward yielded, with the observation: "Old Prussia is buried by the publication of this law. May the new Prussia become as powerful and great as was the old in the path of honor and of glory!"

In the light of the closing nineteenth century it appears to us impossible that at its beginning monarchs could have failed to perceive the immense re-inforcement of power which an enfranchised and loyal people could bestow on the government of a nation. In the absence of that perception, they treated their subjects as their antagonists in interest and in action. The small ruling class was alone trusted to advise and protect the executive power. Both King and Prince, born and bred in the principles of absolutism, holding that a few selfish intellects, with hereditary prejudices and selfish interests, were wiser than the entire mass of an industrious and educated people, struggled obstinately against the popular demands. "We will never consent," said the Prince in 1847, "to grant to the Diet liberties and rights to the prejudice of those of the Crown." The King declared that he would never consent that a written parchment should be interposed between himself and his people. This experimental session of the Diet closed in bad temper, the assembly demanding more rights, instead of manifesting the expected gratitude for the parsimonious installment granted to them. In this condition of

public sentiment the Paris revolution of 1848 surprised Europe, and again shook all the thrones of the continent except that of Russia.

This sudden blaze of French revolt kindled the liberal fires in Berlin. Clamorous crowds filled the streets. Prince William, more than the unstable King, was regarded as the resolute head of the autocratic party, and was the object of profound dislike to the masses of Berlin. The King, fearing aggressions from beyond the Rhine, had just ordered the Prince to turn over the command of the body guard at the capital, and take command on the frontier. All this had been done when the tumult burst forth in Berlin. Somebody ordered the troops to charge on the assembled people. The result increased the popular exasperation to fury. The order was wrongly attributed to the Prince-royal, while the party really responsible was only too glad to be sheltered under the royal wings. The populace shouted "Death to the Prince!" The more moderate demanded his abdication of his future rights to the crown. At night the mob rushed upon his palace, intending to plunder and burn it. It was saved by the Parisian ruse of its defenders, who exhibited on the front balcony, in large letters, the sign "*National Property.*" So bitter was the rage of the populace, so shattered were the royal councils, that the Prince's friends advised his immediate departure from the capital. The new ministry tendered the same advice. He replied that he would go into exile only upon the written order of the King. That order came in the form of a missive sending him to the English Court "to explain there the recent events in the Prussian capital."

Thus the Prince became an exile from his own country. Instead of availing themselves of his absence to soften and correct the public judgment against him, fear kept the Royalists silent. Interested leaders kept the resentment alive by wild reports that he was conspiring with the Czar to march an army on Berlin, and once even that he with the Russian army was approaching the gates of the city. The King was afterwards reported to have said: "In those days we were all lying on our bellies." The army was at fault, and the great wrath of the people was directed against the Prince as its chief.

Meanwhile William was in London, much fêted, and winning friendship and admiration by his intelligence, his frank manliness, and his *bonhommie*. The Prince Consort, Albert, at this

time wrote of him: "He is a noble, honest character, and quite attached to the new movement in Germany." He accepted the situation philosophically, and without moodiness. One day at dinner, when they were pushing to the table an arm-chair for him by way of personal distinction, he declined it with the smiling observation: "One must practice humility these days, when thrones are trembling."

This exile of the heir to the throne could not long be permitted, and especially while constitutional changes were under discussion affecting his hereditary rights. The liberal ministry feared its overthrow if an official recall should be sent to him. In various ways, however, his liberalized opinions were made public. The ministry finally advised his return, that his consent might be given to the measures proposed. One district elected him a deputy to the new Diet. He returned, and on the 8th of June he proceeded to take his seat in the Assembly, where the Conservatives alone arose as he entered, the Liberals receiving him seated and in silence. A remarkable spectacle,—the heir to absolute power seated as a member of a popular assembly, summoned to curtail and control his royal rights and privileges. So soon as the tribune was vacant the President gave the word to "the Deputy from Wirsitz." The Prince spoke briefly, and concluded with the following words: "The constitutional monarchy is the form of government which your King has recommended you to establish. I shall devote to it, with fidelity and conscience, all my strength, as the country has a right to expect from my character, which it knows well. Such is the duty of every friend of the Fatherland, such is especially mine as the first subject of the King. Under these conditions, may my presence among you be favorably received."

The discourse was listened to with plaudits on one side, with silence on the other. The Prince left the hall, and returned to it no more. So ended his exile, and so was he reintroduced to his countrymen. But many years were to elapse before Prince and people would stand on common ground, and with united hearts.

In October, 1857, the King was disabled by a stroke of apoplexy, and a regency became necessary. The old ministry, unwilling to surrender its authority, deferred the full regency provided by the Constitution, and persuaded the King to request his heir to administer the government temporarily in his name. The

Prince's loyalty induced him on three successive occasions to yield to this request. Upon the fourth demand he refused, and would only accept the constitutional regency. It was conceded. He then summoned a new ministry, dismissing the Tory cabinet to whose policy he was personally opposed. This antagonism was known to the people, and his action went far to restore popularity to the Prince. He took his oath as constitutional Regent on the 26th of October, 1858. From that time he was King *de facto.* By the death of the infirm old King on the last night of the year 1860, the Regent became King *de jure,* January 1st, 1861.

During this regency the short and decisive war of Italy and France against Austria excited the attention of all the cabinets. The relations of Prussia and Austria were such that the former had no desire to increase the prestige of her neighbor, nor to strengthen her grasp on the German federated states. On the other hand was the danger of strengthening the hostile power beyond the Rhine. The Regent's government steered a middle course, rebuking the Italian government for its disregard of the treaty of 1815, and troubling France by a corps of observation on the Rhine. There was one Prussian diplomat who at that time saw a wiser course of action for the interests of Prussia, and wrote of it in earnest language; but he was not yet Prime Minister. He was hunting bears with the Czar of Russia. His day was to dawn not long after. He clearly read in Italian unity the historic example for German unification. The Regent's government meanwhile was blinded by the traditions of 1815, and the recollections of Verona.

From this period William I. was preoccupied with one great solicitude, the reorganization of the Prussian army. The success and glory of Prussia had been won by her arms. The efficiency and strength of her army must be advanced. The King's military perception of its present needs was sharpened by his observation of the military operations in Italy. His efforts to remedy its defects were constant and energetic. The army question was then and has ever since continued to be the rock of dissension on which all proposals of union between the King and the Liberal party have been wrecked. The popular mind thoroughly appreciated the evils of conscription and taxation which were associated with a great military establishment. It would not correspondingly appreciate the dangers lurking in international relations and

ambitions, supported by a powerful military régime abroad. It seems the King would have admitted the Liberals to the power of Government if he could have found in them a hearty support of those measures of military reorganization which he believed indispensable to the preservation of Prussian rights against national rivalries on the south and west. He was resolved to exhaust all his constitutional rights, and even all his reserved hereditary powers, in the effort to elevate the Prussian army to the first rank, both in organization and in arms. This, and the maintenance of the executive prerogatives of the throne against all encroachments of the legislative branch of the Government, were the two strong purposes with which he began his reign. He would loyally observe his promises as Regent, and his obligations as constitutional Sovereign, but would take no step further in diminution of the powers which descended to him with the crown. In order to emphasize this resolution before all Germany, he proceeded for his coronation to Königsberg, where the first King of Prussia had been crowned 160 years before, and whither none since had gone to be crowned. To show that he meant to hold the power by divine right, he with his own hands took the crown from the altar and placed it on his head.

All this seemed to accentuate in the national mind the anti-liberal policy and purpose of the King. The masses of the intelligent middle class being fully impregnated with the principles of modern progress, this coronation awakened no enthusiasm, and his reign began, and for years continued, with a struggle against the principles of the age. Parliament refused him the laws and the credits which he required for the reorganization and increase of the army. Undeterred by this opposition, he fell back upon his general constitutional and retained powers, and proceeded with the reorganization, collected the usual taxes, and appropriated them to the public service according to the pre-existing budget.

There are few qualities of a sovereign so important as the power to discover and appreciate fit characters for the chief administrative functions. The possession of this faculty in a ruler is itself a quality of greatness. William I. has by this, as much as by his personal character, illuminated his career, and attracted the admiration of the world. For the execution of his plan of military reformation he found General von Roon, and

placed him at the head of the Department of War. To direct his forces in discipline and campaign he discovered General von Moltke, and put him at the head of his staff. The first nobly accomplished his task, and died some years before the King. The other still lives in a vigorous old age, loved and honored to the last by his royal chief, and with a military fame as wide as the world. Guided by these great administrators, and encouraged by the deep interest of the monarch, the army rapidly approached perfection.

But there remained a civil function equally important with the military, for which an equally able executive must be found. Foreign relations developed the burning questions of the time. Diplomacy could engender or avert war, gratify national pride, or produce national humiliation like that of Olmütz. Where should the King find the ideal man? It was in the autumn of 1862 that his famous trinity of chiefs was completed by summoning Otto von Bismarck to the presidency of his ministry.

Now proceeded in earnest the struggle with Austria for the leadership of the powerful German race. Vienna looked at Berlin and smiled at the pretensions of a Government which could not obtain from its own parliament either a military bill or a budget. They knew little of the creative vigor newly introduced into that Government. The haughty insistence upon the old order of things by the one power was now met by the other with a peremptory demand for a change. When change, in form, without substance for Prussia, was offered by the South, the North met it with positive refusal. Austria found in the new Prussia a rock on which the old federal barque was certain to be wrecked. The King's diplomacy had entirely changed in character. It had become precise and resolute instead of academic and verbose. There was a smell of gunpowder in every envelope addressed by Berlin to Vienna. The Austrian control of the German Federation approached its crisis.

The Danish War (1863–'5) into which German popular feeling forced both Prussia and Austria, compelled a truce to their diplomatic struggle, and for a time united their arms. But their conquests (as yet unjustified by rightful history) introduced new elements of discord and bitterness over the disposition of the spoils of war, which were settled only by the war of 1866 with Austria. Let it be recorded to the honor of King William that he under-

took both these wars with reluctance. The farther-seeing and less scrupulous statesmanship of his great minister prevailed. By the astounding victory of Königsgrätz, won under the eyes of the King, Austria was expelled from her place in the German Federation, and the Danish provinces gave to Prussia the coveted territory and ports on the two northern seas. The German standard was transferred from the hands of Francis Joseph to King William.

This sudden and complete success of Prussia in an active campaign of thirty days against a great military power, and her rapid diplomatic agreements with the German states which had been allied with Austria, amazed Europe. For military purposes Prussia sprang into the first rank of nations, having added to her own disciplined and splendid columns the forces of numerous minor states of Germany. France was greatly excited, but in the diplomatic struggle which followed was finally worsted, and left to nurse her wrath for the future. Every effort was made by William and by his minister to re-conciliate Austria, and to appease the wounded sensibilities of the South German governments. With the latter secret treaties were soon afterward signed, which put their important military strength into alliance with Prussia in case of the apprehended war with France.

The stream of events now paused at an epoch which gave breathing time, and space for reflection. The monarch who had been a secondary power in Europe had become great, and foremost in the observation of the whole continent. He could not have been more amazed at the rapidity of his elevation than he should have been at the transformation of his own political views and relations. He began his royal career, in 1861, with a fixed determination to hold fast his alliance with Russia, to keep friendship with Austria, to make only "moral conquests" in Germany, to adhere to the principles of divine right in hereditary monarchs, and to preserve the basis of territorial adjustments defined by the European Congress of 1815. In 1867 he found himself shaken from all save the first of these policies. He had himself been an effective agent in the humiliation of his Austrian neighbor, whom he had overthrown in war. He had recognized the new kingdom of Italy based on popular suffrage,—the divine right of the people; indeed had allied himself with this people's monarch to take jewels from the consecrated crown of the Austrian Empire. In aid of this enterprise he had even come to an understanding with

the French Emperor, who was an original and entire creation of universal suffrage; for without his consent Victor Emanuel would not enter into alliance with even the legitimate Prussian Crown. He had overthrown hereditary German princes. By his own hand the remaining half of the treaty of 1815 was torn to shreds.

History, as interpreted by modern right, cannot condemn him for this acceptance of its principles. The law of the union of a race in self-defense, and for their common welfare, is now held to be of diviner origin than the right of a single individual to subjugate a race, or to wear its crown. Instead of this condemnation, history will admire the loyal hesitations which attended his conversion, and which display an honorable fear lest self-interest should obtain control over honorable convictions of duty. His conversion was further proved and consummated by the acceptance of a parliament elected by universal suffrage. Victor Emanuel and Italian unity had become, in fact, the model for William I. and German unity. The great Cavour was the precursor of the greater Bismarck. As the latter said to the Italian Ambassador in Paris, "If Italy did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it!"

The King was well aware, and the future historian will affirm it, that the Prussian diplomatic triumphs immediately following the victory of Sadowa were due to the unmatched sagacity and boundless energy of this great minister, whose courage and rapidity of action were equal to those of the army. Neither Cæsar in the military velocity of his Gallic campaigns, nor the first Napoleon in his surprises of a dilatory enemy, win more of our admiration than this grand diplomatist deserves for the swiftness with which his genius crystallized into treaties and alliances with the German states the fruits of the great victory of Sadowa. When Europe, which was expecting an undoubted Austrian victory, awakened from the stupor into which the complete triumph of Prussia in the battle-field had plunged her cabinets, she saw a military union effected in Germany under the control of the Prussian King, who was now ready to confront the most powerful of his enemies. When the echoes of the needle gun died in the ears of Frenchmen, their Government, which had placidly awaited the moment when it should limit the results of the contest and receive its own territorial compensations, found only the words of despair, Too late! Too late!

King William had now more than realized the primary objects of his rupture with Austria. He had undisputed control of the Duchies and their ports. The movements of his troops in Germany could no more be obstructed, north of the Main, by interjacent and hostile princes and kings. The cumbrous, dilatory and inimical Federal Diet no longer existed. The South German states were his military allies. All his prayers, all his desires were now for peace with all the world. Neither the German race, brave as it is, nor its royal chief loved war for its own sake. That union of the race which had long been the aspiration of the people was now nearly accomplished. The proposal of this war with Austria had been threateningly unpopular; but under the blazing illumination of their military and diplomatic victories the patriotic ardor of the people elected a Parliament which promptly voted the supplies, and gave complete indemnity to the government for their illegal financial operations during the period when the budget had been refused. Grateful to the Divine Providence which had thus bountifully realized his hopes, William sought to consolidate the elements of peace in all international relations. For some years he was wholly successful.

But France did not recover from the unexpected defeat of her hopes of advantage from the Austro-Prussian contest. She felt herself humiliated by her neighbor's greatness. A certain national envy poisoned her breast. As one of her statesmen put it, "A nation, without becoming less, may be diminished by the aggrandizement of her neighbors." The Cabinet was worried. Anti-dynastic clamor increased the discontent of Paris. The French Emperor had a certain satisfaction in having snatched Venice from the contest, and thus completed his work for Italy; but Frenchmen wanted more than this sentimental satisfaction. They demanded territorial compensation for themselves. They made unwearied demands on Prussia for indemnity on the Rhine, on the Belgian border, somewhere, anywhere. Prussia, after a semblance of yielding, from the moment when her military alliances with South Germany were completed, assumed a resolute tone: "No, not an inch of German soil." France then sought satisfaction in Luxembourg; but, on the eve of success, the King of Holland declined, and the Paris Cabinet was defeated at all points. Prussia proceeded with the work of domestic and federal organization, but was often interrupted by French remon-

strances charging the Cabinet of Berlin with violations of the treaty of Prague by her arrangement with the South German states, and in her treatment of Schleswig. This had no other effect than to irritate the government of the King. Finally, Paris began negotiations at Vienna and Florence for an alliance offensive and defensive against Germany.

In this condition of affairs a new cause of irritation arose. The Constituent Assembly at Madrid was searching Europe for a King to rule that distracted country. Several royal lines were in vain invited to furnish a candidate for that throne, when General Prim turned to the Catholic branch of the Hohenzollerns of Prussia, and invited Leopold to accept the crown. King William, as head of the family, gave his assent to the candicacy, but without in any manner committing his Government to the proposition. The affair was soon made known at Paris by way of Madrid, and had the effect of a blazing torch in a magazine of powder. Paris was immediately ablaze. Imperialists, Republicans, Radicals, all shared the excitement. A Hohenzollern on the southern border of France as well as on the East—impossible, monstrous !

The French Ambassador, Benedetti, was dispatched to the King, at Ems. The truthful monarch told him the simple facts, involving no other participation on his part than a consent to the candidacy invited by Spain. For eight days there was a storm of telegraphic dispatches between Paris and Ems. From the first the King expressed his willingness to see the Prince retire. The French Cabinet insisted that he should himself forbid his acceptance. The King replied that having once given his consent he could not go back on his word, which had been communicated to Spain. But he would inform the Prince's father of the situation, and upon receiving his reply he would immediately inform the French Ambassador of the result. Instead of granting time for this communication the French ministry grew more and more pressing and peremptory. The King preserved his moderation of temper, and his position. Without unnecessary delay the young Prince's father telegraphed to Madrid that in view of the existing complications his son's candidature was withdrawn. From Madrid this was immediately telegraphed to Paris, before King William had received his reply. As soon as he received the response addressed to himself he made it known to the French Ambassador.

But the Duc de Grammont, apparently bent on war, instructed his Ambassador to demand from the King a pledge that the candidacy should not be renewed. The King replied that the withdrawal had his entire approbation, and needed nothing more. The demand for a positive royal pledge that the candidacy should never be renewed was repeated. The King, convinced that the desire existed at Paris to inflict a personal humiliation on himself, replied that the candidacy had been withdrawn with his unreserved approval, and without any *arrière pensée,* and more he could not say; and any further negotiations must be conducted through his Government. The Ambassador demanded his passports and took his formal leave at the railroad station, as the King was departing for Berlin.

On this minute point, involving neither her interest nor her honor, France proceeded to war, and suffered that defeat and dismemberment which constitute one of the tragic chapters of human history. Her Emperor lost his throne, while the German King won an imperial crown under the walls of Paris, and in the very palace which treasured the ancient glories of France. The crown of Charlemagne, withdrawn from the Hapsburgs and for sixty years suspended, now rested on the head of a Hohenzollern in the royal halls of Versailles.

The newly crowned German Emperor was himself amazed at the rapidity and the grandeur of the events which had borne him on their tide to an elevation far beyond his original ambition and his hopes. A firm believer in Divine Providence, he in his address to the officers attributed his success to that Divine Power "who has permitted us to be the instruments for accomplishing such high historic deeds." In announcing to the Empress the convention with France, which secured to Germany the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and the great war indemnity, he rendered homage to the "God of armies, who has everywhere blessed our undertakings, and given us success in a peace so honorable." To his ally in arms, the King of Saxony, he expressed his satisfaction "at the end of a war which was imposed upon us with a frivolity without parallel." To his imperial nephew of St. Petersburg he dispatched a glowing message of thanks, because by his efforts the war had been kept within narrow limits. "Prussia will never forget it. God bless you for it!" And then, after this and other grateful recognitions of the powers of heaven

and of earth by whose aid his magnificent achievements were accomplished, he broke up his quarters at Versailles, and departed for his own states. On arriving at their border he gave answer to the congratulations offered him, with quiet modesty and generosity: "For myself, I have been able to do but little; the wisdom of Moltke and the intelligence of the generals have brought about the success which we have won."

The patriotic emotion excited by the war, the common shedding of German blood and their united deeds of arms, the universal joy of victory, all these had for a time welded the different sections of the German race, north and south, into fraternal relations. Party differences were at first almost silenced. But as time wore on troublesome internal questions began again to awaken the sensibilities of party. The government demanded a large military organization. The Empire had been created and the German union established by the army. By the army it must be maintained. Said Moltke: "What we have won in six months we must defend for fifty years. Our disarmament would be equivalent to war." Finally, the Emperor's policy prevailed, and in 1875 he could place himself, in case of war, at the head of two millions of armed men. But Parliament, while demanding other reforms, which were refused, grew more and more hostile, and the radical elements increased and the debates grew more bitter. Popular passions, in 1878, had become again greatly excited.

On the 11th of May of that year, a socialist assassin attempted the life of the Emperor, and failed. But on the 4th of June another repeated the attempt and grievously wounded the venerated monarch. The shock to all men of noble sentiments in the civilized world was very great. Prince Bismark, in an interview with General Grant, who was then in Berlin and expressed his horror of the crime, avowed the substantial feeling of the masses of Germans, and of all good men of other races. "Here is an aged man," said he, "one of the best men on the face of the earth; yet they attempt his life. Never has a man existed of a character more modest, more generous, more humane. . . . . It is not possible to find a finer type of gentleman, more noble, more amiable, more beneficent, ornamented with all the high qualities of a prince and the virtues of a man. I believed the Emperor could traverse his empire alone, and without the least danger. And yet, look, they try to kill him!" The world was

again shocked in 1883 by a third attempt on the Emperor's life at Rüdesheim, while he was inaugurating a great patriotic monument to the honor of the German race.

In both his functions, as King and as Emperor, William repeatedly found himself in a sea of trouble. He persistently refused any interpretation of either constitution, royal or imperial, which conferred on the ministry, as in England, the power to govern with its related responsibility to the Legislature. He often protested that he had not given up, and would never abandon the hereditary right to rule, as well as to reign. The legislative bodies had their functions, but they did not include in any form the executive power. They could censure his ministry, and could refuse proposed laws, and budgets; but they could not overthrown his ministers. His Cabinet was responsible to himself, and not to the law-making power. Again and again he threw the weight of his great personality upon the consideration of pending questions, and claimed the right of participation in all appeals to the elective constituency. He would not agree to stand aloof from any popular interest, insisted on his right of contact with the people, and preferred to accept the consequences of hostility rather than rest in the lofty and inaccessible regions of irresponsibility, where many modern potentates have chosen to dwell, and find a lazy repose. When his loyal servants in the Cabinet were denounced and censured, he was prompt to cover them with the mantle of his great authority. While this loyalty to his own conscience created hostility to himself, which might have been averted by taking refuge in the cold realm of irresponsible inaction, his gallantry as a man, and the warm personality of his greatness, on the other hand, kindled an affectionate and personal interest in his people.

These great elements of his character were especially visible in his relation to the army. Every soldier of the little bands which daily marched by his palace in their rounds of duty, as they saw his paternal eye watching their movements from the famous *eckfenster* of his working room, felt that the sympathy of the man, as well as the eye of a king, was interested in their conduct. Every corps and regiment in their annual manœuvres knew that the heart of their King was with them, and swelled like their own with pride in observing the magnificent power and perfection of their drill. All his life a soldier, from his first

youthful decade, and by preëminence a commander-in-chief, he might have appropriated to himself the glory of his victories; but he willingly saw the historical halo pass to the heads of his great generals. Progressively successful beyond all royalties of his long epoch, he never lost the balance of his upright and loyal character, nor the companionable simplicity of his early manhood. No vain desire to humiliate his adversary ever followed a victory; rather a wish to heal the sensibilities his sword had wounded. He dreaded the shedding of German blood in fratricidal strife. Every other available hope must be exhausted before the final appeal to war. When that appeal was made, his home was with the army, his confidence in God, and his heart with his soldiers. Neither in peace nor in war did he seek the indulgence of ease and luxury. His palace never became the centre of social extravagance or enervating enjoyments. So much of courtly entertainment as his royal state required was given, and no more. His cabinet of work, looking on the monumental plaza, was his chosen room, and there was the centre of his daily interests. All this his people knew, and not without appreciation of its significance. Upon rumor of his illness, it was always before that window that his people appeared, and waited for the sight of his familiar and venerable face.

His personal participation in the dangers of a military campaign was not due to any calculated motive of giving inspiration to the soldiers by his presence. His heart drew him to their side, to the scene of their suffering, their peril and their glory. For, as he proudly said to General Grant, in 1879, "I, too, am a soldier." He was no conqueror of the Asiatic or Napoleonic type, loving destruction, waste and conquest and the acquisition of personal glory for their own sake. So soon as his campaign had accomplished its national object, he was more eager for peace than was his enemy. It was in reluctant obedience to the almost universal demand of the German race that he entered into the Danish contest. It was with the greatest difficulty, and after years of fruitless negotiations, that he was persuaded by his minister to embark in the Austrian war. Before his last and greatest campaign he advanced to the verge of self-humiliation to avoid the impending struggle with Napoleon III. After 1871, in the fullness of his greatest prestige and honor, he was prompt to make known to Europe that his empire would be devoted to the

interests of European peace. He kept his word. Again and again has the wise intervention of his imperial counsel averted a general conflagration, and brought hostile powers to a pacific adjustment of their grievances. When rumors of European wars arose, the eyes of all the Continents involuntarily turned to the government of Emperor William for the preservation of peace. For seventeen years his imperial rule has been a benediction to the peace-loving world.

If there be those in hades who shall meet this great shade with a reproachful exhibition of their wounds received in the brief months of his wars, there are many more entering that dark realm who may encounter the same noble shadow with blessings on their lips for their long untroubled years of peace.

What demons of war shall be unchained by his death we do not know. Loyal, honorable, courageous, patriotic and peace-loving, beyond all doubt, is his successor. Conscientious and brave as Frederick William is, and German to the core, can he, or, in fact, any successor, meet the waiting storm from beyond the Rhine as the great Kaiser met it, and conduct another German army to the gates of Paris? History holds her plume in hand to write the answer.

JOHN A. KASSON.

WHY AM I A MOSLEM?

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE."

HAVING, by the unbounded mercy of Him, who is the Protector and Guardian of the believer, traversed round the world in search of enlightenment, and by His bounteous mercy enjoyed a liberal education in eastern and western languages, whereby I have been able to catch a few of the sprays of knowledge as they waft through the wide universe from the Great Fountain of Truth, I gratefully accept of the invitation to answer the question "Why am I a Moslem?"

It is the very question which was put to me more than a quarter of a century ago by a half-educated teacher of Christianity as he stood preaching in the streets of Agra. It is a question which I have often put to myself as I studied the English Bible. It is a question which has been asked me by many intelligent gentlemen during my travels in Europe and America. What apprehensions of soul, what anxieties of mind, what yearnings of spirit this important inquiry has cost me none other knoweth save my own heart, and that God "who is nearer to us than our jugular vein." How often has my heart burned with indignation when I have heard the name of my Prophet (upon whom be peace!) slandered by unthinking men, or have read the strange misrepresentations of the Moslem's faith as recorded in the polemical works of Christian writers! The old bigotry of the Crusaders has not died out, and Islam has still, in its condition of apparent hopeless helplessness (foretold by the prophet), to bear with patient submission all that dominant Christianity dares to say or do regarding it. Nearly every book written against Islam drives the inquiring mind into the barren ocean of atheism, for they take from under their feet the basis of belief in an inspired record and cast one anchorless and rudderless on the sea of doubt. Had it not

been for the broad and liberal teaching of the Honorable Siyyid Ahmad Khan, C. S. I. of Alighur in North India, I should long since have lapsed into an atheistic condition of mind, for the schools of the London University and the moral conditions of London society are not calculated to establish one's belief in supernatural religion.

It was that enlightened teacher, the Hon. Siyyid Ahmad Khan, that many years ago took my English Bible and opened to the words of the Christian Apostle Peter, and read : "God is no respecter of person, but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him." Although I had read the Christian Bible for some years that wonderful verse of inspired truth had never been shown me by a single Christian teacher. It was a Moslem who first taught me the all comprehensive breadth of Christianity, and with it that eclectic spirit of the Prophet of Islam, whereby the teachings of the Arabian Prophet can be harmonized and reconciled with those of the Nazarene.

As I have witnessed the mystic rites of Buddhist worship at Osaka in Japan, the whimsical gyrations of dancing dervishes at Cairo, the gorgeous processions of the Vatican, and the crowded church congregations of Protestant London, I had to reconcile it all with the mystic worship of Mecca, or either plunge into the vortex of infidelity or lie stranded on the barren shores of agnosticism. But the Hon. Suyyid Ahmad Khan had placed in my hand a key whereby I could unlock the darkened chamber of religious contradictions, and with the Light of God's Truth discover that in the midst of human error the path of God can be clearly seen. Both the prophets of Christianity and of Islam were eclectics, and it is only when the seeker after God discovers this that he can find that rest and repose of mind which is expressed in the word *Moslem*,—"one resigned to God's will." That which obscures the light is the dense dark cloud of religious bigotry and strife which has arisen between Moslems and Christians ever since the days of the Crusades.

I have been told by an esteemed English friend (a well-known student of the religious systems of the East), that the Christians of America and Great Britain will be shocked at the very thought of any educated person defending the doctrines of Islam ; for whilst Buddhism, with its positive atheism and idolatry, can claim a

respectful consideration amongst English speaking races, the religion of Mohamed, with all its grand conceptions of God, is regarded as too gross and too sensual to admit of a consistent defense. And I readily believe it, for no man can read, as I have done, those ignorant and bigoted attacks on the faith which are scattered broadcast over British India, or the numerous English anti-Moslem works in the British Museum, without feeling assured that the day has not yet come (although it is drawing near), when the despised Moslem can obtain an impartial hearing.

And yet it was Islam which inspired the minds of such men as Ibu Sina (Avicenna), Abul Walid (Averroës), Abu Bakr (Avempace), and Al Ghazali, and enabled them to retain a knowledge of God amidst the abstractions of philosophical research. It was Islam that crushed a corrupt form of Christianity, and for centuries led the van of the nations in the march of literature and science. It was Islam which drove out atheistic Buddhism from Central Asia and the whole of India, and gave to wild and uncivilized tribes a knowledge of the true God. And it is Islam which still defies the efforts of wealthy missionary corporations (animated for the most part by strong party considerations rather than with a desire to propagate truth), and still claims the homage and devotion of 180 millions of the human race. Every Friday converts to Islam from heathenism are received by hundreds in the great cities of India, while even Christians are compelled to admit that Islam is spreading with marvelous rapidity through the whole continent of Africa. Modern Christianity, clothed, as it is, in the hateful garb of the conqueror, can never establish itself in the East, nor can it with its ascetic demands suit itself to the requirements of savage races.

The more the religion of the Moslem is investigated, the more does it claim the respectful homage of those who study its teachings. John Louis Burckhardt, a Swiss Protestant, was one of the first Europeans who made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and after years of study he died a faithful Moslem, and was buried at Cario. Palgrave, in his "Travels in Arabia," manifests much bigotry regarding Islam, but in his "Essays on Eastern Questions" his views are completely changed. Mr. Bosworth Smith, one of the Christian teachers of the great school at Harrow, studied Islam as a scholar, and is forced to admit that Mohamed is a "very

prophet of God." There are not 200 converts from Islam to Christianity in the whole world, and of the eighty Moslems baptized in Constantinople not one has remained firm in his new faith.

But we are told Islam persecutes! Stay, my Christian brother! I have visited Smithfield where Christians were burnt by Christians, and I have stood on Boston Common where Christian Puritans hanged Christian Quakers, and I find in America that religious liberty is not yet extended to the Mormons. Islam has never professed complete religious toleration, but even Christian writers admit that the Saracen Arabs who conquered Jerusalem and Damascus and subdued the whole of Syria and Persia, were a brave and generous race, friendly to Christians, content to place them under certain restrictions, and exacting from them a small tribute for protection, *but ever extending to them freedom of worship.* When the Moslem conqueror Walid seized Damascus he even allowed Christians and Moslems to worship in the same church. Islam is called by Christians the "religion of the sword," but there is not a religion on the face of the earth that has not been propagated by conquest and sustained by intolerance. When the Turcomans of Central Asia embraced Islam, they conquered and slaughtered the Saracens of Syria long before they threatened the borders of Christendom. Religious liberty is a modern invention unknown to the ancients, and even now it is a question whether the civil magistrate would view with indifference the conversion of Boston to the religion of Mohamed! But it is asserted that Mohamedanism is immoral! That is, the slavery of Egypt is immoral but not that of Virginia; the divorce of Baghdad is immoral but not that of Chicago; the polygamy of Bokhara is immoral but not the drunkenness of London. So immoral is Islam that Mr. Gladstone would drive it "bag and baggage to to Baghdad," although it must be admitted that the Christians of Bulgaria are not much better than the Moslems of Constantinople, and that the sober and abstemious legions of the Sultan are as reputable, although polygamous, as the British regiments of India with their licensed prostitution. Anti-Moslem literature is always based on the assumption that Moslem countries are so infinitely below Christian countries in morality. It is a pure assumption, as every Moslem can testify after a few weeks residence in Paris, London, or New York. Uncivilized Moslems are superior to uncivilized Christians in their standard

of morality, and if under more civilized conditions of life the natural outcome of Islam has been an unlimited license regarding marriage and divorce; the outcome of the teachings of Christianity has been an unlimited degree of intemperance, with unparalleled prostitution in large centres of population. The Nazarenes should learn the lesson their master taught them, not to cast the stone; or as the Holy Koran saith, "O, ye believers, avoid frequent slanders, for slanders are a crime."

But all this may be considered a digression from my subject. For I am called upon to explain, why I, an educated man, reading and speaking western languages, and having traveled into all parts of the civilized world, can still declare myself a believer in the mission of Mohamed and give my assent to the creed "there is no deity but Allah, and Mohamed is His messenger." It is a question constantly asked me by ladies and gentlemen of all stations and ranks in life, and I find the mysterious folds of my turban and the buttonless arrangement of my pijamahs, kurta, and khiftan excite far less astonishment than the strange fact that I after listening to the persuasive eloquence of a Liddon, a Spurgeon and a Talmage can yet declare that I am "a Moslem," a believer in the Koran and all its peculiar dogmas and practice. It is years since my pious father instilled into my youthful mind the five great duties of the true Moslem, belief in God, the need of prayer, the blessings of benevolence, the benefits of abstinence, and the solemn duty of paying a pilgrimage to Mecca once in a lifetime; and in the six great dogmas of faith, the unity of God, the inspiration of prophets, the revelation in books, the ministry of angels, the reality of future punishment, and the duty of resignation to the decrees of the Almighty. They were presented to my youthful mind as mere dogmas, and oftentimes has my faith been staggered as I have seen them misrepresented in Christian books; but whilst education and travel have vastly expanded my views regarding their true interpretation, I find in them all that is needed to discipline the human soul to that condition which is expressed in the word "Moslem"—"one who is resigned."

Islam is a comprehensive system, for when it is asserted "Mohamed is the Messenger of God," it is not intended to imply that he is the only prophet. Our Moslem writers admit that up to the Mohamedan era there had been not fewer than 124,000

prophets, of whom 315 were special "Apostles" of religious systems. It is evident, therefore, that Mohamed never intended to inculcate the narrow views of the Christian and the Jew regarding inspiration. In the Koran itself the prophetical character of Lukman, Heber, and Zu'l Karnain is admitted, and it would be consistent with this broad spirit of interpretation to call Socrates, Plato, and even Gautama the Buddha "prophets of God."

Nor is Islam anti-Christian, for Mohamed's profound reverence for the mission and work of Jesus is evident in every page of the Koran. Mohamed never claimed for himself a higher title than "the servant and messenger" of the Most High, but he dignified the Redeemer of Israel with the titles of *Al Maseeh*, the Christ, *Kalimat Ullah*, the Word of God, and *Ruh Ullah*, the Spirit of God. The Koran, it is true, does not teach the Trinity (nor does the Gospel), but the true Moslem, in his conceptions of the mysterious nature of God, is far nearer the Trinitarian than the Unitarian, inasmuch as he is taught to believe that the "Light of Mohamed" existed before the creation of time.

Mohamed never contemplated the overthrow of Christianity, for he taught his followers to wait patiently for the second advent of Jesus. The minaret of the mosque at Damascus on which Jesus will descend and the open space near the tomb of Omer for the burial place of the Christian prophet are but confirmations of this popular belief. But there is no project of Islam ever giving place to Christianity. Islam is essentially an oriental religion and suited to the conditions of oriental life. It adapted itself to the civilization of Baghdad and Cordova in its golden age, and it has planted itself on the ruins of a coarse and effete idolarity in Central Asia, and taught the wild tribes of Turkistan the worship of the living God. Eastern races take unkindly to the peculiar phases of Christianity forced upon them by English and American missionaries, for while modern Christianity seems to adapt itself to the conditions of fashionable European life, it is to the Eastern mind but a parody on the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, who was in thought and life an Oriental among Orientals.

The claims of Mohamed as a commissioned prophet of God are historic. His position as such rests on as firm historic basis as that of Moses, who is his own historian, or of Jesus, whose historic identity rests on the testimony of his own disciples. In proof of this let the English reader peruse Mr. Arthur Gilman's "Story of the Sara-

cen," in which the simple narative of Mohamed's inspiration is graphically told. The whole story is as real and life-like as that of the birth of Jesus. Mohamed, the prophet, is no myth. The time was when the Prophet of Islam was stigmatized as an "impostor," but European critics are now beginning to see that to reject Mohamed as a sincere man would necessitate a rejection of the historic Christ.

The character of Mohamed has been too often attacked by unscrupulous and unthinking men. Dean Prideaux, who found no difficulty in accepting the inspiration of a David or even a Solomon, is largely responsible for the gross misrepresentation of the Prophet's character. The Prophet of Arabia never professed to be a perfect man. But it was he who, in the midst of a licentious and polygamous people, lived purely with one wife, and that wife his senior in age by many years. His ten marriages, contracted after he was fifty-three years of age, were formed chiefly from a desire for male progeny as well as to extend protection to widows of vanquished enemies and to strengthen his relationship with leading families; a custom common to all Oriental nations. The Prophet is charged by Christian writers (who seem to be perfectly oblivious to the enormity of "righteous Lot's" grievous sin and the strange peculiarities of David's deathbed) with two flagrant sins: his connection with Mary, his Coptic slave, and his marriage with Zainab, the divorced wife of his foster son, Zaid. In neither of these transactions does the Moslem see the least moral delinquency. Mary was as lawful to Mohamed as Hagar was to Abraham, and Zainab was afforded protection by the Prophet after her divorce from her unamiable consort. The Prophet is also charged with cruelty, but what cruelty compared with the wholesale slaughter of the Canaanites? In attacking the character of the Arabian Prophet the Christian polemic does but weaken his own cause for the saints of old, and New Testament history needs far more apology and defense than the Saints of Islam.

The Koran is admitted by even Sir William Muir to be the most genuine and authentic book on record. Christians have revised and re-revised their Bible, but after a lapse of 1260 years Moslems have precisely the same Koran which was put forth as Mohamed's production only two years after his death. As an historic record it stands unequaled in the history of literature. It took the Christians two centuries to decide the claims of their

inspired book, whereas the Koran is exactly the same as that acknowledged by Moslems only two years after its founder's death. Now, after a lapse of eighteen centuries, Christian doctors reject the "three witnesses" to the divinity of their prophet, whilst Moslems can take into their hand the Arabic Koran without a single doubt as to its being "the Book" which was given to them by their prophet twelve centuries ago.

The Koran has often been ridiculed by Christians. But viewed from either an intellectual or a spiritual standpoint it is truly a wonderful book. The Arabs of the desert regarded it as a message sent down from the very heaven and the advanced Moslem thinker sees in it a remarkable record of the workings of the Prophet's mind as he struggled with the deep things of God, and wrestled with the doubts and cavils of an unbelieving world. It is a consistent book, for although it was addressed to the nomad tribes of Arabia and not to the savans of Leipsic and Boston, it has claimed the devout reverence of the learned Moslem of Baghdad and Cordova in the golden age of Islam, and well has the homage of the wildest and most warlike tribes of the earth.

Christians have ever regarded Islam as immoral, and were a colony of Moslems to establish themselves in America it is very certain that the United States, with all its boasted religious freedom, would not admit them to citizenship. Islam, with its noble traditions of Saracen conquest, is expected to view with favor the puny attempts of American missionaries to convert the Turkish Empire to Christianity and intemperance; but the whole of Europe would rise to arms were Moslems to reciprocate by establishing a Moslem mission in London. The Moslem Khalifah has, by means of political intrigue, been compelled to afford protection to Christian missionaries and even to their quasi converts from Islam, and even to authorize the circulation of the Bible in Turkish dominions, but would the Congress at Washington reciprocate by affording protection to Moslem evangelists in Utah? I have put this question more than once, and I have received the reply "But Islam is immoral."

The Moslem system is held to be immoral on account of its sanction of polygamy! But will Christians quote a single passage in the whole of their Bible prohibiting polygamy? With the help of a Cruden's concordance I have searched the whole book through, and I find that only bishops are restricted to one

wife, an exception which surely proves the rule in early Jewish Christianity. Jesus said: "They twain shall be one flesh," and the Koran saith, "Your Lord created you from one soul." Nay more, the Koran so far from encouraging polygamy gave its express permission to take four wives with the strict proviso, "if you cannot deal justly with so many, then only marry one." And in India and in other parts of the Moslem world there is a growing conviction that polygamy is as much opposed to Koranic legislation as it is to the general progress of civilized society and true culture. But even the great Protestant saint, Luther, allowed Philip of Hesse to take a second wife, and with the whole of the New Testament teaching before him, said: "I confess for my part that if a man wishes to marry two or more wives, I cannot forbid him, nor is his conduct repugnant to Holy Scripture;" while the Holy Father of orthodox Catholic Christianity found no difficulty in arranging for the cruel divorce of the great Napoleon. The system of ethics established by the Koran is pre-eminently practical and cannot be judged by the ascetic standard of Jesus Christ; but it is evident that Mohamed sanctioned polygamy by way of restriction and not of license among a people who observed no nuptial contract. The religious system of Mohamed is declared immoral on account of its supposed unlimited sanction of divorce, a misconception only removed by a careful study of its laws. Moses "suffered" divorce; so did Mohamed. But the Prophet said it was hateful in God's sight although lawful to mankind. So abominable is divorce regarded by respectable Mohamedan families that it is almost unknown among the better classes. It is, in fact, far more common among the Christians of Chicago than among the Moslems of Calcutta. The truth is, no religious system in the world has been able to withstand the vice, and like Moses of old all religious teachers have "suffered it" for the hardness of men's hearts. Islam is said to give divine sanction to slavery. So did the Torah of Moses. Mohamed found domestic slavery existing in Arabia, just as Jesus did in Syria; but whilst the former restrained it by healthful legislation the latter did not interfere with it by either word or deed. Let the word "slave" be substituted for "servant" in the English Bible (as it ought to be), and the Christian reader will be astonished at the result. America freed itself of slavery by the sacrifice of a million lives, but the prophet of

Arabia taught from the very first that he who redeemed a slave from bondage would rescue his own soul from the fires of hell. It cost civilized Christianity a million lives to learn a truth which the Prophet of Arabia taught centuries ago. As a contrast to the hard and cruel spirit of Christian slavery, Mohammed enacted that the bond maid who bore a child to her master secured her emancipation, and no such story as that of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" could have been devised out of Moslem slavery.

The Paradise of Islam has also been regarded as sensual and immoral. Mohamed never intended it to be other than figurative, as figurative as the song of Solomon of Old Testament inspiration, and as the Diwan of Hafiz among Eastern poets. Even Sir William Muir admits that it is remarkable that the notices of this voluptuous paradise are almost entirely confined to a time when the Prophet was living chaste and temperate with a wife of three score years of age. The mystic love of the Eastern devotee has always been typified by the passionate love of earthly relationships, and the absence of such references in the Revelation of Saint John makes it a subject of doubt as to whether that mysterious compilation ever emanated from the pen of a Syrian fisherman. But it is not the object of the present article to undermine the faith of any man in God's inspired record. There is no inspired view of inspiration, and the educated Moslem is as conscious of the difficulties of the subject as the educated Christian; but the necessity of religious belief is forced upon the mind of the Moslem both by historic evidence and by spiritual intuition. The Moslem, more than any other, is more conscious of his need of Divine help, for it is expressed in the initial chapter of the Koran, and recited hundreds of times in his daily liturgy: "Guide us in the right path, oh, God, even in the gracious path of those to whom Thou art merciful."

It is now three years since I stood in pilgrim garb on my way to Mecca, crying with the enthusiasm of the early Moslems "Lubaikah! I stand up for Thy service, O God!" and my contact with anti-Moslem systems has but increased my reverence for the Prophet and the Faith of Islam. I was told the Meccan ceremonies were a remnant of past barbarism. But surely not more so than the ancient rites of the Jewish Temple. Both are of God, and the pilgrims who annually make the Hajj learn in that desert land lessons of light and truth in the same way

that Israel was taught of God when it pitched its mysterious tabernacle in the wilderness for forty years.

Much more might be written. But, in short, I am a Moslem, "resigned to God's will," because I recognize in Islam one of the many avenues through which the Creator of the Universe leads His people to the Temple of Truth.

ابن عباس

THE FUR-SEAL FISHERY DISPUTE.

THE seizure of British vessels in Behring Sea by United States revenue cutters while the former were engaged in the taking of fur seals beyond three marine miles from shore is based, it is claimed by the American Government, on the idea that this part of the sea is wholly within its jurisdiction without regard to such limits, or a *mare clausum* (closed sea), as spoken of in international law. That the acts of one nation which call for the seizure of a number of the vessels of the other should cause widespread comment and discussion in the two countries goes for the saying, whatever be the right or wrong in the case; and that such disputes are strictly one-sided on the two different soils determined by the boundary may nearly always be safely inferred. This unanimity seems somewhat broken among American disputants, however; officials high in rank, who, *ex-officio*, must settle the difficulty, differ seriously as to the settlement, while the pen and press have arraigned themselves on sides for the reasons they set forth. Some writers from purely patriotic reasons, and others in parts of the country that have suffered in the Canadian fishery dispute, have broadly differed from those that claim they see in it only an unpopular and undemocratic protection of a great monopoly, as they choose to style the company the most interested. In short, all the many articles I have seen upon the subject, British or American, and to which my attention has been attracted by the natural interest one takes in a new country where some of his travels and explorations have been cast, have taken one side or the other of the question, and from these premises arrived at their desired conclusions.

It is my object in this article, as far as my limited space and the limited power of my pen will allow, to present all the salient points in a dispute, which, like all others between two great and intelligent nations, has two sides to it. It is not even my intention to draw conclusions from the preponderating testimony

as I would weigh it, but leave that to my readers to do as they see fit, if they think I have given them all or enough of the *pros* and *cons* with which to do it.

The beginning of the seventeenth century saw international law, long dormant as a seed in the soil of jurisprudence, spring into existence as such under the hands of Hugo Grotius, and the conflicting and desultory writings of Machiavelli, Suarez, Perkins, Ayala, Straccha, Soto, Gentilis, and scores of others were brought into something like harmony with each other, by lopping off conflicting excrescences, and with the equally conflicting shreds of international rules of conduct promulgated in such laws as the *Consolato del Mare*, *Leges Wisbuenses*, the Rhodian Laws, *Lois de Westcapelle*, the *Coutumes d'Amsterdam*, and others, many of which seemed written more with a selfish reference to the armed power of the particular country to enforce them, whether right or wrong, than on any broad principles of human rights. The great work, *de Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625), by its common-sense concessions, made possible the peace of Westphalia (1648) which ended the fierce and bloody Thirty Years' devastation, by courtesy called a war. Henceforth authorities, trailing in the triumph of this wonderful work, sought rather to find common ground where nations could negotiate a truce in real or threatened war than to give rules how the throne could thumbscrew more blood and booty from a fallen foe. Advancing civilization, weary of war, courted conciliation and concession, rather than conquest, and many pretensions of power were mutually abandoned. Chief among these were those intangible assumptions as to the sovereignty of the seas, to which could be traced so much trouble that could only be cured by more or less complete cancellation of all claims and an ownership in common for purposes of free commerce, the only use to which it could be put after all. Of course the greater extent of the broad oceans was already free long before this—rather from inability to successfully impose their jurisdiction than from lack of inclination on the part of the stronger governments; nor did all nations at once relinquish their assumed sovereignty to watery domain, but rather it was a noticeable turning point from which the previous ebb and flow of such pretensions has steadily decreased on the latter turn of the tide. But "the line had to be drawn somewhere," as no nation would accept high or even low water mark along its shores, nor, in those days when

treachery had not wholly disappeared from the unwritten code of war, allow a ship with closed ports to come too near unquestioned. Then was prominently enforced the maxim of international rule of conduct—as much as international law can be enforced with no higher power than common consent to do so—*Terræ dominium finitur ubi finitur armorum vis*, for all legal lore was Latinized in those "goode olde" days. The meaning of this is simply that as far as the shore could protect itself by arms upon its beach that far no one else would question its jurisdiction. In those days the best of cannon threw their shot *about* three miles, and as all measures on the sea were on the marine scale this was called three marine* miles, or the marine league. This prohibition practically amounted to three miles from a line drawn from cape to cape or headland to headland in sight, as from the deck, or even mast-head, all the windings and the sinuosities of the shore could not be readily made out so as to conform to such an impracticably drawn boundary.

It is upon this three-mile limit that hang all the law and argument of the British side in the Behring Sea controversy; and upon the exceptions as to closed seas that hang all the law and international right of the United States to the contrary, and on the settlement thereof "hang all the law and the profits" of the Alaska Commercial Company, the one most directly interested. In the light of the above assertion it may be proper to briefly review the history of the three-mile limit and the right of certain governments to go beyond that limit.

In Halleck's "International Law" are given special cases where governments may go beyond the boundaries cited. It says: "The maritime territory of every state extends to the ports, harbors, bays, mouths of rivers, and adjacent parts of the sea inclosed by headlands belonging to the same state. Within these limits, its rights of property and territorial jurisdiction are absolute, and exclude those of every other state. The general usage of nations superadds to this extent of territory an exclusive territorial jurisdiction over the sea for the distance of one marine league. . . . . And, even beyond this limit, states may

*Sixty geographical, or marine, or nautical miles (a degree on a meridian) equal sixty-nine and two-tenths statute miles, the miles we usually understand on land. The "knot" or marine mile equals 1.15 miles on land; the marine league equals 3.45 land or "statute" miles.

exercise a qualified jurisdiction for fiscal and defensive purposes; that is, for the execution of their revenue laws, and to prevent 'hovering on their coasts.'" I give this because it is the only one I am able to find which states a general cause or pretext for going beyond the marine league; and as neither reason applies to the captured sealers, and as violent seizure seldom rests on such unstable tenure as qualified jurisdictions, it is evident that we must look to special reasons for the grounds of American action, and such special grounds we find claimed by them, as already stated, in the principle of *mare clausum*, or closed sea, a brief history of which is not uninteresting.

The Republic of Venice once claimed sovereignty over the whole of the Adriatic, and although that power has ceased to exist as such we do not find her claim maintained at the present day by her successors. England made similar demands upon many of the so-called "narrow seas," but they have been in great part abandoned, though, by right of naval power, she is the dictator of the deep.

A very interesting case is that known as the "Danish Sound Dues," as it seems to have points in common with the Behring Sea dispute, and the United States has taken action on the Danish claim. From time immemorial this little state has set up the demand for a toll through the belts which lead to and from the Baltic Sea, claiming it upon the very antiquity of the tax, which had been ratified by many treaties and conventions with ruling powers, and also on the ground that it was founded in equity, as a fair reimbursement to the Danish crown for expenses in improving the navigation for such through commerce as did not benefit her ports, but she acknowledged that "the law of nations would now hardly seem to sanction the imposition of tolls similar to the sound dues, where none before had existed." The right founded in immemorial usage reaching back to the remotest antiquity is akin and equally as strong as that founded in discovery, and has been less often questioned and overruled, and this (discovery) is the claim of Russia to Behring Sea. Says Halleck: "The United States denied the *right* of Denmark to collect such dues. The dispute was amicably arranged by the convention of February 12th, 1858, the sound and belts being made entirely free to American vessels and their cargoes, the United States paying a fixed sum *en bloc* for light-houses, buoys, etc."

In tracing the three-mile limit parallel to the shores of a country it often happened that these boundary lines bent back and overlapped or touched at converging headlands, although inclosing large watery spaces which were not protected by the rule of a cannon shot hurled a marine league; but if all the shores of such large areas were wholly within the country, it was considered that the area itself fell under the exclusive jurisdiction of the sovereign, although a ship in the centre of it might be out of sight of land, for, having once passed under the authority of a country, and the circumstances being such that it can only seek a port of the same sovereignty, there can be no practical reason why the jurisdiction should have ever ceased for so short a time, while there are many reasons on the part of the safety of the country why it should not cease to hold; and, even shorter than all this, if there were any reasons why the vessel should not continue on into the inclosed waters, the power of the country could be directed to prohibit as soon as it first passed under its jurisdiction, which would be tantamount to unqualified jurisdiction over all. When these areas became so extensive as to be called seas, and single sovereignties thus thrown over them, they were known as closed seas, or *maria clausa*. When conquering nations seized part of the interior shores, this, of course, complicated matters, and history reveals such cases in almost every light from *mare clausum* of the strictest blockade to *mare librum* (free sea) in the broadest sense of the word; and no one rule seems to apply. If the aggressive sovereignty seized one side of the inclosing passage a *mare librum* of necessity existed if the new power demanded it, and even when it did not so seize any part of the outlet the general rule was to open the sea. The case of the Black Sea illustrates these points very well: of it Halleck says in his work on international law: "So long as the shores of the Black Sea were exclusively possessed by Turkey, that sea might, with propriety, be considered as *mare clausum;* and there seemed no reason to question the right of the Ottoman Porte to exclude other nations from navigating the passage which connects it with the Mediterranean, both shores of this passage being also portions of the Turkish territory. But when Turkey lost a part of her possessions bordering upon this sea, and Russia had formed her commercial establishments on the shores of the Euxine, both that empire and other maritime powers became entitled to participate

in the commerce of the Black Sea, and consequently to the free navigation of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. This right was expressly recognized by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. But the right of free navigation of the Black Sea, and the consequent right of passage through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, was not construed to interfere with the right of *territorial jurisdiction* which the Ottoman Porte exercises over these straits."

Had Russia acquired her title along the Euxine shores by purchase instead of conquest the case would have been nearer to the claim set forth by the United States in Behring Sea, for there might have been still greater variations had Russia so purchased, and united with Turkey to maintain the *status* of *mare clausum*, as we have America and Russia uniting in the question before us. On one side, it is said, in regard to the right of a state to own property and to sell the same, that "it is exclusive of foreign interference, and susceptible of free disposition," and "a sovereign state has the same absolute right to dispose of its territorial or other public property as it has to acquire such property;" and, as we have already seen, national territory consists of water as well as land. "The maritime territory of every state extends to the ports, etc." It seems to follow, therefore, that if Russia had, by any of the known and accepted methods of acquiring exclusive territorial jurisdiction and eminent domain, thrown such rights overBehring Sea, she could transfer them to the United States or other power by sale or other known and accepted methods. "The right of eminent domain is one which, from its very nature, is inseparable from the sovereignty, and is necessarily transferred with the sovereignty."

On the other hand, a very pertinent inquiry is that relating to whether Russian discovery, conquest, or other action gave her a valid claim to such rights over Behring Sea, and whether such claims have been acquiesced in by other nations; for *acquiescence*, after all, is the only true executive department in the international law which governs the republic of nations, there being nothing higher to enforce it. Admitting that Russia was the first civilized power to hold the shores of Behring Sea throughout their whole extent, and that no civilized power had had a previous lodgment thereon, the question as to exclusive jurisdiction, which has been transferred to the United States, rests upon some geographical as well as purely judicial questions. Had the sea

been an inclosed basin, open at only one channel so narrow as to come within the marine league understanding, as shown in the case of the Black Sea, or similar bodies of water, there would be little doubt as to the *status*, so long as Russia held all the shores, and the bulk of authority seems to be that she could transfer a part of this watery domain; but Behring Sea is not so geographically related to surrounding land and water, for on the north Behring Strait, thirty-six miles wide, leads into the Arctic Ocean, where for something like a half centurya most vigorous commerce has been carried on in the whale fishery by ships of all nations, principally American, however, and which have reached these grounds across the disputed sea without asking leave of any one or having any special treaty rights to do so. On the south side there are innumerable passes through the Aleutian Islands, extending from America to Asia, but none of them, not even Behring Strait, average any larger, or at least much larger, than those which are known to inclose bodies of water over which nations have proclaimed exclusive jurisdiction, to which others have agreed, as between Cape May and Cape Henlopen, for example, the bounding capes of Delaware Bay. But between the Aleutian Islands and the Commander Group off the Kamschatkan coast there is a monstrous gap of water where half the fleet of Russia could sail abreast out of sight of each other and out of sight of land—I have forgotten how many hundred miles across—and through this great ocean way sail many whalers annually who never expect to sight the land. It is by far the largest channel (if not too wide to be called such) which connects a closed sea with the high seas.

For these reasons and some others there has been anything but acquiescence in Russia's claim by nations the most interested, and early in this century one of the strongest protesting powers was the United States. This has been one of the most prominent points urged by popular writers against the American claim of exclusive jurisdiction to-day, but it is also one of the weakest and will not generally hold good in the interpretations of international law. Had the United States pressed her protest to a decision from Russia favorable to her standing on the question at the time, she would more than probably have had to shoulder the disadvantage she had thus enforced on the possessing power when she came in possession herself; but no such conces-

sion was made by the Czar to the American demands, and the United States had a perfect right to insist on the *status* which she found when purchasing, if interpreted to be favorable to her, without regard to the stand taken when it was unfavorable, so long as no treaty or understanding was arrived at which prejudiced such *status*.

There is one point in this connection which I have never seen mentioned, and yet I think it is a very influential one, though probably an indefinite idea which could not well be quoted in cold legal arguments demanding simply facts and figures upon which to base an opinion, yet having a deeper influence in its peculiar province. As the advancing civilization of the world determines the destruction of a policy that is deemed repugnant to that advance, the elimination may be gradual, but usually it is nevertheless so pointedly marked "that he who runs can read"; and there is no extinction that has been more certain and more marked than that of the pretension of powers to their holdings on the seas; and every nation which goes into such a controversy on the side of such pretensions must shoulder this *onus*, by implication at least, however clear the case may be otherwise. In short, we must tread in the tendency of human progress as civilization points its course. Ever since Vasco Nuñez de Balboa waded waist deep into the waters of the greatest sea the world knows and took possession of it in the name of the flag he held in his hand, and even far beyond that date, the whole change of international comity has been to widen the "high" seas, and in no place to contract them. Whatever may be the outcome of this controversy the day is not distant, as history reckons days, when the strict three-mile limit may be all that is left of maritime domain, and even that may be invaded in part, and should our own Government concede this point of the inevitable, now or next day, it will be but placing another pointing post on a well marked road whose end is on the sands of a shore washed by the waves of *mare librum*.

The catching of a fur seal, or other valuable animal or fish, or even herds of them, is but a mere thread in a fabric whose warp and woof are made up of such international subjects as those of debatable closed seas and seizures thereon. On the former, we have given some rambling points, and a brief discussion of the latter would be pertinent to the general subject in hand.

American authority says: "Before taking such forcible possession (meaning seizure of another nation's persons or property), it is necessary for us to prove clearly our right to the thing in dispute, and also that we have already tried the milder modes of adjustment, for other people are not obliged to respect that title any further than we show its validity, nor will they justify us in resorting to a measure of so much rigor, and one, too, so likely to produce the most serious consequences to society, until we justify our conduct on the ground of its absolute necessity. The possessor may, therefore, remain in the possession till proof is adduced to convince him that his possession is unjust."

While our protest against Russia's claim of similar import is hardly pertinent to be used against us as to settlement, it seems to have a bearing on the interpretation of whether or not we can "prove clearly our right to the thing in dispute," and therefore justify our sequestration of British property on debatable water. We can hardly claim a course to be clear when we can find enough to protest against it, though no propriety is shocked by assuming it was not enough to settle it, as we then wanted, after we had purchased the difficulty along with the domain. This is certainly so, if we must give any weight to the same authority that "the seizure of the thing in controversy is generally regarded as the preliminary step toward the commencement of a war." It may be said that the offending power, Great Britain, has used the same questionable means in another controversy, which is admitted; but so long as our seizures are not based on reprisal, the other offense does not enter into the discussion any more than any other two distinct questions; and the Behring Sea captures are distinctly reported not to be reprisals.

When matters involving such unquestionable outrages as those perpetrated by the vessel "Alabama" can be settled by the peaceful methods of arbitration, it may well be questioned whether we have "tried the milder modes of adjustment" in taking a course which borders so closely on the "bloody boundaries of war."

The national questions at issue have been so widely discussed that nothing can be added; suffice to say that in the American diversity of opinion is seen a fairer appreciation of the case than on the other side; and leaving out such partisan questions as to the rapidity of the Government to seize in defense of a great

monopoly on one ocean, and thus invite war, and the slowness to defend the rights of the humbler people on the other side, where war is justifiable, it appears that the American Government seems more willing to settle its aggression on broad and unselfish grounds than does the opposing sovereignty in some of its pretensions.

FREDERICK SCHWATKA.

THE BURNING OF COLUMBIA.

[General Sherman, in response to suggestions that he should take some notice of recent utterances of Gen. Wade Hampton in the United States Senate, declines any controversy with Gen. Wade Hampton or any body else, about the origin of the fire which destroyed the heart of Columbia, S. C., during the night of February 17, 1865.

The case has been authoritatively concluded by the judgment of the mixed Commission on American and British Claims under the treaty with Great Britain, composed of Count Corti, of Italy; Honorable Russell Gurney, M. P., of London, and Honorable Jas. I. Fraser, of Indiana, in favor of the United States.

All the testimony is published in the cases Wood and Heyworth vs. United States, and of Cowlam Graveley vs. United States, copies of which can doubtless be had on application to the State Department at Washington.

General Sherman, in his testimony therein fully reported, under cross-examination, explained why Wade Hampton felt so restless under the strictures that were made upon his defense of his home and fireside, after having defied the invaders.

General Sherman states that if General Wade Hampton seeks a controversy, he can have it by addressing Capt. A. E. Wood, 4th U. S. Cavalry, at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, a copy of whose recent letter here follows.—ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.]

FORT HUACHUCA, ARIZONA,
February 13, 1888.

GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN:

SIR: I notice by the late papers that General Wade Hampton is out in another tirade against you, wherein he accuses you of burning Columbia, S. C.

For the past twenty years I have noticed these periodical attacks, but I have never written you, giving my positive knowledge of the facts in the case, for the reason that ever since 1868 I have either been a cadet at the military academy or an officer in the regular army; and as you have been in command of the army until within the last few years, a letter to you, under the circumstances would seem like currying favor, a thing which my most intimate friends can never accuse me of doing. But now, since you have nothing to do with the active army, I can write you

with that fullness of friendship which active warfare begets between the soldier and his successful commander.

During the war I belonged to the 3d Brigade, 4th Division, 17th Army Corps. This brigade consisted of four Iowa regiments, viz.: 11th, 13th, 15th and 16th Regiments. I belonged to Co. "F" 13th Iowa.

The Saluda and Broad rivers form a junction a very little above the City of Columbia, S. C., and the main stream is called the Congaree. Logan was laying the pontoons across the two rivers above mentioned when the brigade to which I belonged arrived at the banks of the Congaree, opposite the city. The State House was on the ridge, probably three-quarters of a mile and a little down the stream from us. From the top of this ridge, where the State House was located, to the water's edge, the ground sloped more abruptly at first, then more gently, until within a quarter of a mile of the river, where the slope was scarcely perceptible, making what we usually term a "flat." On the edge of this "flat," farthest from the river, and below us, the railroad depot was located. We were about west of the city, and could see everything to the top of the ridge.

The depot was burning when we came in sight, and long before a "Yankee" soldier could get across the river. General Belknap commanded the division, but he sent word to our brigade asking for volunteers to cross the Congaree in boats if we could find them. Everybody volunteered, and we commenced hunting for boats. The regiment finding the first good boat was to have the honor of crossing first. The Fifteenth Iowa men found a flat-boat first, but it went under water when the men commenced filing in. My regiment found a good flat-boat which carried about twenty-five men at a trip. I was in the first boatload. We landed a short distance below an old mill which was occupied by some of Hampton's cavalry. Of course they vacated very quickly and left us in possession. When about seventy-five men of my regiment had crossed, Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Kennedy deployed us as skirmishers, and we started straight for the State House. Logan was still laying his pontoons. After firing a very few shots at Hampton's men, after we got in the city, we reached the State House and planted our colors. Logan received the Mayor's surrender at the other end of the city at least two hours after we put our colors on the State House.

I am thus particular, because I wish to show that we were the first "Yankee" soldiers in Columbia, and consequently we can tell something about the fire. Most of the city was built along the ridge and to the east of it. There were streets laid out and residence houses constructed on the slope towards the river, but few if any of them continued to the "flat." The skirmish line kept in very good shape until we reached the city, where we broke up into parties and traversed the streets, the State House always being the objective point. I was with a squad of men who went up a street which ran parallel to the one leading to the State House, and probably two or three blocks from it. As soon we reached the top of the ridge we took a cross street which went directly towards the State House, and I saw our flag raised about the time I reached the top of the ridge. In going up this street towards the top of the ridge we passed a long pile of baled cotton, and this was on fire in two or three places when we reached it. None but Hampton's men or the citizens of the place could have set fire to this cotton. The cotton was piled probably three bales high, a little nearer the north side of the street than the middle, in order to leave a roadway. As to how long the pile of cotton was I now can give no estimate, but the impression left on my boyish mind was that it was immense. The wind was blowing not a hurriance but a very stiff gale from the west, although the sky was perfectly clear. My service in Texas, New Mexico, Indian Territory, Kansas and Nebraska since then has made me more familiar with severe winds than I was at that time, and still by comparison I must call it a *very* heavy wind storm. I thought while passing this cotton that the severe wind would certainly drive the fire into some of those houses, and it did so, for this was the first part of the city that took fire. The fire did not get into the main part of the city until about dark, and did not reach the State House until about one o'clock A.M. In the meantime, I, with many others, tried our best to stop the conflagration and help the women and children rescue the few household effects that it was possible to get out of the burning houses.

The arms of my regiment were stacked in the State House yard, and until the house took fire I was continually in the close proximity of the fire, rendering such assistance as I could to the inhabitants, and during all this time I did not see a single act of vandalism by any of our men. We had no sentiment of kindness

for the people of Columbia, because it was the capital of the state which did the most to bring on the war; but our feelings of humanity did not allow us to be indifferent spectators of the sufferings of the women and children, much less to aggravate those sufferings by acts of barbarism. I distinctly remember that it was the general talk among the men that the city took fire from the burning cotton, and we all knew that Wade Hampton's men set fire to the cotton. After the fire got started it propagated itself. I saw flaming shingles carried over a hundred yards by the wind. It was in this manner that the fire, to use a Western phrase, "jumped the streets" without hindrance. When the old State House took fire it burned like tinder, and the heat from it was intense, destroying many dressed stones that were lying in the yard prepared for the new State House, which was in course of construction at the time.

Columbia was of no importance to us; it was only a halting place for the night. Johnston's army was our objective, and we reached it in a few days. Wade Hampton knows as surely as he is a living man that his command set fire to that cotton, and indirectly burned down the city of Columbia, and his reiterations of innocence convince me not only of his consciousness of guilt but also of a personal motive, be that what it may.

I will say one word about what was known as "Sherman's Bummers." From what has been said upon the subject I infer that those who never saw the army under your command have an idea that "Sherman's Bummers" were a class of men who revered nothing, destroyed everything, and were barbarous in the extreme. This idea has probably been somewhat strengthened by the veteran himself, as he narrates his exploits while sitting, with his children around him, in front of a pleasant fireplace, during the long winter evenings. The circumstances of age, length of time, distance from the scene of action and frequent repetition, are all calculated to give wings to the imagination, and what was once a truth is now a hyperbole. The Bummer proper, the man that was known as such at the time, was perfectly brave, of fine practical intelligence, a man full of resource, and whose affections were bound up in the company to which he belonged. "Sherman's Bummers" were men detailed—two from each company of infantry—for the purpose of securing food for their comrades and forage for the animals. Every morning the company details reported to regimental

headquarters, and from there they reported to brigade headquarters, etc. Each brigade organization was ordered to scout a certain area of country for food and forage, bringing the fruit of their labors to a certain place, which was always to be the camp for the coming night. They mounted themselves as best they could; they found grist mills and set them to grinding; they took such wagons, carts or buggies, horses, mules, oxen or donkeys as they could find, to the camps. It was a life of unceasing toil and danger. The enemy's cavalry was in the country, and the men often had to fight for what they got. They were ordered, upon hearing the report of a musket or cannon, to go for the place as fast as they could travel. Often, when the enemy attacked two or three men, in the course of twenty minutes one would have a hundred dare devils after him. As a rule, a brave man is not cruel. These men committed no atrocities. They took what the necessities of the case and the rules of war allowed them. From a humanitarian standpoint war is cruel, it cannot be otherwise; but the cruelties of our Civil War were far less in number and smaller in degree than those of any other war during the century preceding it.

"Sherman's Bummers" did not set fire to Columbia, for the river prevented their passage, and knowing that we should get possession of the town in a few hours, they joined their respective companies before any of the troops passed over, and remained with them until the next day.

I authorize you to use this letter as you may think best.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. E. Wood,
Captain Fourth Cavalry.

Certified a true copy.

W. T. Sherman, General.

GILBERT'S FABLES.

WANT of sympathy between men of like high character or noble pursuits is not uncommon. Hence it need not perplex us to find Bacon accusing Dr. Gilbert, a fellow countryman and author of "De Magnete," in 1600, of telling "so many fables" in that remarkable first treatise on magnetism. But though his work was thus belittled where it should have received the warmest recognition, Gilbert to-day is universally admitted to have made the new departure from which all electrical chronology dates. He was not only, as Hallam says, the writer of the first notable English work in physics, but the father of experimental philosophy in England; and his airy "fables" have resolved themselves into some of the most solid benefits that science has conferred on mankind. Could Bacon see what has been accomplished through the development of Gilbert's fancies and theories, it would surprise him perhaps not less than to behold himself credited with the plays of Shakespeare.

The results of electrical discovery are, in fact, already so numerous that in dealing with the subject it becomes more and more difficult for the reviewer of growth in this field to do other than generalize. At the International Electrical Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1884 the production and application of electricity required division into no fewer than fifty classes. A few months ago, at the fair of the American Institute, in New York, the use of electricity as a motive power alone found as many special departments; while several inventions embryonic or unknown three years back, were well to the front as objects of curiosity or investigation. Less than almost any other men are electricians inclined to accept Lord John Russell's invitation to "rest and be thankful," or to loaf and invite their souls with Walt Whitman. Never, indeed, has there been in electrical work greater activity than that which has prevailed during the last twelve months, and never before were such

extensive plans in contemplation. It is this very onrush and uplift of inventive genius and practical development that tempts to dithyrambic raptures alike the social reformer who sees in electricity a panacea for every ill, and the speculator who notes with quick eye the new chance offered to play on old credulity. The modern world is altogether of the opinion of Justin McCarthy's utilitarian baronet that "practical science is the great thing," and it is well aware that electric arts are first among those which now secure and enlarge human welfare, as well as promise benefits in the ages yet to run.

Each of the great departments of electrical application has its own interesting story or pertinent moral, and each is a typical exemplification of the rapidity with which, in America, the visionary idea of one hour becomes the prosaic reality of the next. The telegraph was the first of the great electrical successes, and is an old friend of the present generation. Its ten-word tariff has introduced into popular and business phraseology a terseness the furthest removed from grammar and elegance. It is a prime agent in stockjobbing operations and the ready ally of the detective bureau. It is the mainstay of the daily press, whose columns it half fills. Its wires have long been among the strongest ligatures that can unite a nation so widely distributed from sea to sea as ours. It has profoundly affected international relations, provoking from Prince Bismarck the odd complaint that diplomacy has, therefore, ceased to be unctuous. Fit expression, as it is, of this fussy, alert, inquisitive and intense age, it has become hackneyed and commonplace. Yet it has been in use a bare fifty years, for it was only in January, 1838, that Professor Morse completed his rough operative model of the recording electro-magnetic telegraph, and exhibited it in this city.

Early associates of Morse are still living who helped him string his primitive land lines, while Mr. Cyrus Field recalls easily, across a scant quarter of a century, the vivid memories of the failure of the first cables, when hope and funds were both exhausted, and Dr. Holmes apostrophised in caustic verse the mythical De Sauty, who insisted throughout that everything was "all right" when there was a well-founded suspicion that something was very decidedly wrong. At the present time a dozen cables span the Atlantic between Europe and America. In 1886 there were six hundred and sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and ten miles of

telegraph wire in the United States, which carried seventy-two million messages; and the aggregate of work done in analogous services, such as police, fire, burglar alarm, stock ticker and district messenger, would show results as large. These figures are in themselves an indication that the interest of the public in the telegraph is now commercial rather than scientific. It is true that progress has recently been made in sextuplexing, and in telegraphy between moving trains, and that telegraphy between ships at sea, through the water, is in the near future; but, after all, the telegraph is, in the sphere of electricity, and compared with later advances, very much like England or Portugal compared with our new Western States. In the one case it is a question of economy, of higher output, of making the most of one's familiar resources; in the other, it is a question of exploitation, of frontier enterprise and of the pre-emption and occupancy of virgin soil. The telegraphic struggles and agitations that arrest public attention belong to Wall street, for those that once occupied the schools and the patent courts have almost all been disposed of. In one direction, however, the telegraph will sooner or later attract notice, and that is as a leading political issue. It has always been somewhat singular that the newspapers most desirous of governmental control of the telegraph should be eager in welcome of any new contestant with the Western Union Company, whether it be Mr. Garrett executing ancestral schemes, or Mr. Mackay backed by mines of silver. Five years of uninterrupted monopoly by the great corporation whose appetite for rivals has grown by what it feeds upon, might settle the controversy for ever.

The telephone, though a great and distinct invention, came in an evolutionary way. The use of the telegraph had not only created the want but had pointed to the means of supplying it, and when the crude instrument was brought out, its value was immediately recognized in technical circles, in spite of the remark of one cultured organ of public opinion in New York that there was no field of usefulness for it. Within a decade, however, it has become the most patronized means of urban intercommunication, and its "extra-territorial" or long-distance lines are paralleling telegraph circuits in every direction. Last year no fewer than 312,605,710 exchange "connections" were made, and nearly 3,000,000 messages passed over extra-territorial wires. The exchange work is growing at the rate of 25,000,000 conversations

per annum, and it is now nothing unusual to bring together the wires of five or six thousand subscribers in a single switch-board. Protected by exclusive patents, which remain in force after tremendous litigation and unscrupulous onslaught by politicians, the telephone industry constitutes a strong and ramified monopoly in which the parent company and its sub-organizations are partners. Should the fundamental patents be broken before their normal expiration, there would begin a desperate fight for the prize of exchange business, but it seems likely that this would rest in the hands now holding it. The management of the telephone system, as a whole, has been carried on with consummate skill, and as the nature of the service requires that in any given city the customers shall all be within reach of each other, it is natural that the capital stock and investment of over $50,000,000 should be able to maintain against all competition the 1,182 exchanges and branches now in operation. This is as it may be, and is a consideration for those advocating a national telegraph system. It would be useless to buy up or control that without securing the telephone. Perhaps both will remain private property, but be placed under the supervision of a body similar to the Railway Commission now enforcing the provisions of the Interstate Commerce law. Outside of the exchange system, however, a great field of employment will some day be found for the telephone in supplementing or even supplanting the present annunciator system in hotels, factories and offices; and in domestic life it will replace the ineffectual bell.

It is not impertinent to point here to the striking contrast between the development of the telephone in America and in Europe. There are in America 147,000 exchange subscribers, and the instruments in use number 353,518. Returns made lately show that in Holland, Belgium, Italy and Russia there are only 19,000 telephone subscribers. Thus in America with a population of 60,000,000, the proportion is one in 340; in the large section of Europe above named, with a population of 136,000,000, it is one in every 7,158. New York and Brooklyn have as many telephones as all Italy; Chicago is on an equality with Russia; Boston is abreast of Holland. If use of the telephone be taken, instead of the familiar standards, as a test of civilization, America is so far ahead as to place Europe in the ranks of barbarism. The explanation is hard to determine. In Europe the telephone is controlled

by the various governments, and that may be one reason, though it is not an argument that will commend itself in all quarters.

Scarcely had the telephone been accepted as a boon, before the rays of the first practical commercial electric light were perceived. Previous to 1879, the public knew of electric lamps only by name, and with that year begins the present period of electrical engineering which will be a notable and marked feature of the last part of the nineteenth century. Up to that time, save in electro-plating, large currents were beyond the skill of the electrician, either to produce or to handle for general consumption. Now, every night, scores of huge central stations throw on their wires currents representing as much as 1,500 horse-power, as well as illustrating on a gigantic scale the correlation of forces and the conservation of energy. Beginning its career amid wild and disastrous speculation, the electric light has survived the reckless booming of its most enthusiastic friends and the violent opposition of its most savage enemies. The capital invested in the United States in the manufacture of electric lighting apparatus and the sale of electric light locally is already equal to that in telegraphy and telephony together, reaching over $150,000,000. A thousand lighting companies and three thousand private plants have in operation 200,000 arc lights and nearly 1,500,000 incandescents, and the work is only in its inception. In New York alone three new stations each of 2,000 horse-power are contracted for or in course of construction, and the designs have been made for as many more. Noteworthy, too, is the change of front on the part of the gas companies, over a hundred of which have come to the conclusion that they can sell silk as well as calico, and have equipped to fill the demand for the new style of goods.

The reasons for the popularity of the electric light are not far to seek. On the public streets and in open areas, the arc light has proved a convenience to good citizens and a terror to evil doers. Few more cheerful or beautiful sights can be seen than the tower, like a radiant "sister of the day," as Shelley phrased it, holding aloft through storm and calm its torch of living fire, or the long lines of insistent white stars that now begirdle the thoroughfares of our most progressive cities. The production of arc lights has been so greatly improved and cheapened that their use is now universal. Mayor Hewitt has proposed their adoption in New

York for all the streets, on the ground that they "tend very greatly to the prevention of crime and the preservation of good order in the city;" and exclusive lighting of the streets in this way is now under practical consideration also in Chicago and Philadelphia. The future of the arc light is well assured.

The incandescent electric light, the little bulb in which the resistance offered to the passage of the current causes the carbon filament to glow brightly in the vacuum, is now being introduced at a remarkable rate. Its vogue may be accounted for on a variety of grounds. The following table is one of them:

Illuminant.	Cubic feet of oxygen consumed.	Cubic feet of air consumed.	Cubic feet of air vitiated.	Cubic feet of carbonic acid produced.	Heat produced in one pound of water raised 1° F.
12 candle power of gas	5.45	17.25	345.25	3.21	278.6
12 " " " oil	6.81	34.05	484.05	4.50	361.9
12 " " " tallow candle	12.00	60.00	933.00	8.73	505.5
12 " " " electric incandescent lamp	None.	None.	None.	None.	13.5

The insurance companies have marked their appreciation by lowering premiums wherever this light is used, and the decorators of the modern House Beautiful have hastened to save their productions by employing it, and to develop its æsthetic possibilities. In his charming little work on "The Library," Mr. Andrew Lang, by way of earnest advice, says: "The book collector must avoid gas, which deposits a filthy coat of oil that catches dust;" and it is well known that many libraries are now open at night with the help of electric light that formerly were accessible only in the daytime. One can hardly enter a fine new building anywhere without observing the incandescent lamp or the little wires that betoken its coming. The only objection to this light—its cost—grows fainter every year. In a large number of places it is sold at a profit in direct competition with the cheapest gas, and the wholesale way in which it is now supplied also tends to equalize the economic conditions. One effect of its introduction, as exemplified by figures gathered from a score of towns and cities in eight States, is a reduction of 26 per cent. in the price of gas to the con-

sumer. Moreover, the percentage of candle-power to horse-power is steadily gaining, and is far from its ultimate limits. Electrical ingenuity is just at present striving chiefly to simplify and cheapen the methods of distributing the current to the lamps, and notable results have been gained. That the change from gas to electricity is going on cannot be denied, but the significance of the revolution is not generally understood. Take merely its relation to mechanical engineering. Expert figures on incandescent lighting show that a central station plant at full capacity should be equal to one 16 candle-power lamp per capita of population. Five years hence 18,000,000 people will be living in cities and towns of 4,000 and upward. To supply them would require an output of 11,000 lamps, and of 1,000 horse-power of boilers, engines and dynamo-electric machines every working day from now until 1892. The gain in 1887 justifies the sober acceptance of such calculations as not far from the mark.

If the utility of the distribution of electric current were arrested at this point, it would not be quite so difficult to estimate its possibilities, but already it is evident that lighting is but one department to be considered. Many minor employments for the current from lighting circuits have already been found, including the boiling of kettles and the heating of foot warmers, where the kettle and the warmer are simply substituted for the lamp. But all such work sinks into utter insignificance when compared with that which has opened up in the use of electricity as a motive power. The central station superintendent can now assert, in the language of James Watt to King George : " I have what all your Majesty's subjects want—power." The citizen who turns on the water tap or lights his gas realizes that he is drawing on a reservoir practically inexhaustible, but he has not yet mastered the idea that the wires running by his door bring to his service an unwearying agent that, in readiness and variety of accomplishment, is a veritable Jack-of-all-trades, whose ability rises in exact proportion to the demands made for performance. The electric motor as an efficient machine has not been known much more than two years, but the rapidity of its introduction has been nothing short of marvelous. The first American statistics on the subject, collected recently by the writer, show that there are now in use in this country at least ten thousand electric motors, and that at the present rate of demand the number will be doubled within six

months. One type of motor alone is now employed in over one hundred and twenty different industries. The work given these machines, a large number of which are from one up to fifteen horse-power, and are driven by current from a central station which at night feeds hundreds of electric lights on the same wires, is not a little striking and amusing. One in a livery stable operates an elevator, pumps water and brushes down the horses. Another is used to squirt colors on photographs. A third is driving a large factory where scores of its fac-similes are made daily. Over a dozen are already on the presses of daily papers. One operates the machinery of a knitting mill where two hundred and fifty hands are employed. Hundreds are at work in connection with fans, sewing machines, coffee mills, ice cream freezers, church organs, boatblacking brushes, freight and passenger elevators, dental lathes, jewelers' tools and the like. Curious instances of the repeated conversion of current into mechanical energy and back again are to be found in the use of motors to drive electro-plating machines, or the dynamos which now, instead of chemical batteries, furnish current in large telegraph offices.

In a word, the electric motor has won its place and laid hold on the future. It has begun a tremendous revolution in the mechanical world. It has distanced other small motors, including the steam engine. A leading mechanical engineer has frankly avowed his opinion that up to fifteen horse-power the electric motor must have the preference over other power apparatus, and his views are more than confirmed by the willingness of power users to pay three and four times the price for the electric motor that they give for the small steam engine. With the electric motor no coal has to be brought in or dirt carried away. No water supply is needed. The engineer is dispensed with. No heat is created. Insurance is lowered. Space is economized. The motor that drives the presses of a daily paper in Detroit has been standing and working on the case it was shipped in. The wires that carry the current may pass through the keyhole, down the chimney, or in by the window frame. In the morning the turn of a switch puts the motor in operation, and at night, with another turn, it ceases to work so quickly that a minute later no one could tell it had been running. The tendency, moreover, is toward the use of larger motors, even above twenty-five horse-power. The average charge per horse-power throughout the country is about $100 per annum, and on this basis,

motors of any size, deriving current from central stations, compete easily with any other kind of appliance. Recent investigations go to prove also that in the distribution of water powers, the electric motor is unsurpassed ; that even in large mills it may be more economical to convert the water power into electric current in the basement, for driving motors on the various floors, than to connect the turbine directly with long lines of heavy shafting in the usual way. With electric motors the town or mine or factory to be furnished with power may be miles above the plant that generates the current, literally causing the water to do work by returning upward to its source.

Need we wonder that this matter promises to engross the thoughts of the physicist, the mechanic, and the social philosopher ? At the meeting of the National Electric Light Association in Boston last August, the mayor of that city expressed the belief that the electric motor would enable the people there to build up a great many small industries that had been neglected. The same impression is entertained in other cities by many who see that owing to the great flexibility of the system and its easy subdivision of power, it is no longer necessary to concentrate skilled producers within a small and costly space. August Bibel, the German socialist, in his work on "Woman," goes even further, and asserts that electric power is to take the first place in wiping out the "bourgeois world," clearing the road for the socialized community, and "contributing enormously to the amelioration of human conditions of existence." The motor will certainly tend to lighten labor. It is likely to assist by its handiness for domestic purposes, in settling the vexed "servant girl question." But it seems probable that the struggle which is naturally arising for the control in each place of this service, will do much to lessen the blessings counted by the optimist as within reach of the toilers.

There is yet another sphere for the electric motor to fill: that of street railway propulsion. The electric railway is still a novelty, but in the United States and Canada to-day twenty-two such roads are in operation carrying passengers at the rate of between five and ten millions annually ; fifteen are in course of construction ; contracts have been made for nearly twenty more, and many are projected. One of the roads building will have forty electric cars. This all means that the street railway is being revo-

lutionized by electricity as much as are industries requiring stationary motors. Animal power is far too costly in comparison with either the cable system or the electric system, between which the competition for urban traffic now lies. Out of the 120,000 horses on street car lines, 20,000 become practically useless every year. The huge stables are far too often an eyesore and a nuisance. The plant generating current for the motors on the line can be paid for out of the economy on real estate, and in every instance of test, electricity has been demonstrated to be cheaper than animal power by from thirty to fifty per cent. With electricity, there is a remarkable range of choice as to method. The motor can be placed anywhere on the car, and the current for it is conveyed by overhead wires, by a conduit, by one of the ordinary rails, or is derivable from storage batteries under the seats. The conduit and the storage battery methods will prevail for large cities, and for both an economy averaging from ten to twenty per cent. over the cable is claimed. Time will, it is believed, justify electricians in their estimates. Meanwhile an electric railway has been established in highly successful operation in a large Boston sugar refinery, and one in a Pennsylvania coal mine. Steam, though becoming more and more objectionable for motive purposes in cities, may, however, enjoy a monopoly on the large railroads indefinitely. The operation of the New York Central Railroad by electricity is a task which no man feels called upon to grapple with at present.

In many ways, nevertheless, electricity is gaining a foothold on the steam railroad. Its use in train dispatching and signaling is an old story, but it has also recently been adopted very extensively for train lighting, and the resort for this service is again made to storage batteries. This year will be memorable in American electrical annals for the renewed attention paid to storage. The batteries now furnished return eighty per cent. of the current with which they have been charged, and though they have still to undergo radical improvements, they are already engaged in much practical work. The manner in which they assist in the utilization of "waste powers" stamps them as among the most noteworthy innovations of this era.

It has long been a devout wish of the electrical investigator or inventor to hit upon some method of obtaining electricity direct from fuel. This question may not seem to be as much within the

range of "practical politics" as that of putting the wires underground, but it is more fascinating to the electrical mind, and the endeavors to settle it are unceasing. Public attention has just been drawn to one invention in which the alternate heating and cooling of magnetic metal in front of a magnet causes rotation and produces a current; and the eagerness with which several inventors have come forward to claim priority betrays the general interest in the subject. Similar efforts are also being made to produce current directly from fuel, in this way, with a battery, and one of the latest devices is a cell in which coal is used as the positive electrode. Early advances along this line of research are to be looked for. A number of earnest men, who, for passionate love of experiment may be classed with Faraday, are devoting themselves to the study. The selenium cell, turning sunshine into current; the pyromagnetic generator, like its forerunner, the thermopile, converting heat into electricity, and the cell in which coal is actually consumed—are the first fruits of their quest.

And so one might go on. As Dr. Priestley reflected a hundred years ago: "It may be said that there is a *ne plus ultra* in everything, and therefore in electricity. It is true, but what reason is there to think that we have arrived at it?" To-day we can only echo Priestley's words. What has been achieved tells us that the greater lies before. The electrician proposes to himself the navigation of the ambient air and the exploration of the deepest sea. He is hastening the time when hand-written correspondence between persons hundreds of miles apart will no longer depend on slow mails; and when seeing by electricity, as much as speaking by it, will be a matter of every day experience. His skill is simplifying the arts of peace and complicating the artifices of warfare. He has found new cures for physical ailments, and his magnet even gives relief, it is said, to minds diseased. Thus, a foremost exponent of modern science, he is ever presenting to the world new problems in chemistry, mechanics, politics, and ethics, and is himself reaching their solution.

THOMAS COMMERFORD MARTIN.

POSSIBLE PRESIDENTS.

GENERAL WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN.

In considering Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman as a possible President we are met at the outset by a difficulty. He has not only refused to be a candidate, but has intimated that if the convention nominates him "it will hear something unpleasant," and the grim old warrior is notoriously in the habit of keeping his word. Nevertheless, the acceptance of high office becomes sometimes a duty, and none the less a duty because distasteful. It is possible to conceive a condition of affairs in the country which would make the call upon the General so urgent that he could not refuse the nomination without a palpable shirking of responsibility; and this he would never do, for it is foreign to his nature. While such a possibility exists, Gen. Sherman must necessarily be counted in the list of possible Presidents; and, indeed, that list would be left with a large gap in it if there were omitted the striking figure of one who has contributed so much to making American history. We have to consider him as a man, not of words and opinions, but of deeds; and from what his life has been, infer what he would be if called upon to occupy the Presidential chair. Certainly of all our eminent men, none would present a more interesting figure as President than the old soldier, now in his sixty-eighth year, but vigorous, plain-spoken and original as ever.

In those great scenes wherein each first commanded the attention of the world, the personality of Grant stands out powerful, silent, immobile; but in another orbit the fiery Sherman moves, his path a swift destruction. The destroyer has his place in the complex life of man no less necessary than the constructor, for the destruction of the old clears the ground for the sounder building of the new. It has been so with this nation. No issue thoroughly

tried in battle is ever appealed to another tribunal. Four years of war laid forever at rest the distracting controversies of forty years of peace, but none of the men who had been leaders in these controversies bore a prominent part in settling them where they were settled, on the battle field. That work was done by men previously obscure or unknown, and one of these was Sherman. His work was to destroy, and he crosses the eventful pages of that history the embodied genius of destruction, brilliant and desolating.

We see the pictures of him as he appeared then. Tall of stature, broad chested and well knit, but spare of flesh because of intense nervous energy; restless and quick in movement; his eye large, eager and piercing; with hawk-like nose, and iron-clamped jaw stiffly bearded; a broad expanse of forehead, so broad as to be out of proportion to the rest of the face; and the stern look, stern almost to grimness. It is a thoroughly Yankee cast of countenance, for his mother was a Hoyt of New England; and strong, instinct with energy, and dauntless. He looked all the soldier, and as a soldier he had been trained from early youth. At twenty he graduated from West Point, sixth in his class; but while from 1840 to 1853 he was in the military service, unlike Grant, he did not serve in the Mexican war. He was stationed in California during that period. It was all peaceful there, and he had no opportunity to distinguish himself. But one little occurrence gave a taste of his quality. One Nash had set himself up by virtue of a local election, in opposition to the regularly appointed magistrate of Sonoma. There was a good deal of fuss over the matter, and Lieutenant Sherman was sent up by his superior officer to settle it. This he did in the simplest way by seizing Nash at supper, bundling him into a cart and carrying him off to Monterey. The manner of the arrest recalls the historic incident of Cornet Joyce and his authority of a file of soldiers. Says the General in his "Memoirs":

> "I walked up to him and took his arm, and told him to come with me. Green (a lawyer) put himself between me and the door, and demanded in theatrical style why I dared arrest a peaceable citizen in his house. I simply pointed to my pistol and told him to get out of the way, which he did."

Having attained the rank of captain, Sherman resigned from the army in 1853, and was engaged as a banker in San Francisco through the exciting times of the Vigilance Committee, whose

doings he does not approve; and when the great commercial crash came later, his banking house was the one that stood the shock alone, because his keen prevision of coming disaster had impelled him to take the necessary precautions to meet it. But the crash killed business. He left for the East and went into business in Wall street just in time to meet the disastrous financial collapse started by the failure of the Ohio Loan and Trust Company, which broke up his firm. A partnership in a law firm in the West, from which he could not make enough to support his growing family, was a passing step to the more congenial occupation of superintendent of the then recently established Louisiana Military Academy. He had barely put this into good working shape when the war broke out, and refusing tempting offers to remain, he resigned to come North. This was the early part of 1861.

It would be expected that he, a trained soldier, would have sought service in the army at once, but he did not. He saw the South everywhere preparing actively for war, and coming north saw a supineness which amazed and disgusted him. He was introduced by his brother, Senator Sherman, to Lincoln; and the latter's indifferent reply to his statement that the South was ready for war, "Oh, I guess we'll manage to keep house," silenced him. He went back to St. Louis to take the presidency of a street railroad company, swearing in good round style that the politicians having brought on the war might fight it out themselves. But this was not to be. The brother of a United States Senator who talked in that style was open to the suspicion of disloyalty. Captain Sherman heard rumors that he was "unsound." They seem to have touched him, for he then wrote offering his services, adding that the army list would show the rank he expected. In June, 1861, he was commissioned Colonel of the Thirteenth United States Infantry. From that dates his part in the grand drama of the Civil War, and its beginning was most inauspicious.

This man who was trained from boyhood to a soldier's life, who was destined soon to give the world new ideas in the science of war, who became the conceded master of the use of the "flying column," who led his army to the most brilliant successes and received the surrender of the last army the enemy had in the field, never saw a shot fired in anger till he was forty-one, and his first battle was the humiliating rout of Bull Run. There he com-

manded a brigade, but a few weeks after was transferred to Kentucky. A month later he had succeeded to the command of the department as brigadier-general of volunteers. Here it was that he was visited by the astute Pennsylvania wire-puller, Simon Cameron, who, in the distribution of cabinet offices, had received the Department of War. Of anything but political warfare, the battle of caucus and convention, Mr. Cameron had not only no knowledge, but he had no conception. His mind seems to have been unable to grasp the idea of war. It presented itself to him as of the nature of a riotous disturbance, to be suppressed by an adequate force of police or the militia. It is not surprising, therefore, as we look back upon those times, that the ill-placed secretary should have been thunderstruck when the general in command of the comparatively minor department of Kentucky informed him that 60,000 men would be needed to drive the rebels out of it, and if they were to be fought down to the Gulf of Mexico 200,000 would be needed. Recovering from his amazement Mr. Cameron passed to irritation. The whole thing appeared to him preposterous, and the retinue of reporters he carried around with him soon took their cue. When the party reached Washington the newspapers had it that General Sherman was crazy. The idea became quite popular. "Crazy Sherman" ran the rounds of the press, and the soldier who told unpleasant truths was quietly shelved from his command. He went out under a cloud; the Washington people, and the public who had only heard of him through the newspapers, honestly believing that the anxieties of his position had affected his mind. This was the history of Sherman's first six months in active service.

The next episode presents him as the lieutenant of Grant in his Western campaigns. In the grand strategy of the war it was committed to General Grant to open the Mississippi from St. Louis to New Orleans. From the spring of 1862 till July, 1863, when Vicksburg fell, he was engaged in this work; and in the spring of 1864, he was brought East to grapple with Lee in Virginia. Sherman had emerged from under the cloud by his conduct at the hard-fought battle of Shiloh, where he was wounded and had three horses shot under him—a trifling matter which he forgets to mention in his "Memoirs," being wholly absorbed in discussing the strategy of the action. That bloody day transformed the "crazy Sherman" of the newspapers into the daring and skill-

ful general, to whose efforts the commander publicly attributed his success. From thence on Sherman rose in the public estimation, was promoted to important commands, received thanks for his part in the siege and capture of Vicksburg, and when Grant was brought East the unanimous election of the authorities and of the public was that Sherman was his proper successor in the West.

Here begins the third and most brilliant episode of his career in the war. The Mississippi had been opened, the Confederate armies were gathered at points east of it. Grant was already fighting Lee in Northern Virginia, but the vast region south of Virginia was protected by the armies of Gen. Joe Johnston. The richest part of the great territory was Georgia, and Johnston held the gateways to it from the northwest at Dalton, which covered the approaches to Atlanta, a city of foundries and munitions of war. Against him Sherman was ordered to operate. It is as the opponent of Johnston and Hood that the world at large knows General Sherman. Johnston was the commander standing next to Lee, as Sherman stood next to Grant; and the Civil War ended when Sherman received the surrender of Johnston's armies. The long fight between them began in May, 1864, when Sherman moved against him at Dalton. He fought him down to Atlanta in an almost continuous battle, and the route has become historic ground by reason of these successive contests. They present the spectacle of two skilled soldiers fighting each other in thoroughly scientific fashion, the one using his superior numbers to drive his opponent back, the other availing himself of every resource the nature of the country afforded to contest each inch of ground he yielded. The fine play of intellect between the two men in the midst of these scenes of carnage is strikingly brought out in the "Memoirs," where the General says that whenever he had made a move which put Johnston at a disadvantage, he considered what a first-class soldier would be likely to do to counteract it, and that line of action Johnston invariably took. Thus they reached Atlanta, where the Confederate authorities superseded Johnston, being dissatisfied with his retreating method of fighting, and gave the command to the daring but less scientific Hood. Forced to evacuate Atlanta in September, Hood fell upon Sherman's long thin line of communication back nearly to his sources of supply at Nashville, in Kentucky, and seriously broke it up. The alter-

native was then presented to Sherman either to fritter away the strength of his splendid army in chasing Hood off his lines, or to cut loose from all communications and march from Atlanta to the sea.

His famous march to Savannah gave the military world the finest example of the use of the flying column which military history presents. Its purpose was destruction; not of men, but of what is just as effective in war, property. To destroy the sources of an enemy's supplies is as good as destroying him, for he is made helpless. Johnston's armies had been originally placed to protect great regions from which supplies were drawn, and Sherman first outfought these armies, and then left the remainder to range over a devastated country, finally meeting a bloody defeat from Gen. Thomas at Nashville, while he swept a path of wide desolation through Georgia to the sea-coast. The General has repeatedly expressed his surprise at the admiration this triumphal march excited, while his more arduous march from Savannah north through the Carolinas has passed with little attention, although that too was made independent of a base of supplies. But it is when a thing is done the first time that it strikes astonishment. The way to do it having once been shown, the novelty is gone. After his march from Atlanta, it was assumed as a matter of course that he would successfully march across the Carolinas, although that might be more difficult than the former. He did so march, thereby forcing the abandonment of Charleston and other seaboard points, and struck up to join Grant before Richmond. But before he could reach him, Lee had surrendered, and Sherman immediately after received the surrender of his old antagonist, Johnston, who had once again been restored to command and sent to oppose him. With that surrender the Civil War was over.

Here the ruthless soldier sheathes his sword and assumes the role of pacificator. He makes terms with his old antagonist. The novelist who has been picturing from his imagination such a military character as Sherman, would by a sort of logical necessity, make these terms harsh and cruel; for Sherman's name had become a synonym for ruthless destruction; he had declared war to be a cruelty which could not be refined, had applied the pitiless logic of military necessity to the depopulation of cities, and where his armies marched they left a broad track of desolation. The memorandum of surrender was sent to Washington and im-

mediately disapproved. The terms were "too liberal." Admitting that the soldier erred in stepping beyond the strict military line in this convention, it is yet a noble testimony to the character of the man that the error was on the side of generosity. In his letters the General admits his folly in overstepping military bounds; but that he, the fierce soldier, in whose nature mercy was declared to have no part, should have erred on the side of mercy, is one of those surprising facts which prove anew that truth is stranger than fiction. But the world had then known him only in war, when his portraits showed the stern countenance and the piercing eye with its eagle look.

In peace, and when honored old age has come upon him, yet not abated his vigor, for he and Father Time seem on the best of terms, we have come to know "Uncle Billy" in quite a different way. We see him now, when his hair has turned white, and his stubbly grey beard is close cropped, taking his rest after the labors of an eventful life; cheery as a lark, flying about as restless as ever, kissing all the pretty girls presented to him, full of original sayings, and rich with quaint humor. He likes to attend a public dinner occasionally, and make a characteristic after-dinner speech. Sometimes the old fighter gets uppermost in him, and he writes peppery letters. When he does he is bound to tread on corns. Thereupon all the little pigmies of the press raise a frightened cry. "There's General Sherman again! He's always saying something dreadful. Why *will* he say such things!" Why—because the old warrior has a right to. He has earned it, if any man has. He has a right to say anything he pleases.

Discussing the General as a presidential candidate, it would probably be argued that little is known of his views on any but purely military questions, or questions growing out of the war which time has settled. This is true in a measure, because the economic questions which are now political issues are of a later growth. But this is of little moment. They are chiefly matters for Congressional action solely. One of the most successful Presidents we ever had was General Jackson. Though economic subjects were the main issues in the politics of his time, no one has ever charged that the old soldier was wanting in clear insight or decided views upon them. Neither would General Sherman be found wanting in just as decided views as ever Jackson expressed on any subject to which he applied his vigorous intellect. He was

a novice in the banking business when he held his bank sound amid the general crash in San Francisco. The General has shown us in his book with what nervous force he can write. There are no dull lines in the two volumes of his "Memoirs." Every page reads as with a ringing word of command through it. His letters are models of style—strong, condensed, and telling exactly what he means. If he had to send messages to Congress they would bear the same stamp—the stamp of the man.

It is not often that the soldier can write of battles as well as he fights them ; but the bent of General Sherman's mind is analytic, and he explains an action as perfectly as he plans it. All his fighting was thoroughly scientific. The Southern papers called him "the great Yankee flanker," which is as high praise as a soldier could ask. Nothing caused the Southern people more humilation, as shown by their newspaper comments at the time, than that Atlanta fell without a great battle. A short fight for the possession of a railroad settled its fate. This is war on scientific principles, and the mind which can conceive the strategy necessary for such success, and the will which carries it through, make its possessor eminent in either war or peace, as opportunity offers. Not the least interesting of the incidents of the Georgia campaign is the picture of General Sherman in his tent carefully studying the county tax assessors' reports of Georgia, to ascertain from the valuation what counties would furnish most subsistence to his marching armies. As to pure party politics, General Sherman is intensely averse to them. Least of all would he be in any sense a "bloody shirt" candidate. He has never given the slightest leaning to that objectionable phase of partisanship. He is too broad-minded to take so narrow a view of the country, and too thoroughly independent to conceal or disguise his convictions. As President the South would find in him not the ruthless soldier of 1864, but the generous victor as he appeared making terms of peace with General Johnston, once his opponent and now his old-time friend. The General himself is inclined to regard any one who speaks of him in connection with the Presidency as harboring evil designs on his peace of mind and well being ; but for all that there are those who look to him only with respect and affection, who would delight to see the honors of a long life crowned by his election as Chief Magistrate of the country he has served so well.

A PERILOUS BALANCE.

THE almost equal division of American citizens between two great political parties is often alluded to as a subject for congratulation. The superlatively wise independent, assuming that all decided convictions must be insincere, and all positive action mischievous, tells us in a philosophic tone that it is very fortunate when the opposition party in a legislative assembly is so strong as to be a constant check upon the majority. The optimistic statesman speaks complacently of the people as acting up to their honest convictions—half being convinced one way, and half the other, when the same facts and arguments have been laid before them all! To my mind, this equal division is at once our most serious disadvantage and our deepest disgrace. It proves either a disinclination to think, or a determination not to be honest. If there is no essential difference between the characters and policies of the two parties, if in every canvass there is an equal amount of right and wrong, honesty and dishonesty, wisdom and unwisdom, in their conduct and purposes, then we are all fools, expending our time, our money, and our temper to secure a triumph of Tweedledum over Tweedledee. But if in any canvass there is a right and a wrong side to the question at issue, about half of all the voters are either inexcusably ignorant or criminally dishonest. If with all our colleges, all our common schools, all our newspapers, all our periodicals, all our pulpits, all the free discussion that is carried on throughout the land, never more than a trifle over half of the voters can find out what is the wise and honest course to be pursued—and even they seem to find it out rather because their own party happens to be right in that particular canvass, than because they have applied the proper tests to the principles and facts under discussion—then of what use are all these educational institutions and processes? If the citizen cannot learn from them his first duty to the community, how

much is the state benefitted by schools, pulpits and presses? The young man that reads the papers only to learn the score of a base-ball game or the exact minutes and seconds of a yacht race, and can master no more of the political history and condition of his country than is expressed in an ephemeral party cry, might as well not have learned his letters.

In a presidential election we cast millions of votes, and the popular majority is seldom more than one or two per cent. of the whole. In 1884, for example, in a vote of over ten millions, there was a plurality for the successful candidate of less than two-thirds of one per cent. It is nonsense to call such a vote the triumph of certain principles or the vindication of any policy. It was simply the shifting of a little ballast; and if the Republican instead of the Democratic candidate had been successful, it would only have been by the shifting of a little ballast to the other side. If a hundred honest men persist in dividing themselves into fifties, we must expect to see two or three knaves step in to determine the question at issue and secure the results. One of the practical effects of this state of things is seen over and over again in our legislatures, where a hundred days are spent in doing badly what ought to be done well in ten. When a great question gets into politics, it cannot be thrown out again by any one per cent. majorities. A minority that constitute forty-nine per cent. of the whole will forever resolve to try it again, hoping to shift the ballast and have better luck next time. Not only is no question ever settled permanently until it is settled right, but it must also be settled by a decisive majority, not a wavering fragment whom the next wind of political passion or sophistical discussion may swing to the other side. When serious questions are before the country, after they have been discussed constantly for five months and talked over at every fireside, the vote ought to show, not merely a bare majority for the right, but a majority of at least twenty to one. For example, Mr. Cleveland and his party came into power making certain charges against the opposing party and certain promises for themselves. If those charges have been sustained and those promises fulfilled, then we should this year elect Mr. Cleveland, or whatsoever other candidate his party may prefer to nominate, by a majority that will look like another era of good feeling. On the other hand, if the charges have not been sustained and the promises not fulfilled, we should sweep them out of power by a vote that will look like the day of judg-

ment. It is safe to say that there is not an intelligent man in the country who does not know or cannot find out which of these suppositions is true; but it is also safe to say that we shall have neither an era of good feeling nor a day of judgment. It is always a pitiful thing to see a President who is the soul of honesty, and has administered his office for the benefit of the country alone, compelled to work up his own vindication by pulling the pot-house wires and resorting to every piece of trickery known to demagogues and charlatans, in order to secure renomination and re-election. His vindication is a task that belongs to all the honest men of the country, without regard to party. Of what use are fair-promising platforms and lofty letters of acceptance, unless we punish their violation and reward their fulfillment? If our memories are not four years long, let us shorten the presidential term.

But the schoolmen tell us that the parties are founded on deep-seated antagonistic principles, and they discourse learnedly about the "strict-constructionists" and the "loose-constructionists," telling us how they strive to expand or compress the power of the Federal Constitution. Some of their readers and pupils believe them, and for years afterward go to the polls pondering whether they would better vote for strict construction or for loose construction. In practical politics there is no such thing. On the one hand, the party designated as strict-constructionist has never been known to hesitate, when itself in possession of the National Government, to stretch the powers of the Constitution as far as their elasticity would permit and the party needs required. On the other hand, the party designated as loose-constructionist has never succeeded in destroying any right, unless it was an alleged right to destroy the Constitution itself.

It seems to me that the remedy for the present state of affairs is to be found, not in less partisanship, but in a more honest and better informed partisanship. We impress upon our young men such maxims as "in union there is strength," but we forget to teach them that in union without intelligence there is mischief. There should be a complete reform in our methods of conducting a political canvass. In a country that contains Bunker Hill and Gettysburg, with a generation that reveres Washington and remembers Lincoln, there ought to be manliness enough to put away the clap-trap of brass bands and fireworks, to recoil from the infamy of campaign falsehoods, and to settle a perfectly plain

question on its perfectly plain merits. Any other course simply belongs to that smartness which is not wisdom. We should have less jingle and better journalism. Political managers tell us that the brass band and the sky-rocket have their effect and are necessary to secure a certain class of votes; to which the proper answer is, that it would be better to let such votes go where they will, and expend the effort in winning votes that carry with them the power of intelligence and the weight of character. Any fool can buy a sky-rocket, and put a match to it; but sky-rocket votes have never determined a question so that it remained settled. The first century of our national history furnishes some remarkable examples of sky-rocket votes, and teaches their insignificance.

In this day of newspapers, we ought to be able to look to journalism for the correction of public abuses and the enlightenment of ballot-casters. But the same argument that I have brought against the one per cent. majorities holds good also against the great engine that should change them. When a new political journal enters the field it is generally not because the man behind it feels himself intrusted with a mission to expound and circulate important truths, but because its proprietor has calculated that that community contains enough people of his party to support a paper that will keep telling them what they already believe. In the determination to uphold their own side at all hazards, by every means, and under all circumstances, a large part of our public press has sunk to the moral level of a Tombs lawyer. And for this, not so much the editors as the readers are to be blamed. So long as a political journal is read mainly or wholly by people of its own politics, who applaud it as a champion without regard to its truthfulness, so long it is likely to be reckless. Criticisms and exposures from the other side do not hurt it. The remedy might be found in an application of the ancient motto—To each, his own. A mendacious journalist should be even surer of rebuke from his friends than from his opponents. But who ever heard of a Republican rebuking a Republican paper for lying to help the Republican party? Who ever heard of a Democrat rebuking a Democratic paper for lying to help the Democratic party? Who ever heard of a Mugwump rebuking a Mugwump paper for lying on all sides? Unfortunately, it is not always the direct and demonstrable falsehood that is indulged in, but the cunning of misrepresentation acquired by long practice. "A lie that is half the

truth," says the poet, "is ever the blackest of lies," and an instructive chapter might be written on the Jesuitry of journalism.

I am not unmindful of the fact that there is some noble and sincere journalism in our country, and many of our brightest minds have devoted themselves to it. But it is an awful satire on our civilization to find on one page of a widely circulated paper the utmost pains taken to give us the odd half second of a horse race and the exact calibre of the revolver used by some poor suicide, while on another page equal pains are taken to obscure the real bearings of a question that may be of the utmost importance to sixty million people. We can hardly look for betterment in a non-partisan press. It sounds high-toned and philosophical to talk of independent journalism; but has independent journalism ever accomplished anything except occasional mischief? Horace's celebrated maxim about the safety of middle courses, has for nineteen centuries furnished excuses to the intellectually indolent, the time-server, and the moral coward, and has wrought incalculable harm. When the ship is in a storm, a persistent refusal either to port or to starboard the helm simply leaves her wallowing in the trough of the sea. And our political ship is always in a storm.

Once on a time, when a father asked for advice about sending his boy to college, he was answered, "Send him to any good college, except one controlled by your own religious denomination; do not send him there under any circumstances." Similar advice, if it could be followed, might benefit the citizen as to his political duties. If every voter would subscribe for and read not only a paper whose politics were consonant with his own but also one of opposite views, the standard of journalism would immediately rise, and with it the standard of political morality. In the mean while, I should like to see trial made of what looks to me like a promising experiment. Let us have a metropolitan journal in which all the important news shall be given accurately and concisely, and the unimportant excluded. Let a line be drawn down through the middle of the editorial page, and half of that page placed under the supervision of an able and sincere Democratic editor, and the other half under the supervision of an equally able and sincere Republican editor. With equal ability and enforced honesty, both sides addressing the same audience, the results would necessarily be determined by the weight of truth.

So long as the respectable men of the country allow themselves to be divided into two equal parties, so long policies will be determined and spoils gathered by bosses, floating characters, and such cranks as choose to band themselves into little make-weight parties that constitute balances of power. The occupations of all such ought to be swept away by majorities of twenty to one, majorities so flexible that they can be cast one way at one election and the opposite way at the next. Aside from all moral questions, the present method of conducting a canvass, with its excitements and its uncertainties, lays an enormous tax upon the people, and it is time it were abolished. If we keep on in this way, we shall arrive sooner or later at a crisis in which a vital question will be at issue, and the minority unwilling to submit. If that minority is almost equal to the majority, we know what comes next; for we have seen it frequently in the South American republics, and have experienced it once ourselves.

ROSSITER JOHNSON.

A DEFENSE OF PUGILISM.

I IMAGINE that most of those who read the above heading and who consider themselves thoroughly refined and civilized, will hurriedly turn over these pages with the remark: "There *can* be no defense." Such a statement assumes a great deal, so much that no one has the right to make it who has not for himself gone carefully and fairly into the subject of which he speaks.

The custom of contests between man and man merely for the honor of victory, or for a prize—usually for both—is of great antiquity. Over two thousand years ago the statue of Jupiter, at Olympia, looked down from its lofty pedestal upon the flower of all Greece assembled to hear poetic and musical contests, and to behold athletic games, among which pugilism was one of the most prominent features, and such pugilism! No blow was dealt there with the naked hand, but the ponderous cestus of leather and metal gave a deadly import to the contest. One event, the "pancration," a combination of boxing and wrestling, was closely akin to such fighting of modern times as is carried on under what are known as the "London Rules."

Were these people barbarians who delighted in this spectacle, who greeted the laurel-crowned victor with their tumultuous plaudits, who bore him to his home, not through the city gates, but over a section of the wall leveled for his triumphal entry; and who honored him almost as a demigod to the end of his days? Listen to what Macaulay says of the ancient Athenians:

"There seems to be every reason to believe that in general intelligence the Athenian populace far surpassed the lower orders of any community that has ever existed. . . . .

"Let us for a moment transport ourselves in thought to that glorious city. Let us imagine that we are entering its gates in the time of its power and glory. A crowd is assembled round a portico. All are gazing with delight at the entablature; for

Phidias is putting up the frieze. We turn into another street; a rhapsodist is reciting there; men, women, children are thronging round him; the tears are running down their cheeks, their eyes are fixed, their very breath is still, for he is telling how Priam fell at the feet of Achilles, and kissed those hands—the terrible, the murderous—which had slain so many of his sons. We enter the public place; there is a ring of youths, all leaning forward with sparkling eyes and gestures of expectation. Socrates is pitted against the famous atheist from Ionia, and has just brought him to a contradiction in terms. But we are interrupted. The herald is crying, 'Room for the Prytanes!' The general assembly is to meet. The people are swarming in on every side. Proclamation is made. 'Who wishes to speak?' There is a shout and a clapping of hands; Pericles is mounting the stand. Then for a play of Sophocles, and away to sup with Aspasia. I know of no modern university which has so excellent a system of education."

Tell me, is not the verdict of such a nation worthy of some consideration even by the side of that of the refinement of to-day?

Strange to say, the most violent opponents of that contest which, with averted heads, they stigmatize as cruel, brutal, and degrading, even women will read with pleasure of the exploits of Hercules and Pollux, will thrill over the battle between Entellus and Dares, as told by Virgil, and will revel in the glory of the tournaments of the middle ages, which were nothing more nor less than prize fights, where Death, clad in the gorgeous tabard of martial heraldry, trumpeted the signal to engage, and where the prize, the horse and arms of a conquered knight, was no trifling acquirement for the victor.

Now, it is probable that the man of "progress" will point triumphantly to the pugilism of to-day, to the generally low and depraved characters of the men who engage in and encourage it, to the dishonesty and blackguardism which characterize most of its battles. But what weight is there in an argument based upon pugilism as its opponents have made it? A bad artist might as well say, "Painting is not beautiful. See! here is a picture I have just completed and it is execrable." For many years pugilism has rested under the ban of the law. All the respectable element—I use the term advisedly—have bowed their heads in ac-

quiescence and have left the ring side to the company of those who have no characters to lose, to natural lawbreakers and outlaws; and then, forsooth, the logical lawmaker points to his own handiwork—to pugilism as degraded by him and his laws—and tries to draw thence his argument against it. The worthlessness of such a point must be very apparent.

Let us now briefly examine the other charges which he invariably makes when he condescends so far. He says pugilism is "brutal, cruel, demoralizing and degrading."

The first of these means nothing by itself. If he establishes any of his other points I will concede him this.

But he says it is cruel! We generally associate the idea of cruelty with pain or suffering inflicted upon an unwilling object. Bull fights are cruel, where horses and bulls are tortured and killed for the amusement of spectators. Dog fights are cruel because the dumb animals, deliberately trained for the purpose, are set to mangle each other at the word of their masters. Fox-hunting, with all its social prestige, is unquestionably cruel; and the combats of gladiators at Rome, where slaves and prisoners of war were forced to kill each other for the pleasure of a dissolute populace, were cruel in the highest degree. But how can it be called cruel to allow two men in full possession of their senses to engage with mutual willingness in what they regard merely as a rough game in which they are well aware that both will probably get more or less hurt?

"Demoralizing and degrading" are two high-sounding words of similar and rather generic import. We can discuss them together. Whom, then, does pugilism demoralize and degrade? the fighters or the spectators? Surely not the former! They have been subjected for a long time before to a régime of discipline and self-denial. These are neither demoralizing nor degrading—quite the reverse. They come to the ring side usually with no hard feelings toward each other, but fired with a desire to win, for which honor they are ready to take the chances of such pain and suffering as may come—in short, with the same spirit that inspired the Olympian contestant and the mail-clad knight whom we all unite in admiring; and the rough sport which follows is one in which the prime requisites of success are courage, endurance, and a lofty contempt for physical pain. Usually when all is over the former antagonists shake hands and frequently become

fast friends. Is there any other sport which calls out such high qualities? Do kindly feelings so often survive the contests of the law court or the Stock Exchange, of the Senate or the vestry-room?

Oh! but perhaps the spectator is the one who is demoralized and degraded. Well, in the first place, no one need be present who does not so desire. In the second place, those who go for the pleasure of seeing blood flow, and bruises given and received, are probably pretty well past degradation or demoralization. But there are other considerations which may lead a man to the ring side, although our sentimentalist will be probably unable to understand such feelings. One may take pleasure in the contemplation of skill, adroitness, and strength; of unflinching courage, of steady coolness, and of endurance in bearing fatigue and pain with equanimity. High, manly qualities these, are they not? Possibly so far from demoralizing or degrading the onlooker, they may tend to elevate his ideas of the braver capabilities of human nature; just as the spirit of persecuted sects has been often exalted by witnessing the courageous deaths of their martyrs.

I hardly think that the most bitter opponent of the ancient game will maintain that the mere sight of blood is demoralizing or degrading. That would be a dangerous sentiment to inculcate. Civilization and refinement are excellent things, but they must not be confused with mere womanishness, nor must men learn to faint at the sight of blood as a proof of their refinement. It would be a serious matter for surgery, for philanthropy, and for national safety to allow such ideas to gain headway.

It may be argued that death sometimes occurs in the ring. So it does. So does it occur on the football, the baseball, the cricket, and the polo fields, not to mention the dangers of coasting, riding and driving. Nay, if the objector will so far unbend as to examine the statistics, he will find that more deaths occurred last year in this country from riding and driving accidents than have been laid to pugilism since 1800. If he objects to a sport because of danger to life, let him first pass a law forbidding the use of horses for all purposes of pleasure, and then return to his attack upon pugilism.

But the strongest sentiment underlying all this opposition is one which, while it exists in the minds of a certain class, has yet,

perhaps, never been distinctly formulated, and I hope needs only to be formulated to be condemned by men who do not place a sickly sentimentality above all other considerations. I refer to the sentiment underlying the unmistakable crusade which is being preached against every sport the practice of which involves any risk of bodily harm. Once let such a feeling become the touchstone of civilization and refinement and you put a premium on cowardice. Impress it upon the boy that physical pain is the greatest evil, that he must carefully avoid every amusement in which he is apt to get hurt, and you are in a fair way to develop a nation of contemptible sybarites. Yet there is no mistaking the tendency. The same hue and cry is raised by the same people whenever a man is hurt at football, and the colleges are besieged with advice to abolish that "brutal pastime." Can any sane and unprejudiced man believe that the promulgation of such a doctrine will improve a race?

And now a word upon the present condition of affairs, which I am very ready to admit could scarcely be worse. Probably about as much fighting, such as it is, is done, as if there were no laws against it; but it is done among men who are not likely to elevate any sport which they engage in or patronize. Fair play and honesty are the first things looked for by the true admirer of pugilism, and I am glad to be able to say that they were the first things found in the prosperous days of the ring. Petty meanness, hippodroming, trickery, foul play, and the inordinate greed for money—all well nigh unknown among the old fighters—are now the natural attributes of a sport which is almost wholly in the hands of a proscribed class.

Remove the proscription, regulate and control pugilism, so that those who feel no interest shall not be annoyed by those who desire to follow the "manly art," punish all abuses as they merit; and see if in time, when you have begun to overcome the evil influences you have let loose, you will not find the school-boy, as of old, settling his petty disputes with his fists and then making friends with his antagonist, instead of running with his tale to the teacher and inaugurating an enmity which may, perhaps, last through life. See if you will not find men of the lower classes again deciding their quarrels in a way not dangerous to life, instead of appealing to pistol or knife on the slighest provocation, until at last a sentiment shall arise to brand the coward who invokes such

allies with a less endurable stigma than any court can put upon him, and that too among associates who now seem to regard a condemnation as wiping out his fault and entitling him to the sympathy of his fellows.

Old statistics show the influences which the fair and manly rules of the London ring had upon the very roughs of that metropolis. Not to mention the much less frequent use of deadly weapons, such a thing as striking or kicking a fallen man was practically unknown in the lowest street brawl, and an infraction of the recognized code gave the offender but a sorry chance to escape from the justly infuriated bystanders. Any policeman in New York can tell how that compares with what he constantly sees to-day.

Come then! let thinking men who value their manhood set themselves in array, both against the army of those who, unmanly themselves, wish to see all others reduced to their own level, and against the vast following who, caught by such specious watchwords as "progress," "civilization," and "refinement," have unthinkingly thrown their weight into the falling scale. Has mawkish sentimentality become the shibboleth of the progress, civilization and refinement of this vaunted age? If so, then in Heaven's name leave us a saving touch of honest, old-fashioned barbarism! that when we come to die, we shall die, leaving men behind us, and not a race of eminently respectable female saints.

DUFFIELD OSBORNE.

THE PRESIDENT'S PANACEA.

THE main legislative issue before the country to-day is unquestionably the Tariff issue. Since the war of the Rebellion no question so momentous, or so threatening of disquiet and danger, has been appealed to the judgment of the American people.

Upon this vital and vexed issue the Chief Magistrate of the country has set forth his views. But before action is finally taken in one direction or another, it is well to pause and call a halt to consider whether these immature judgments on the Tariff do not assail the very firesides of the wage-earners and imperil the vast capital employed in the mighty industries that have taken root and attained their growth and vitality under protection.

The trouble in the conduct of such discussions as the Tariff question calls forth often lies in the absence of practical knowledge of the interests involved. This practical knowledge can come from no better source than from leading representatives of the great industries of the country. Certainly no better spokesmen would seem obtainable than the men conspicuously connected with the most important interests now threatened.

It might naturally have been supposed that such testimony would have been sought by the Ways and Means Committee at Washington. Not only, however, has such testimony been ignored, but actually rejected when offered. But an appeal lies from the majority of that committee to the people, and it now finds expression in this REVIEW, a large number of gentlemen identified with great interests affected presenting their views, in answer to the question as to what would be the effect upon their particular industries or interests of any legislative measures passed upon the lines of President Cleveland's message.

Limitations of space have forbidden any further multiplication of these views or an absolutely complete representation of the interests involved. The industries embraced, however, in this valuable collection of opinions furnish sustenance to vast multitudes of American workmen, whose homes would be threatened by any unwise revision of the Tariff, while the capital involved runs into billions.

Already the evil effects of the President's message are sadly apparent in the "Mills Bill"—a measure directed against many industries of the country, and recently described to me by a leading manufacturer, of Democratic persuasion, as "the most ingenious bill possible for shutting up all the iron furnaces of the Atlantic coast."

Indeed, we have only to look at the records of Congress to discover how many Democrats of standing, men of such genuine Democratic stamp and statesmanlike qualities as Mr. Hewitt, are committed to a policy which differs as widely as the poles from that laid down in the message of the Democratic President.

Not all the sophism in the world can veil from the American workman the inference that this message bears within it a death warrant to his creature comforts. No figures and no sophisms could reconcile him to the lot of the laborer as we may see him in the older countries, badly clad in his hovel, and living in want and ignorance. It was not for this that the emigrant came to seek a new home in a new country.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

IRON AND STEEL.

The effect of the tariff legislation recommended by the President in his recent message would be disastrous to the iron and steel industries of the country, as have been the attempts to carry out such lame theories in the past. Henry Clay said in 1832: "If I were to select any term of seven years since the adoption of the present constitution which exhibited a scene of the most widespread dismay and desolation, it would be exactly that term of seven years which immediately preceded the establishment of the tariff of 1824. If the term of seven years were to be selected of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the

establishment of their present constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824."

The tariff of 1846 drove into bankruptcy ninety per cent. of all those engaged in the manufacturing of iron in Pennsylvania. Abram S. Hewitt wrote in 1849: "Of fifteen rail mills, only two are in operation, doing partial work, and that only because their inland position secured them against foreign competition for the limited orders of neighboring railroads; and when these are executed, not a single rail mill will be at work in the land."

Employment of workmen was greatly diminished, resulting in extremely low wages for those so fortunate as to secure it. In this city of Pittsburgh, famed for the industry and frugality of its citizens, as well as the skill and genius of its mechanics, thoughtful men, with strong arms and willing hands, were reduced to idleness and want. These worthy people were compelled to accept the charities of the more fortunate, and get from the soup stations, established for the purpose, sustenance for themselves and their families, and this at a time when the products of the farm were absurdly cheap in Pennsylvania; when in the Western States corn was burned for fuel, and other grain remained in stacks from year to year unthreshed. These dire consequences were not confined to the iron interests, but affected all branches of industry alike throughout the country. The Government was brought to the verge of bankruptcy by the same cause.

The full force of the blow of the tariff for revenue only of 1846 was not felt because of the Irish famine, which created a demand for all our surplus grain; the Mexican War, which gave employment to men and circulation to money; the acquisition of California, and the discovery of precious metals; the wars and rumors of wars in Europe, which caused an abnormal demand for our products.

The tariff is simply a question of wages and rate of interest. If it were possible to make the interest rate here as low as it is in other countries for business purposes, before we shall have acquired a corresponding amount of capital; if it were wise, desirable or possible to reduce wages to the pinching standard of other countries, where every member of a family, old and young, male and female, is compelled to labor to earn a miserable living, there would be no necessity for a protective tariff, because our natural

advantages are quite equal to the best. But, if we favor "the policy which inspires labor with hope, and crowns it with dignity; which gives safety to capital, and protects its increase; which secures political power to every citizen, comfort and culture to every home," we must have protection against the products of foreign cheap labor, which will assure contentment as well as loyalty to, and veneration for, a government by the people.

In addition to the wonderful development of this great country since 1860, are not the comfortable homes of the working men, and the grand aggregate of deposits in savings banks acquired since that time, notwithstanding the intervening wasting war, indubitable testimony in behalf of a protective tariff?

Why the President associates the tariff with combinations and trusts is not clear. They are temporary expedients against fierce competition, which only serve (even when conducted within the law) to invite increased competition, and render the last state of those who join them worse than the first. George Stephenson said that "where combination is possible, competition is impossible." In this land of liberty, the proposition must be reversed. Where competition is possible, combination is impossible.

Mr. Cleveland's logic in endeavoring to show that man's condition may be bettered by diminishing his ability to earn, is hazy, to say the least.

B. F. JONES.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.

IRON ORE.

In the production of last year's grand aggregate of American iron and steel, there were used 12,500,000 tons of iron ore. Of this quantity, about 11,300,000 tons were raised from our American mines and carried by American ships and railroads to the furnace and the mill, while 1,194,301 tons were imported, mainly from Spain, Africa, Italy and Cuba, and paid a duty of seventy-five cents per ton. Every ton of these importations *displaced* a ton of American ore. About three-fifths of this foreign ore took the place, along the Atlantic seaboard, of Northern New York, Champlain, Hudson River, New Jersey, and Eastern Pennsylvania ores, and two-fifths went over the mountains to displace at Johnstown, Pittsburgh and Wheeling, an equal

quantity of Lake Superior and Missouri ores. Southern ore industries, newly born, will soon feel the same pressure, the same loss of market. Hampton Roads will be the entrepot for foreign ores into Southern ore fields.

But why not remove this small defense of American ore production, seventy-five cents per ton? A tariff framed that way would be in line with the President's ideas. There is one supreme obstacle, the question of wages—wages for hundreds of thousands of laborers. The drill and the pick below the surface only begin the process. After them come the hoisting machinery, the docks, the railroads, the shipping; vast systems of interlocked, interdependent industries. In the mining and transportation to the mills and furnaces that consume it, of Lake Superior ore alone, $150,000,000 of capital is invested. There it is planted, and with all its enormous labor occupation. It takes the risk with its dependent labor, of waste and final destruction when mines become exhausted, or when its market, as in case of dispalcement by foreign ores, is destroyed. It must be remembered, too, that against the 40 miles of average distance that ores, fuel, and limestone, are carried to the furnace in Great Britain, are 400 miles in the United States.

Mr. Jeremiah Head, well known in the United States and in Europe, recently read a paper before the Mechanical Science Section of the British Association on the iron mines of Bilbao, Spain. He gave the following comparative statements:

The hours of labor *per week* were: At Bilbao, 72; in Cleveland District, England, 46; on Lake Superior, 55 to 60. Wages *per day* for drillers and miners at Bilbao, 60 to 72 cents; Cleveland, drillers and miners, $1.21; Lake Superior, drillers and miners, $2.25 to $2.75. Wages per day for common laborers at Bilbao, 36 to 60 cents; Cleveland, common laborers, 72 to 84 cents; Lake Superior, $1.60 to $2. Wages per day for boys or women, Bilbao, 24 to 36 cents; Cleveland, boys or women, 24 to 60 cents; Lake Superior, $1 to $1.25. Wages of miners, then, on Lake Superior are more than three and three-quarter times what they are at Bilbao, and more than double those paid in the Cleveland District. The labor cost to a ton of ore on Lake Superior would be ten times what it is at Bilbao, and more than four times what it is at Cleveland. The average metallic content of Lake Superior ore is a little more than Bilbao, but the labor cost of a ton of iron ore in

the Lake Superior region would be at least eight or nine times that at Bilbao. Under these labor conditions and the present rate of duty, importations are likely to continue to increase. In that event wages in American ore production must decline, or a large number of American mines will be closed and the men pushed out to crowd laborers in other industries. This process began three years ago in New Jersey. Prof. George H. Cook, in his annual report for 1884, said: "The low price of iron ore and the light demand for ore at almost any figure have caused a large shrinkage in the production and closed many of our mines. The large and increasing importations of iron ore from Spain and Africa also operate against our mines." And yet the Revenue Reformer wants "free ore."

The *consumers* of ore, however, look further ahead. They said—the iron and steel manufacturers of the United States, assembled in convention at Cresson, Pa., September, 1882—by unanimous vote, that the duty on ore ought to be eighty-five cents per ton.

The Eastern Pig Iron Association, in whose district all the importations of ore are landed, in its official reply to the circular of tariff inquiry sent out by Secretary Manning, in November, 1885, vigorously opposed the lowering of the duty on ore. The retention of at least the present rate was strenuously urged in the interest of the safety and the permanent prosperity of the iron and steel manufactures of the United States. The full equalization of the labor cost, between foreign and domestic ores, would, of course, require a much higher duty than the present rate.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the largest buyer and consumer of iron ore in the United States, and who knows very well that the reliance of the American consumer for cheap manufactures of iron and steel must be upon American ore, very sharply puts the case in these words: "Spanish labor in the mines fifty cents per day, and labor in the mines of Lake Superior two dollars per day, with cost of transport less from Spain to seaboard furnaces than from Lake Superior to furnaces in Ohio and Pennsylvania, settled the question of free ore, as it will settle the question of free coal."

The iron ore of commerce is distinctively a product of enormous combinations of capital and labor. Its designation by theorists as "raw material" does not change its relations to the expended capital and labor, nor can such arbitrary and purely constructive

classification, to suit certain theories, impair its right to full protection.

GEORGE H. ELY.

CLEVELAND, O.

IRON AND STEEL.

WAGES, PRICES, AND PROFITS.

The passage of a measure by Congress reducing tariff duties on iron and steel on the lines of the President's message would result only in mischief and disaster. It would, to use the President's terms as applied to the tariff, be vicious, iniquitous and illogical. Vicious, because the industries would be badly disarranged and business unsettled and made precarious; iniquitous, because the wages of labor must necessarily be reduced; and illogical, because the evil sought to be rectified would simply be aggravated.

The President in his message speaks of the "immense profits" of manufacturers, from which we may infer that a reduction of tariff duties would reduce these profits to a normal level without interfering with the rates of wages now paid to labor.

The "immense profits" of the iron and steel manufacturers, we regret in some sense to say, exist only in the imagination of the President. The wages of iron and steel workers, that is, the labor engaged in our rolling mills, are regulated by "Scales of Prices," which are agreements entered into by employers and employés, basing wages on the selling price of iron and steel.

This system has been in existence for over twenty-five years, and by its operation the workingmen have obtained a very accurate knowledge of the cost of production of all grades, sizes and shapes of iron and steel, thus enabling them to receive such proportionate wages as to leave to the employer but a fair and reasonable margin for profit. The manufacturer must make a profit, and it being questionable whether American manufacturers make larger profits than English manufacturers—*i. e.*, a larger percentage on the invested capital—it follows that a tariff reduction on foreign products would quicken competition from abroad, reduce prices, and necessarily lower wages and cheapen materials; hence, it is very clear that the chief sufferers would be the workingmen.

The wages now paid English iron and steel workers are miserably low, while ours are receiving reasonable and fair wages.

Space will not admit of a list of comparative wages here. Common day labor is now getting in England from 48 cents to 72 cents per day; in this country from $1.25 to $1.75 per day. Skilled labor shows a greater difference still in favor of the American laborer. Puddlers are paid $5.50 per ton in this country; in England only $1.56 per ton. Heaters and rollers will earn from two to three times as much per day in this country as the same class of workmen in England, yet our workmen receive only fair wages.

The difference in the selling price of iron and steel in each country do not show in the same ratio. The price of a ton of good fibrous bar iron in this country is about $41.44: the same quality in England would be $31.50, a difference of only $9.94. The total wages paid in England in converting pig iron into bar iron is about $4.96, and in this country about $12.74 per ton. A significant fact is brought out if we add these wages to the price of pig iron in each country,—thus, in England, price of pig iron $11 per ton, wages as above $4.96—total, $15.96; price of bar iron $31.50; margin left for materials, wear and tear, insurance, taxes, profit, etc., $15.54. In this country, price of pig iron, $18 per ton; wages as above, $12.74, total, $30.74; price of bar iron, $41.44; margin for materials, etc., $10.70. Were it not for the higher governmental taxation in England, 23 per cent. against 5 per cent. in this country, the English manufacturer would be in a far better position than the American.

That we cannot stand a reduction of the tariff is very clear from the increased importations of last year. The least stiffening in prices, and we are on the danger line, and in comes the foreign product.

To reduce duties can therefore only result in larger importations; but to protect American industries we require such a revision of the tariff as to make it protective in all its parts.

JOHN JARRETT.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.

AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY.

The President's message is a radical plea for free trade. It has taken legislative shape in the "Dark Lantern Bill" recently introduced by Mr. Mills. This bill is sectional and partisan. If it

becomes a law it will cripple many of the great industries of the country,—industries so interwoven that it is impossible to strike down one without injuring the others.

Free trade would be specially hurtful to our metal industries and to all their allied interests. The prosperity of the manufacture of agricultural implements and farm machinery depends directly upon the prosperity of the farmer. Whatever reduces his income limits our production. Free trade injures him, and, therefore, injures us. Protection benefits him, and, therefore, benefits us. It is claimed that under free trade the farmer can buy his agricultural implements, farm machinery, clothing, and other necessaries at greatly reduced prices. But he must not forget that free trade is sweeping in its effects, and, while it may cheapen his supplies, it will cheapen in still greater measure the value of his farm and all its products. The farmer now has protection of twenty cents per bushel on wheat; ten cents per bushel on rye, corn, oats, and barley; and corresponding protection on other farm products. Free trade will bring to our seaboard foreign wheat at lower prices, and at less cost for transportation than his grain can be brought from the great Northwest. He must then contend against wheat from India and Russia raised by labor at from five to fifteen cents a day. Foreign grain and foreign products will fix the price of his grain and his products. Protection means to the farmer higher prices, better crops, more valuable lands, and greater prosperity. It means, too, better markets. His home market is his best market. Now protection fosters manufacturing industries, increases the numbers employed in these industries, and decreases the numbers engaged in agriculture, and thus furnishes the farmer a larger market, with better purchasing capacity. The farmer in the States blest with manufacturing establishments more readily appreciates these benefits than the farmer of the great West, who suffers under the disadvantages of distance from his market.

What would be the effect of free trade upon the wages of the workmen? They now receive from forty to sixty per cent. higher wages than the men of like occupation abroad. They would be the greatest sufferers were free trade inflicted upon our country. Their wages would be placed on a level with the pauper wages of Europe with which they must compete.

They would barely be able to maintain themselves and their

families. How then could they purchase and own their own homes as so many of them now do?

Workingmen should be the stanchest supporters of protection. While free trade would bring free wool and cheap clothing, it would lower wages fifty per cent. and raise the price of mutton forty per cent.; and the old story of free trade countries would be repeated in our land—"meat for the workingman once a week."

The capital and the competition within our own country will regulate the prices of every commodity.

Our government was created to bring the greatest good to the greatest number—the working classes. The second law placed upon its statute-book was for protection. Patrick Henry wisely suggested that a good way to judge the future was by the past. Our country has always prospered under the laws of protection. Her greatest statesmen of both political parties in the past (as well as the present) have been on the side of protection: and while our present tariff laws might with safety be readjusted upon some minor points, yet the policy of free trade is founded upon false theories.

The President allows the "surplus" to accumulate—when under existing laws it should have been applied toward paying the national debt—and then points to this "surplus" as an excuse for his free-trade message.

A. L. CONGER.

AKRON, O.

TEXTILE MACHINERY.

The probable effect of any measures passed pursuant to the line of President Cleveland's message on the industry I represent, which is the building of machinery for use in manufacturing cotton, wool and worsted yarns and cloths, would be paralysis and ultimately death.

The question is so serious that to answer it in a manner commensurate with its importance, involves determining the logical interpretation of the message, so far as it relates to the industries of this country; for, strange as it may seem, there are those who maintain that the message does not favor the policy of free-trade. Those who hold this opinion are not found only among the

adherents of the party with which the President is identified. All dispassionate thinkers, however, and the great majority of all political parties in the United States, the free-traders of England and the intelligent readers of all interested nations, agree that the message is a bold, candid and distinct free-trade paper.

Therefore, legislation on the line of Mr. Cleveland's message means the removal of the protective feature of our tariff laws, the enlargement of the free-list and the final opening of the markets of the United States to foreign competition.

It can be clearly shown that, in all protected industries where labor is the chief element of cost, the entire duty paid by the importer of the foreign article goes to the American work-people and not to the proprietors and capitalists. The effect, therefore, on the wages of workmen would be at first to reduce the amount. But, as it would be an undoubted impossibility to re-adjust at once all values upon the basis of foreign labor, the secondary result would be to deprive the wage-earner of employment in the industry under consideration.

If the duty of forty-five per cent. that nominally protects the American machine builder were removed, the machine user would be enabled to purchase mill-outfits at so large a reduction as utterly to defeat American competition. The hopelessness of the machine builder's condition would compel the discharge of his workmen and the closing of his works. But, with the ability to buy mill machinery at a price as much less as foreign is less than American labor, would come cheap goods, so cheap, that he must be a bold man who would undertake to make them in competition with English and German operatives.

Mills would stand idle, and those who now attend the spinning machine and the loom, as well as those who toil to build these useful machines, would be forced to seek other modes of gaining a livelihood, or, in default, to suffer in idleness. This is, without doubt, a gloomy picture, but, even without any legislation, the effect of the message has been to unsettle trade, reduce its volume and depress prices.

The work of man's hands, measured by the medium of exchange, fixes the measure of wealth. Consequently, such a reduction of duties as would reduce the exchangeable value of labor to the standard of any foreign people must cause widespread disaster.

Perhaps, after the slow process of re-adjustment, new values would be established and, under new conditions, with a well-defined population of laborers and artisans, there might be a revival of industrial employments; but, of course, upon a basis of wages as low as paid in any competing country.

STOCKTON BATES.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

WOOL GROWING.

I am asked what would be the probable effect of any measures based on the lines of President Cleveland's message on the industry of sheep husbandry and wool-growing, and on the workmen's wages.

Very disastrous, I think. The slight reduction of duties on wool by the Act of 1883 has caused the slaughter of many sheep, and largely increased the importation of foreign wool. No one can have a reasonable doubt that the free admission of wool from countries so highly favored for its production, as regards soil and climate, as Australia and South America would destroy wool-growing in the United States, and inflict a terrible blow on woollen manufacturers as well.

The wages of workmen in every other industry would decline by reason of the increased competition resulting from a million or more flockmasters seeking other employments.

True, clothing and woolens would for a time at least be cheaper in price, but would they cost us less? Here is the delusion. The laborer, the merchant, the mechanic, the lawyer, doctor, preacher, buys his clothing by the labor or service that he sells.

Destroy one great industry and its workers distribute themselves among the several trades and professions remaining. Competition lowers prices. We may have less to pay for our clothing, but less to give in exchange for it, hence it will cost us more.

Nor would free wool give our manufacturers control of foreign markets. Free cotton has not. We consume at home say ninety-five per cent. of cotton manufactures and export five per cent. The cost of labor is the principal factor in the cost of production. To compete in foreign markets we must reduce wages, transportation, interest, etc., to foreign schedules. This we cannot, will not, should not do.

The problem to solve in economic legislation is not how to cheapen prices, but rather how to diversify, encourage and protect industrial occupations for our teeming population. Prices will take care of themselves in a country so large and with such varied climate and marvelous resources as ours. Consumers have abundant protection by reason of home competition. Monopoly cannot possibly exist beyond a brief period.

But the destruction of sheep husbandry and wool growing imperils the whole protective system, and should meet the united protest of all other industries. It is the chief protected industry of the farmer, common to every State and Territory. Agricultural constituencies are, or may be, supreme in legislation. Outside a few cities farmers constitute political majorities. They have a clear right to be heard.

Domestic sheep husbandry has incidental public advantages. It makes us independent of foreign nations for our supply of clothing, all-important in time of war, as we do not command the sea. It enriches our soil. It affords the readiest means of supplying a growing deficiency in animal food. Meat is the chief item of necessary expense in a large proportion of families.

The diminished cost of animal food by the protection of sheep husbandry, with adequate import duties on wool, would many times compensate for increased cost of woolen fabrics.

W. S. SHALLENBERGER.

ROCHESTER, Pa.

COTTON MANUFACTURES.

The people of the United States were surprised and startled at the dogmatic assertions in the President's message. Had he been better informed as to the probable effect of the measures proposed, he might have been more cautious.

His party having a clear majority in the House—the opposite majority in the Senate being very narrow—with the open threats made by the Free Trade Press to coerce those Democrats who differed from the President, are sufficient cause for solicitude on the part of manufacturers.

Never before in the history of the Government has a President in his message gone out of his way to attack and impugn a purely

business class of the people, comprising men of both parties, pursuing in a legitimate way honorable callings which it has up to this time been the general policy of the Government to encourage and upbuild. This, with the Speaker's manifesto, and the extraordinary composition of the Committee of Ways and Means, are a sufficient notice to the industries of the country that they are to be put upon their defense.

What will be the effect upon the cotton industries of the country if the President and the majority of his party in Congress succeed in carrying out their policy?

The demand for home consumption of the cheaper and coarser grades of cottons was long ago fully met by the American manufacturer, and so close and sharp is the competition, that none but the very best mills under the ablest management have been able to work at a profit, some both North and South having gone into bankruptcy.

Although labor is not so large an element of cost in these as in the finer goods, the higher wages in this country have prevented our spinners from taking any large share of the trade in China and the East. There is then no outlet at home or abroad for an increased production of coarse fabrics. In the medium grades the same conditions exist. We cannot compete in the foreign market, and our own is fully supplied. The American consumer is cheaply supplied with every grade of cotton goods.

About one-fifth of the spindles of the country are making the finer grades of goods against which the foreigner maintains a sharp and quite successful competition in our own market.

There were imported into this country last year $29,150,058.83 worth of cotton manufactures, almost entirely the finer grades of fabrics and yarns. Any material reduction in the duties upon these goods would enable the foreigner to drive the domestic manufacturer out of the market unless he could find some means of cheapening the cost of the goods. The President's "free raw material" cannot help, because cotton bears no duty. The plant is fixed. Taxes and interest cannot be reduced. If these fine mills should be turned upon the coarser fabrics the market would be glutted, and all would go to ruin together. There would be but two methods of meeting the emergency—to stop a part of the machinery or reduce the wages of labor until the cost of the goods was at an equilibrium with those imported.

This is a very simple statement, and to those unfamiliar with such matters it might appear very easy of accomplishment. But in these industrial contests none of the forces retire from the field until they are vanquished. That means a financial crippling and final stoppage of many establishments, operatives thrown out of employment, failure of traders who supply the work people, and of merchants and bankers who deal with the manufacturers. The operatives would not submit to a reduction of their pay without a contest; but in the end the inevitable result would be that labor must take its share of the reduction. Labor in cotton factories in America is about sixty-five per cent. higher than in Great Britain, twice as much as in France, two and a quarter times that in Switzerland and nearly three times what it is in Italy. The three former send us large quantities of fine cottons, and a very small reduction of duties would enable them to increase the quantity thrown upon our market largely, stopping our mills, throwing labor out of employment, with resultant injury that would not stop with those directly interested.

All kinds of business in a country are interdependent, and any material injury to one must sooner or later be felt by all, just as when you drop a pebble into the pond curling ripples reach the shore on every side and every drop of water becomes disturbed. The cotton spinners of America have fulfilled the predictions of the fathers of the Protective system. They furnish wares unexcelled in quality at prices at which the consumer cannot and does not complain. There are no trusts in the cotton business. This attempt to disturb and injure industries which have grown up under the system of Protection is a wanton attack upon labor and upon praiseworthy business enterprises which finds no justification in the condition of the country.

JONATHAN CHACE.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

FLAX, HEMP, AND JUTE MANUFACTURES.

The cultivation and preparation of flax, hemp and jute, and the manufacture of these fibres into yarns, twines, threads and woven fabrics, necessitates a large expenditure of skilled labor.

The wages paid in other countries where flax, hemp, and jute goods are manufactured, are upon a very low scale as compared with the wages paid in our mills for the same kind of work.

There can be no reasonable doubt concerning the real meaning of President Cleveland's recent message to Congress. It has received the condemnation of no free foreign trader either in Europe or America. It has met with the approval of no real protectionist. It is, therefore, in fact a revenue reform or a free foreign trade message. Its recommendations and its logic, if carried into practical operation, would produce a complete revolution in the linen industry of the United States.

As will be seen from the following facts and figures, a tariff for revenue only will as effectually destroy the American linen industry as would absolute free foreign trade. For several years the cultivation of flax and hemp in the United States has steadily decreased, and the placing of these so-called raw materials on the free list will only hasten the time when the cultivation of these fibres will be numbered with the lost arts of our American industry.

In the manufacture of these fibres the real work is done by machinery, and Great Britain makes this machinery for all the world. The same spindle is capable of running as many revolutions per minute and turning off as much yarn per day in India, Russia or Germany as in the United States. A mere glance at the wages paid in different parts of the world will convince the most skeptical that our wages must go down if the tax upon foreign goods is reduced. Without this unhappy result the American mills cannot be operated in competition with foreign mills.

It must be remembered that ocean freights are no barrier to the foreign mills, since the raw material has to be brought over the same ocean route. The unavoidable shrinkage of the raw material in the process of manufacture is, in fact, a large item of protection to the foreign mill, freight upon the dead waste being avoided. From this ugly item the American mill can find no escape.

The following were the average weekly wages paid in the flax, hemp and jute spinning trade in different countries in 1886, as compiled by the Flax and Hemp Spinners' and Growers' Association of America, from the most reliable sources of information:

	Spinners.	Carders.
United States (60 hours per week)	$7.00	$6.00
Great Britain (56 hours per week)	2.82	2.19
France (72 hours per week)	2.02	2.20
Germany (72 hours per week)	1.98	1.65
Eastern Russia (81 hours per week)	1.10	.....
Western Russia (72 hours per week)	1.12	1.12
India	.62	.60

It is impossible to reduce the tax upon the product of foreign goods without reducing American wages. The importation of yarns under the present tariff is forcing American mills into an unprofitable existence. Only a mere pittance of the woven fabrics consumed in this country is made at home, and many of these never will be made here under President Cleveland's proposed industrial policy until American working people are content to live on rice at a cent and a half a day, and clothe themselves with only a cloth about the loins. In a large area of our country this mode of life is impossible. If by law we attempt to starve the working people into such an existence, our climate would make it impossible, and the attempt should never be made.

E. A. HARTSHORN.

TROY, N. Y.

MANUFACTURES OF SILK.

The silk industry in the United States has been built up with great difficulty. There are several distict branches of it, one or two of which are very much older than the rest, and have made greater progress; most of them date their successes from very recent years; some are even now barely beginning, and doubtful of results. But their separate histories, so far as they go, are alike in these essential features:

(1) They begin with a long, arduous struggle:—an endeavor to compete with the European goods in possession of the market.

(2) In every instance our manufacturers have found it necessary to make better goods than those of Europe, as well as to sell at lower prices. This process has in each case to be continued until the American goods win a reputation superior to that of the European; and until, also, the popular prejudice in favor of foreign goods can be at least partially overcome.

(3) In its early stages each branch of the manufacture is an

experiment—often a very costly one, and subject to repeated failures. Both employers and employés have to learn their trade by experience, and years must be spent in training operatives and systematizing business. In most branches we are still serving our apprenticeship.

(4) Whenever any branch of the industry has achieved a measure of success against foreign competition, its attractions have caused many new concerns to start in the business, and a home competition—harder to meet than even the foreign—has been engendered, resulting in a notable lowering of prices and narrowing of margins of profit.

In all discussions of this topic, the great changes in trade which have been brought about by the steamship and telegraph must be fairly considered. Silk goods are of small bulk compared with their value; the present cost of bringing them from Europe to New York is scarcely greater than from a factory in an adjoining State; the difference in time of transit is barely a week; the order for them can be given by cable, and the settlement through banker's credits can be effected with equal ease.

The European manufacturer has cheaper capital, smaller expenses in many ways, an inherited experience, skilled operatives trained to the business, established reputation, a market in two hemispheres, and—more than all else—very low-priced labor.

To counterbalance these advantages, the American manufacturer has such protection as the tariff may afford. It is the bulwark of our industry.

What would be the effect of a material reduction of the duty on silk goods? Manifestly, a similar contraction of the industry in this country. Some hundreds of manufacturers, unable to wait until our Government could retrace its steps, would quit business except with lawyers and assignees. There would be a period of very hard times in the industry, both for employers and employed. Manufacturing here could be continued only by assimilating its conditions to those of Europe; that is, by reducing wages, so as to pay 25 or 50 cents per day to operatives who now get $1.00 to $1.50.

What would be gained by such reduction of duty?

Foreign manufacturers and their agents would gain the greatest advantage. The work that ceased here would be carried on in Europe.

Perhaps for a while foreign silk goods would be cheaper, though the absence of American competition would soon enable Europeans to advance their prices. This at the utmost seems rather a doubtful advantage for working-people, whose families, with reduced wages, would be less able than they are now to buy the goods.

Also, in some way that has never been clear to me, the American manufacturer who when the tariff if reduced can scarcely compete with the foreign goods in this country, will then be enabled to obtain an export trade—*i. e.*, to compete with such goods in some other country.

England has made the experiment of reducing and finally abolishing the tariff on silk goods. We do not need to repeat that blunder. The results are well known: the home manufacture fell off enormously; an increased importation of French goods took the vacant place and has kept it ever since. Poverty descended on the chief sites of the industry; in Macclesfield there were for years thousands of houses untenanted, and from that "doomed town" there went forth a goodly number of emigrants who are now prosperous citizens of Paterson, N. J.

WM. C. WYCKOFF,
Secretary Silk Association of America.

NEW YORK, March 10.

WOOLENS AND WORSTEDS.

It chances that I need only point to the actual present condition of one industry in which I am engaged to illustrate the effect of tariff reductions, based upon the lines of the President's message. By a misapprehension of the value of the term "worsted," the tariff of 1883 lowered the duties upon this branch of woolen manufacture below the protecting point. The results have been vast importations of foreign worsteds, a large *increase* of revenue (which will doubtless surprise Mr. Cleveland), and an almost complete paralysis of the worsted industry in this country—which will certainly please and benefit foreign manufacturers. Fully one-half of the worsted machinery of the country is now idle and the remainder is kept running unprofitably, only to furnish employment to skilled operatives, in the hope that the discrimination against this industry is accidental and temporary, rather than the evidence of a settled purpose to destroy it.

Avoiding abstract argument upon the benefits or the evils of the protective tariffs of the past twenty years, we may all admit that owing to their stimulation we have built up in this country, during that period, a vast and intricate industrial system whose foundations rest upon the protective idea, whose growth has absorbed such a proportion of the investments and the labor of the country, and has entwined itself so inextricably with its economic and social conditions that any legislation which is inimical to that system is equally so to the country at large. To lower the duties upon the products of any industry below the protecting point is to destroy that industry in this country, to make a gift of its pursuit and the benefits and employment derived therefrom to other peoples, and to increase the revenue receipts of the Government instead of diminishing them. The present condition of our worsted manufactures will sufficiently prove this. It is obvious therefore that the tariff should be kept at a point which permits the continuance of domestic manufactures. To do this ought not to be a difficult problem. Indeed the only difficulty seems to arise from a curious morbid mental attitude which the heat of argument appears to have developed in the minds of free trade advocates ; many of these seem to regard manufacturers as a class who recklessly ply their pursuits and prey upon the community, and whose testimony with regard to the effect of laws, having to do with those pursuits, if of no more value than that of a robber touching some criminal enactment.

This frame of mind is well illustrated by the action of the majority of the present Ways and Means Committee, who, while formulating a new tariff, have persistently refused to hear the testimony of manufacturers and merchants as to its effect upon the business prosperity of the country. It is as if, in devising a law to regulate the jurisdiction of a court, the testimony of legal experts were excluded on the ground that it was ex parte and untrustworthy.

WALTER H. MCDANIELS.

LOWELL, Mass.

COAL.

I am asked: "What would be the probable effect on the industry you represent, and on your workmen's wages, of any measures passed in the line of President Cleveland's message ?"

This country's coal industry, as a whole, needs no *direct* protection fron foreign coal, even be that coal free-freighted, as ballast, to our shores.

In my opinion a revised tariff may safely omit any duty on coal, provided the duty on American coal exported to Canada shall soon thereafter be abolished.

In this we should gain much more than we should lose. Canada, in many places, is burning wood, which American coal would displace but for the Canadian duty on our coal. Freed from this duty, our coal will penetrate further down the River St. Lawrence, in competition with coal from Nova Scotia, than it is now able to do.

But, coal is the mainspring which drives the wheels of manufacture and of commerce. Our manufactures were built up under the shelter of a tariff, not for revenue only, but also for protection. Any unfriendly or unwise tampering with that tariff, resulting in reducing that protection below the point necessary in order that American capital and American labor may stand against competition from the starvation labor of Europe, cannot but react hurtfully on our coal industry, reducing both the wages of our workmen and the output of our coal.

Let the tariff be revised, but let it be done only by hands *known* to be friendly to protection of American industries. Common interest so demands.

The President's recent proposition touching this revision has already produced widespread distrust, and has exerted a baneful influence on our industries: not because the people are unwilling that revision be made, but because they fear that revision if made by unfriendly hands.

They are willing that all excessive protection, which results in only unusual and unfair profits to capital, and which thus unnecessarily taxes productive labor, shall be pruned away.

They want only such protection left as shall prevent our citizen workmen from being forced to the wage level of Europe.

The condition of our industries to-day renders unwise any unnecessary experiment. To illustrate, let two circles, the larger enclosing the smaller, represent the case, the larger circle representing the total number of our workmen, the smaller circle representing the number of those workmen employed, and the space between the lines of the two circles representing the unemployed.

The employed are the producers, and upon them is the whole burden of the community. The unemployed are a tax upon those producers. Anything which tends to reduce the circumference of the smaller circle will increase the space between the circles. Unwise tampering with the laws under which our industries have grown and thrived will decrease the size of the inner circle, and thus increase the burden upon the producing labor. Again, let two similar circles represent the respective ratio of total workmen and total employed workmen in Europe, changing only the relative sizes of these circles so that the space between their lines shall be much larger than that between those representing the American situation. Then unwise reductions in our tariff will extend the circle of European employed workmen just in proportion as it reduces the circle of the employed in America, thus transferring part of the burden from the employed in Europe to the employed in America, and the logical conclusion of this line of action must be either to force our wage level down to that of Europe, or to bring about a situation represented by an exchange of the circles representing the relative situation in the two countries, giving to us the two circles showing the greatest space between their lines. When these exchanged circles shall represent the then true situation of affairs, a necessity will have arisen for American statecraft, following European practice, to form a standing army, from the unemployed, taxing the disproportionate ranks of the producers for its support, as a lesser evil than to subject those producers to the viciousness consequent from the largely excessive numbers of the unemployed. Europe is in this condition to-day. Is it wisdom on our part to experiment toward that condition? Patriotism seems to demand that our citizens should cheerfully bear so light an individual tax as that resultant from our present tariff laws, when of that aggregate tax so large a portion is distributed to our citizen workmen, enabling them to rear and educate their sons to the level demanded by American citizenship, and to fit their daughters for wifehood and motherhood, instead of, as in Europe, sending them immature to do manual labor in the mines and fields.

Let us, as citizens of a great country, instinct with patriotic feelings, give competition free play among ourselves, and thus, while cheapening productive cost, retain the yearly increment of wealth, but let not our lawgivers force us into competition with

the foreign laborer within whose breast long continued want and squalor have doubtless left but little room for feelings patriotic.

WM. P. DE ARMIT.

PITTSBURGH, Pa.

PAPER.

It is asked how the paper industry would be affected if President Cleveland's tariff views became the policy of the Government.

The consumption of paper in this country exceeds, per capita, that of any other nation: indisputable evidence of the superior condition and general prosperity of the American people; and forcibly illustrating the effects of the present protective tariff policy of the country.

Although the average rate of duty on all manufactured goods exceeds 40 per cent., the present duty on unsized printing paper, which is much the larger part of the paper product of the country, has been reduced to 15 per cent. Several dutiable articles—caustic soda, soda ash, alum, ultramarine, aniline dyes, woolen felts, brass wire, and wood pulp—are, in a sense, the raw material for paper making. Most of these articles pay a much higher rate of duty than is levied on paper, yet, they being *distinctive manufactures*, American as well as foreign, the paper manufacturers ask no change in duties, believing that such change would check, if not annihilate, the American manufacture and consequently destroy the competition now going on between the manufactures of all countries. All these manufactures are of recent establishment in this country, and they have wrought a wonderful change in the cost of their respective productions, and could not survive free trade and maintain the present standard of wages paid by them. Further, paper makers, as a class, recognize that there is in this system a *principle* as well as a *policy*, and honor it by according to other industries that protection which they ask for themselves.

The wages paid in any branch of the paper industry in America are more than double those paid in any other country.

The price of common "newspaper" in 1860 was fully 9 cents per pound; it rose during the war to 28 cents, and is now sold at 4¼ to 4½ cents per pound. The consumer of paper has certainly

no occasion to complain. In what other industry has there been such a marked reduction in price ?

A general depression in other industries would directly and quickly affect the paper trade. The very general use of paper in newspapers and books could, and would, be curtailed by the lessening of the purchasing power of labor, or by the non-employment of men, a condition certain to follow the throwing wider open our markets to the products of other nations, wrought with cheap labor.

The cry for free trade, or the demand that all the *protective* features shall be eliminated from the tariff, is the voice of the *few*, with whom I have not time to deal in this brief article.

Laws, both human and divine, are instituted and maintained for the purpose of affording the greatest good to the greatest number. The present American tariff system, so well grounded and so thoroughly tested, and so beneficent in its results to the *many*, should not, and, I predict, will not, be overthrown, though tangled in American politics and vigorously assaulted from abroad.

LAWRENCE, Mass. WM. A. RUSSELL.

PLATE GLASS.

Our industry, the manufacture of plate glass, is a peculiar one. The capital required is large, the process of manufacture exceptionally hazardous and the skill demanded very great. Every attempt to manufacture plate glass in America was a failure, resulting in financial disaster and ruin to the undertakers, until we took hold of it at this place. In fact every dollar (aggregating millions) invested in it before 1879 was lost.

My father was a retired banker, worth several millions. Persuaded by friends, he invested $200,000 in this business. The company borrowed freely from his banks, until in 1872, finding $500,000 of his money involved, he left his retirement and took personal charge of the works, putting in nearly a million dollars more.

In 1879, when the business first reached a paying basis, his actual losses were $619,790.40. Since then we have not made up this loss, without counting interest. If the money put into this business had been invested in Government bonds, and the interest re-invested, his estate would have been half a million dollars

larger, and his life probably prolonged for years—for he died from overwork.

It is therefore patent that the profits cannot meet the reduction. If it comes, we must either stop our works or our labor must stand it. Seventy-five per cent, of the cost of production is labor. Our skilled workmen average $17.04 per week, against $7.05 in England, $6.34 in France and $6.60 in Belgium.

The only labor we have *ever* imported was skilled men, whose knowledge was necessary to start the new industry. In Europe, father, mother and children were barely able by their united earnings to keep body and soul together. Our men earn enough to support their families and educate their children.

Before we made plate glass, the foreigner, having a monopoly, charged exorbitant prices. The records of the Treasury Department show that the average cost of large unsilvered plate glass imported in 1875 (our first year of active competition) was $97\frac{9}{10}$ cents per square foot, while in 1887 the average was $32\frac{7}{10}$ cents, a reduction of $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. Silvered plate glass averaged in 1875 $1.26 per square foot, in 1887 it averaged $1.09\frac{7}{10}$ per square foot, a reduction of $12\frac{93}{100}$ per cent. Why is the reduction in one five times larger than the other? Solely because unsilvered plate is made in America, while silvered plate is not, and higher prices are exacted and will be forever, unless the present tariff is maintained until factories can be established. A plate of glass costing $105 when our works were established sells to-day for $31.50, and, bear in mind that no part of this great reduction is due either to improved methods or improved machinery, but *solely* to sharp competition of American manufacturers.

Americans can do what any people can, but they cannot in fifteen years reach the same condition that France attained under an absolutely prohibitory tariff in two hundred years and England reached under a tariff eight to twelve times as large as ours in one hundred and sixty years.

I have faith to believe that, when we are old enough to have full crews of Americans, their "genius" will make improvements and discoveries that will revolutionize our business and enable us to compete on equal grounds with foreign makers and still pay living wages, but that day has not yet come.

N. T. De Pauw.

New Albany, Ind.

SUGAR CULTURE.

The abolition of the duty on sugar would mean the entire annihilation of the Louisiana sugar industry. The sugar fields would be abandoned to weeds and willows, and the machinery of the costly factories rendered valueless, except as scrap iron. A considerable reduction of the duty, say 50 per cent., would have about the same effect as its entire repeal, although the abandonment of sugar culture would be more gradual in the former than in the latter event.

About one-half the capital and one-half the population of the State of Louisiana are employed in sugar culture. The extinction of this industry would result in the gradual forced emigration of the great majority of the laborers engaged in this branch of agriculture. Were it possible, and it is not, to substitute any other crop for that of sugar, there is no other that will support so large a population on a given area of land.

The sugar crop last year sold for more than $20,000,000, the most of which was distributed through the channels of interstate commerce. The destruction of capital consequent upon a repeal of the sugar duties would not only involve merchants, planters, and laborers in a common ruin, but the loss of the sugar industry would be a national calamity.

If called upon to bear a share in any general sacrifice for the public welfare, the Louisiana planters might be willing, and possibly able, to stand a reduction of ten per cent., if assured of future stability.

While any reduction would have an injurious effect, the instability of the present tariff is far more serious in its consequences than would be a slight reduction of duty.

To keep up with the scientific development of the sugar industry abroad, new and expensive machinery is required by the planters; but it is considered unsafe to invest any large amounts of capital in this manner under the annual and the existing menace of unfavorable tariff legislation.

Taking bad and good years together, the sugar industry has made steady, if not rapid, progress, the crop of last year having been exceeded by only six ante-bellum crops. The product for ten years, from 1865 to 1874, was 490,000 tons; for a like period,

from 1875 to 1884, 1,030,000 tons, an increase of more than 100 per cent. Progress is now more marked than ever, and but for the agitation in Congress, the prospects of the sugar industry were never brighter.

The question of wages depends of course upon whether the industry advances or retrogrades. With adequate and stable protection the production of sugar in Louisiana will largely increase from year to year, and the consequent demand for labor will insure even better wages than are now paid. On the other hand, if the duty be so reduced as to lead to the partial abandonment of cane culture, a reduction of wages would undoubtedly follow an excessive supply of labor and lower prices for sugar.

With such wages as free American laborers command it is impossible without tariff protection to compete with the beet sugar produced under bounties by the cheap labor of Europe, and with South American, West Indian, East Indian and Hawaiian cane sugars grown by coolie or other semi-slave labor.

LOUIS BUSH.

NEW ORLEANS, La.

SOUTHERN INTERESTS.

Radical changes in our national tariff laws would affect the people of Florida less directly, but not less sensibly, than they would the people of the Northern States. Florida has few protected industries of present importance, orange-growing and lumber manufacture being chief; but she is, nevertheless, much concerned in the maintenance of Protection. We are told by Southern revenue reformers that the tariff has made the North rich and prosperous, but has not benefitted the South. What is said of the North we believe to be true; what is asserted of the South is nearly true of Florida, if we consider only the tariff's direct effects, but not otherwise. Florida, until of late, was always poor—poor under revenue tariffs and under Protection—and she might have remained forever poor except for that very prosperity at the North which, having developed the great West, turned its bounty upon us and gave to Florida, the earliest discovered and longest settled, her first start in the world. Florida's recent growth is due directly to that prosperity which Protection

has built up in the North. Eight years ago a Pennsylvania manufacturer redeemed Florida's public domain from pawn, receiving for his million thus devoted a tract of overflowed land; with other hundreds of thousands he drained a great area of it, planted a thousand acres of sugar-cane, bought improved machinery, and is, to-day, harvesting his first crop. The district, when drained, will contain several million acres of richest sugar lands, one-half of which will belong to the State. If the sugar tariff is spared, Florida will yet produce, as prophesied by ex-President Grant, in 1880, "the one hundred million pounds of sugar now imported." The release of our public domain gave us railways—nearly fifteen hundred miles of new track since 1881; railways have brought immigration, developed new industries, established trade, given us splendid hotels and tens of thousands of winter tourists, all from the same prosperous North. And we have yet other undeveloped industries, one, at least, as great as all we may expect of sugar; I refer to the possibilities of our native fibre plants. As Florida's start in life is due to Northern prosperity, so is her future dependent upon its continuance. Hard times at the North means for us scarcity of money, high rates of interest, railway and other building stopped, no market for fruits and winter vegetables, no tourists, and ten thousand tramps. We see no benefit to us in a transfer of prosperity from Northern manufacturers to Northern importers; the manufacturer keeps the money at home where we can borrow of it; the importer sends it abroad. We are not convinced by arguments about the tax on necessities; where the mean temperature of winter rarely falls below fifty degrees Fahrenheit the price of woollens is not a burning issue. We are not moved by the revival-of-foreign-commerce plea. It is paying best to develop our internal resources. If our country, like the British empire, were in pieces, separated by leagues of sea, we, too, should need ships, but we are in one piece, and in railways we have outstripped all the rest of the world. While New York harbor is ready for foreign commerce, Florida harbors are not. In New York's far-seeing economy appropriations for Southern harbors have been always "swindles" and "steals," reserved for New York press denunciations and the vetoes of tariff-reducing presidents.

JOHN P. VARNUM.

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.

THE LABOR MARKET.

"What would be the effect on workmen's wages in this country, of any measures passed in accordance with the recommendations of President Cleveland's message, in regard to reduction of revenue by taking the amount necessary off from our present tariff?"

In answer to this question, I would say most unhesitatingly that it would do one of two things: either have the effect, in many branches of our manufactures, of forcing a reduction in the price of labor from ten to thirty per cent.; or would force the wage earners employed in these occupations into other fields of labor not so immediately and directly affected by the operations of a protective tariff; and as those fields of labor are now supplied to meet the demand for our present population, such transfer would not be made to any extent, and therefore it must of necessity take the course of reduction of wages in this country, approximately to the scale of wages paid the same kind of labor in Europe, and the reasons are very plain:

Steam and electricity have in the past few years changed all the currents of trade with foreign countries. Quick, certain and cheap transportation on the ocean, has so changed the conditions of trade, that the slightest vibration in prices or of the conditions of the law of supply and demand, or of the cost of product, is at once felt all over this country as well as Europe.

A difference of even 5 per cent. in the cost of production of any given article of manufacture, will either retain the orders for production in this country, or it will transfer them to European manufacturers. This being the fact (as every dealer knows) it will immediately bring the price of labor in this country in competition with the labor of Europe, and this state of things will not take, as in old times, a long time to accomplish, but will be immediate and complete, just so soon as the laws go into effect that create this state of affairs.

Then what is the inevitable result? The labor market in this country (and I am glad that it is so) resists reduction in the price of labor—and the result must of necessity be, that the orders for many goods now manufactured in this country must and will go to foreign manufacturers; our mills will reduce their output or stop entirely, and the raw products now manufactured in this

country will be transported in foreign ships (for we have none to speak of) and be returned to us in a manufactured state. Our labor market would be over-supplied; discontent, murmurs and suffering would ensue, *but finally the wage earner must accept a rate of wages that is nearly on the plane of the European laborer.*

This result will come not alone to operatives in our manufacturing industries, but also to the thousand and one industries wholly dependent upon increase of population and upon the rate of wages received by the mass of operatives. Therefore, the inevitable and only result that can come to the wage earners of this country, if President Cleveland's recommendations go into effect, is a reduction of wages.

NEW YORK. H. K. THURBER.

AGRICULTURE.

The President, if I understand him, proposes to reduce the tariff on manufactured commodities, under the pretence of rendering them more cheap to the consumers. In my judgment this would be a great injury to the agricultural industry of the country. A reduction of duties must result in one of two things: in reducing the wages of our laboring people, or else transferring a large portion of the manufacturing industry of this country to Europe. Either of these would result in injury to our people generally, to none more than the farmers. The agricultural products of the country, outside of tobacco and cotton, probably amount yearly to $3,500,000,000. Of this product about 92 per cent. is consumed by our own people, and only about eight per cent. exported. Our work people, taking one industry with another, are paid double the amount of wages that are paid to the work people of Europe for performing the same amount of labor there; and are therefore better fed, better clothed, better housed, and better educated than the work people of any country in the world; have not only the necessaries, but many of the luxuries of life as well, and in consequence consume more of the manufactured commodities and eat more of the agricultural products, per capita, than any people elsewhere on the globe; for the purchasing capacity of a dollar here is as great as it is in Europe. Now, the power or ability of the workingman to buy, whether it be clothes for the body or food to eat, depends on the wages he receives. Take from him any part of the wages he now

earns, whether by a reduction or the transfer of the business to Europe, and you lessen his power to buy either agricultural products or manufactured commodities to the extent of the wages he loses, and this will affect agriculture as well as all the other industries of the country.

Anything that injures the home market injures the farmer, for the home market is his main dependence for the sale of his surplus products, and it is out of these that he lives; it is from these that he clothes himself and family and provides the necessaries of life.

No civilized nation has ever been prosperous or great without a diversity of human industries; and the more numerous the industries the more people will be employed and the larger the wages paid. When the people are employed they earn wages, and the more wages they earn the more goods and provisions they can buy.

There is still another phase of this question: when you transfer any of the industries to Europe, either in whole or in part, to the extent that you do it, you throw our people out of employment, and it becomes necessary for them to seek some other occupation. Many of these from necessity would be driven into agriculture, and in this way they would become producers rather than consumers of agricultural products, thereby increasing our surplus of agricultural products, and making it more difficult for the farmer to sell at remunerative prices. Therefore a reduction of the tariff as now proposed would be a source of great injury to the farmers as well as the working people of the country.

THOMAS H. DUDLEY.

CAMDEN, N. J.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

THE ELEVENTH COMMANDMENT.

In this very pleasant world you may look upon men in either of two ways. At the outset you must make your selection. Your choice will, in part, reveal yourself. It will also determine your happiness and success. You are here with us. You must remain awhile. And you must shape yourself upon one theory or the other. You may say: Resolved, That all men are Ishmaelites. Or you may pause and reflect. You may give such a conclusion the consideration it deserves. You may dignify it with its proper importance. Then, perhaps, you may say: Resolved, That all men are brothers. It is a matter of no concern to "all men" which resolution you adopt; but it concerns you very greatly. It will make a big difference in your history.

Did it ever occur to you what a profound lesson was taught in that horn-book story where your attention was called to the fact that "Mary loved the lamb, you know."

Now that you are a grown child, it is taught you again, in the statement "He first loved us."

There is a new religion now growing in this world. Or, if you prefer, there is an old religion, *up to which* this world is now growing.

The most hopeful sign of these times is that this new-old religion is finding congenial soil. Just in proportion as it is generative, will this world be a pleasanter place in which to live.

The ten old commandments are good. But the eleventh commandment is the best. "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another." It is the delightful religion of the universal brotherhood of men. I had rather lay one stone in the foundation of its temple than to have the ownership of the world, during my brief stay here.

It means universal charity. Charity of thought. Charity of feeling. Charity of judgment. It means the actual and practical relief of suffering. It means largeness of sympathy. It means respect for the feelings and sensibilities of others. It means humanity, in its broadest and most comprehensive sense. It means the cultivation of that most lovable habit—the habit of unselfishness.

There are no "professors" of this grand religion.

You either practice it, or you enjoy none of its manifold blessings.

WALTER GREGORY.

II.

TAXING LAND VALUES.

As the "Georgeism Making the Rich Richer" in your February number is certainly not Henry Georgeism, it is unlikely that Mr. George will feel called upon to answer Mr. Adams's question.

If taxes on the property instanced by Mr. Adams valued at $40,000 (lot, $10,000; building, $30,000) were entirely removed from the building and assessed only on the lot, the owner would obviously be relieved of three-quarters of his burden, provided the rate of taxation remained the same.

But Mr. George proposes to increase the rate on city land until all of the net income which it produces to its owner is absorbed, leaving him, however, free to exact and keep, clear of taxation, as much rent for his buildings as the law of supply and demand will permit.

As, ignoring extreme cases, a net income of from four to seven per cent. is derived from city land, that would be the rate of taxation under Mr. George's plan.

Now a four to seven per cent. tax on that $10,000 lot would probably yield as large a sum as is derived from building and lot combined under our present system.

The real estate Crœsus of Mr. Adams's imagination has one-quarter of his property in land and three-quarters in buildings. It is more likely that the real Crœsus has one-half in land, taking into consideration the vacant lots he is pictured in Mr. George's writings as "holding for a rise."

Now the larger the value of his land, as compared with his buildings, the heavier would the George tax fall upon him; hence, Mr. Adams's anxiety lest the land Crœsus escape his share of taxation under the George plan is needless.

A. E. COTTIER.

III.

THE SUFFRAGE PARADOX.

OF late years there has been a growing suspicion among thoughtful Americans that there is something the matter with universal suffrage. We have always heard that our government is a government of the people, that it is founded upon universal suffrage, and that it is the best government that the world has ever seen. Hence it seems to follow that universal suffrage must be right. We may differ according to our party affiliations as to what candidate ought to be counted in after the people have exercised their right of suffrage, but we all agreed that we could not have popular government without universal suffrage. And yet when a property owner finds that as a result of universal suffrage his property has been confiscated by taxation, or when a creditor finds that universal suffrage has enabled his debtors to cheat him by paying their debts in debased currency, he begins to fear that there may be something in the practical working of universal suffrage which is not quite right; and, if he is a very bold man, he may ask himself in the secrecy of his back bedroom, with the doors and windows tightly shut, whether after all suffrage should not be restricted to men who can read and write or who own taxable property.

Before making any effort to modify our present system of universal suffrage, we ought surely fully to comprehend its relation to popular government. It may seem a rash assertion, but it is nevertheless true that as a nation we have no clear idea of what constitutes popular government, and therefore cannot properly undertand the relation that universal suffrage bears to it. We are accustomed loosely to define popular government as a government of the people, and to assume that the people govern through the medium of universal suffrage. So far is this from the truth that no government which rests upon universal suffrage can possibly be a government of the people. It is a government of a part of the people, and bears the closest possible resemblance to an oligarchy. An oligarchy is a government of the few, or the minority; a government based on universal suffrage is a government of the majority. Where forty-nine per cent. of the

people govern there is an oligarchy; where fifty-one per cent. govern there is the sort of popular government which results from universal suffrage. The two are separated by a space so narrow as to be scarcely visible.

The American government is purely a government of the majority. In practice it is, of course, modified by means of returning boards; but in theory, the majority rule absolutely. The wishes of the minority are not of the slightest consequence, unless there is an attempt to assert them by revolution. We established universal suffrage expressly in order that the majority should rule. We allow the minority to vote, but it is with the full understanding that their votes are powerless. What right have we, then, to call our government a popular government? The very fact that it is based upon universal suffrage proves that it is not a popular government. It is a government of fifty-one per cent. of the voting population, and it differs from a loathsome oligarchy only by two per cent. Nevertheless, such is the strange influence of the word "universal" upon the American mind that it is the almost unanimous belief among our people that a government based on universal suffrage must be a government of the whole people.

When we have once arrived at the truth concerning the nature of our government, and the relation between it and universal sufferage, we can proceed to discuss the desirability of substituting limited for universal suffrage. As it is an axiom that our government is the best government the world ever saw, whatever changes we make should be in harmony with our governmental system. The change which most naturally suggests itself would be to relieve the minority of the useless labor of voting. There is an enormous amount of nervous and muscular force annually wasted by the minority in deciding for whom to vote, and in going to the polls. It has been estimated by an eminent mathematician that this force thus utterly wasted would be sufficient, if converted into units of work, to raise a weight of many thousand pounds several inches above the surface of the earth—a result which, as all scientific persons know, would be of incalculable service to the hungry and wretched millions of our race. Why should this force be thrown completely away? It is idle to say that the minority has always hitherto voted, and should, therefore, continue to vote, or that their voting has some mysterious symbolic significance. These are the arguments by which the pompous ceremonies of the effete monarchies are defended. They are unworthy of a free and progressive country. We should discard everything that is meaningless and useless, and there is nothing which is quite so useless as the impotent ballots of a minority.

It may be asked how can we distinguish the majority from the minority except by the test of the polls. Nothing could be simpler. Who constitute the majority in every nation,—the ignorant or the intelligent? Unquestionably the intelligent are the minority and those who are ignorant are the majority. We have here an infallible test by which we can ascertain what citizens belong to the majority, which has the sole right to rule, and what citizens belong to the minority, and should therefore be spared the mockery of voting. If the intelligent minority fancy that their votes ever have the slightest influence on a successful election, they are the victims of a delusion which they should hasten to end.

If we honestly wish to carry out consistently and with the least labor the theory that the majority should rule, the theory on which our whole structure of government is built, we must limit the privilege of voting not to property owners, or to men who can read the Federal Constitution, but to men of undoubted ignorance. No person should be allowed to vote who cannot prove that he is unable to read or write, or who, in case he unfortunately lacks that qualification, cannot give satisfactory evidence of his belief that the government can make a

dollar out of paper or out of seventy-odd cents worth of silver. Men possessing these qualifications belong indisputably to the majority, and if we confine the privilege of voting exclusively to them we carry out the theory of our government and cut off that meaningless excrescence, the voting of the minority.

This, then, is the change which should be made if we wish to be be consistent upholders of universal suffrage. The more earnestly we believe in universal suffrage, the more earnestly we ought to try to limit the exercise of suffrage to the ignorant. This may seem a paradox, but it is a great political truth. We have built our government on the broad principle that the ignorant shall rule the intelligent. Let us show ourselves consistent by relieving the intelligent of the fruitless burden of voting.

W. L. ALDEN.

IV.

HALLS FOR PUBLIC MEETINGS.

IT is eminently desirable that in every city there should be one great hall capable of holding such numbers of citizens as usually attend out-of-door assemblies, and that the cost of hiring of such hall should be moderate. But moderate cost is a thing unattainable if the hall be reserved for public meetings only ; it must be employed for other purposes. Now every considerable city needs a commercial exchange of one kind or another—some great centre for the transaction of business on a large scale. So too every city needs a theatre, concert-hall, or what not. If one public hall could be used for these several purposes, its hire one evening for a public meeting, a theatrical exhibition, an operatic performance, etc., need not cost, as it does now, as much as will pay for many days the interest on the capital invested in its construction. Probably no great public hall in any of our cities is ever used, on the average, oftener than three nights in a week. Thus three nights a week must pay the expenses of the building during seven days and nights. But let one of the "exchanges" (or more than one) occupy the hall daily during business hours—10 to 3. Then let it be used for lectures, theatrical exhibitions, public meetings during the evenings, and on Sundays morning and evening for religious meetings or sacred concerts or lectures, and the burden of expense to be borne by each of these part-tenants, will be comparatively light. Of course the project is not free from problems and difficulties, but a competent architect may be trusted to meet these and to overcome them, planning an interior that will serve equally well for all purposes. After the architect has done his part, Yankee ingenuity will provide a way of transforming almost instantaneously the "bear garden" of the exchange into the theatre auditorium, or into the place of religious assembly. The certainty of adequate income from a structure of this kind would justify the most liberal expenditure for an absolutely fire-proof building.

J. F. G. JAMESON.

V.

"COMMUNISM AND PROTECTION."

THE February edition of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW published an article entitled "Communism and Protection," by W. M. Fishback, in which the following extraordinary conjunction was made:

"Communism, Socialism, *Henry Georgeism*, and all that family of dogmas, have . . . one common essential principle : That it is the right and duty of Government to seize, by law, the fruits of the labor of one man and divide them with others."

It is a difficult undertaking to dispel the dense popular ignorance on any economic problem, but when this has linked with it deliberate misrepresentation the task is herculean.

The assertion that "Henry Georgeism" aims at the taking of the fruits of one man's labor and transferring them to others is, to say the least, laughable, since its purpose is to defend that very right. Mr. George states his position clearly in "Progress and Poverty," Chap. I., Book VII.: "As a man belongs to himself, so his labor when put in concrete form belongs to him. And for this reason, that which a man makes or produces is his own, as against all the world—to enjoy or to destroy, to use, to exchange, or to give. No one else can rightfully claim it, and his exclusive right to it involves no wrong to any one else."

Taking part of the product of a man's labor as rent for the mere privilege of using the natural bounties, is a negation of this proposition, and, therefore, Mr. George maintains that it is unjust. And Mr. George is not alone in this position. Dugald Stewart, in his "Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man," which work was accepted as a text-book for Yale College in the 50's and 60's, and perhaps is used yet, says, Sec. III., Art. 1: "The right of property. The following observations on the *right of property* are introduced here chiefly with a view to show that men possess rights antecedent to the establishment of the political union. It cannot, I apprehend, be doubted that, according to the notions to which we, in the present state of society, are habituated from our infancy, the three following things are included in the idea of property: 1. A right of exclusive enjoyment. 2. A right of inquiry after our property, when taken away without our consent, and of reclaiming it wherever found. 3. A right of transference. We do not consider our property in any object to be complete unless we can exercise all these three rights with respect to it.

"Let us suppose, then, a country so fertile as to produce all the necessaries and accommodations of life, without any exertions of human industry; it is manifest that, in such a state of things, no man would think of appropriating to himself any of these necessaries or accommodations, any more than we, in this part of the globe, think of appropriating air or water. As this, however, is not, in any part of the earth, the condition of man—doomed, as he is, by the circumstances of his birth, to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow—it would be reasonable, *a priori*, that Nature would make some provision for securing to individuals the fruits of their industry. In fact, she *has* made such a provision in the natural sentiment of mankind, which leads them to consider industry as entitled to reward, and, in particular, the laborer as entitled to the fruit of his own labor. These, I think, may be fairly stated as *moral axioms* to which the mind yields its assent as immediately and necessarily as it does to any axiom in mathematics or metaphysics.

"This sentiment, that 'the laborer deserves the fruit of his own labor,' is the *chief*, or rather (abstracting positive institution), the *only* foundation of the sense of property. An attempt to deprive him of it is a species of *injustice* which rouses the indignation of every impartial spectator.

"In order to think with accuracy on this subject, it is necessary to distinguish carefully the *complete* right of property which is founded on *labor*, from the *transient* right of possession which is acquired by mere *priority* of *occupancy*."

The general conclusions which I deduce from the foregoing observations are these:

1. That, in every state of society, *labor*, wherever it is exerted, is understood to found a right of property.

2. That, according to natural law, labor is the *only* original way of acquiring property.

3. That, according to natural law, mere *occupancy* founds only a *right of possession*, and that, wherever it founds a complete *right of property*, it owes its force to *positive institutions*.

BENJ. DOBLIN.

VI.

THE HOLIDAY HALLUCINATION.

AMERICANS in former times were much accused of being too serious, and of taking their few vacations and their pleasures grimly and sadly. Very often they were compared to their disadvantage with the people of other nations, who had frequent holidays, and who have the art, which we were charged with lacking, of thoroughly knowing how to enjoy themselves. This general complaint was a favorite editorial topic twenty years ago. It was a part of the argument to refer then to the continent of Europe for proof of a superior gayety and more natural expression of joy, and to England itself where sports are nationalized and made institutions, and where even the august Parliament adjourns for participation in the pleasures of a horserace. The traditions of a strait-laced Puritanism, and the fierce struggle engendered by the hurry and hunger of money-getting, to say nothing of the extra "go" given us by our climate, were adduced to account for this renunciation of pleasure. No end was there of homilies read to us on these solemn habits of ours, which were supposed to make us a thin-faced and nervous race, when compared with the plump, ruddy Englishman, from whose ancestors our New England stock descended.

But since the close of the Civil War there has been a great change in our work-day time. The old holidays have not only been more formally observed, but many new holidays have now been added and legally enforced. The better observance of Christmas and New Years has not only been marked by all classes, but the half of December in our large cities and towns gives many people a vacation, and turns nearly every business aside or makes a multitude of businesses put on a holiday costume, and cater directly to the long holiday trade. Not only so, but the political deference now so universally paid to labor and the laborer, has in this State created a weekly half-holiday, the influence and observance of which have not stopped with the boundaries of New York. It will certainly surprise the reader, who has not paused to think of it, to be told exactly what a subtraction has been lately made by the holiday rage from our real working time. If it is to remain, and is to have any influence on the health and happiness of the community, we ought soon to be the highest spirited and most rested people on the face of the earth, where barbarism and oriental ease do not make the exception.

If we add to our fifty-two Sundays the twenty-six half Saturdays, and to these New Years, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas, we find that eighty-five days of our calendar are consecrated to the suspension of toil. This is nearly *three months of time;* and, if we should add to this holiday or recreation period, Good Friday, and other similarly half-observed days, and the election days, on some of which banks and public exchanges are regularly closed, we shall see that a *full quarter of the year* is now practically made unproductive time. What effect all this, together with the influence of the eight-hour law where it exists by statute, is to have on wages and prices eventually, it is perhaps too early to tell. But it must have some; and, the positive detriment which much of our business suffers from the fact that the loss of the half of Saturday amounts, in effect, to serious destruction of the remaining half (particularly with banks and the money and

business exchanges) may well suggest the inquiry whether it is not nearly time to call a halt in this effort to promote national joy and to cure the old-time Puritan sadness.

The impression that an end to this holiday-making should come is not, however, shared by all, for there are several days yet left that are candidates for holiday distinction. In the New York Legislature a bill has lately been introduced to make Lincoln's birthday a legal day of rest. In one of our leading magazines the day of the adoption of the national flag and the day of the ratification of the Constitution are named and urged as deserving the holiday badge, which will subtract a day each from June and September, if the hint is acted upon. To go still further, a large portion of the colored race and their friends think the anniversary of the signing of the emancipation proclamation ought to be separated from the ordinary days of toil and be legally observed.

It is possible that business and the more serious needs of the community can stand all this; but one is strongly reminded by this increasing holiday tendency of the man who taught his horse, after a considerable series of experiments, to go without eating. The scheme worked perfectly, until the last straw was taken away, when the inconsiderate animal one day, and without fully appreciating the merits of such a reform, suddenly gave up the ghost.

JOEL BENTON.

VII.

LAND NATIONALIZATION.

In considering the question of land nationalization, there always rises in my mind an objection which I must confess has caused me no little difficulty to meet. "God made the soil and man shall not monopolize what his own labor has not created," says the theorist; but would not this principle interdict private ownership in a calf? God made the calf as well as He did the land. The calf grows, and with its growth its value is enhanced, the calf costs its owner no more in proportion to bring up than it costs the land-owner to "bring up" his land; but still more than all this, if "labor of creation" determines ownership, would not the calf belong to the cow whose labor has brought it into the world?

The only "unearned increment" is the milk that rightfully belongs to the cow, and by due process of nature passes to her offspring, but of which the calf is frequently deprived by a harsh and untimely exit at the hands of the butcher. You say, perhaps, that this milk has been earned by the owner of the cow, that he has fed her on the produce of his fields. But if the land does not legally belong to him, neither does the produce of the land, and he has consequently fed his cow on the product of a theft.

This theory, namely that man shall not monopolize what he has not created, would rob the humblest Irishman of his pig too. He has paid for his pig, but the owner has paid for his land. The Irish gentleman feeds his pig, but the agriculturist feeds by expensive phosphates his ground, therefore, if the agriculturist hat no right to the soil the Irishman has no sole proprietorship in his pig, and the one might as properly be nationalized as the other. Land nationalization for Ireland would be to place the control of her land more stringently in the hands of the hated British than it is at present. Land nationalization in America would be to turn every yeoman into a "tenant at will" of the occupant of the White House.

Land nationalization, in short, is the earliest conception of feudalism, and for the nineteenth century to go back to that is a singular instance of a dog returning to his—well to what that dog has already in his wisdom discarded.

LLOYD S. BRYCE.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I.

A CONTRIBUTION TO CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

The study of an interesting fragment of American history* was suggested to its author by the lack of any authoritative and connected account of the subject which was so closely associated with the early history of the Constitution. The newspapers of the day; the letters and manuscripts of leaders of the movement against the Alien and Sedition laws; and especially the letters and papers of John Breckenridge, form the basis of this clear and, in the main, impartial narrative of the famous Resolutions. The history goes back to the passage of the "Alien and Sedition Act," by which Congress delegated to the President the power to banish from the country, at his discretion, alien friends, and, in case of resistance, to imprison and deprive them of the right to become citizens. Alien enemies were subject to banishment and imprisonment by the same authority. The Sedition Act, as first presented to Congress, declared France a public enemy, and prescribed capital punishment to those citizens who should give aid or comfort to Frenchmen, although France was not then in a state of declared war. These clauses at once created great excitement, and were stricken out before the passage of the bill, and the last sections only, referring to seditious practices and the publication of seditious libels on the Government and its officers, were submitted and passed by both Houses. They were modified to permit the truth to be set up as a defense in action for libel, and to limit the continuance of the act to the period of one administration. In a letter from Mr. Jefferson, then Vice-President, this comment is found: "The Alien and Sedition laws are working hard. I fancy that some of the State legislatures will take strong ground on this occasion. For my own part, I consider those laws as only an experiment on the American mind to see how far it will bear an avowed violation of the Constitution. If this goes down, we shall immediately see attempted another act of Congress declaring that the President shall continue in office during life, reserving to another occasion, the transfer of the succession to his heirs and the establishment of the Senate for life. . . . That these things are in contemplation I have no doubt; nor can I be confident of their failure after the dupery of which our countrymen have shown themselves susceptible."

The resolutions were passed by the Kentucky Legislature as a protest against this encroachment on State rights, and distinctly stated that Congress had violated that amendment to the Constitution by which it was declared that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by

* "The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798." An Historical Study. By Ethelbert Dudley Warfield, A.M., LL.B. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Also, that clause of the Constitution which asserts "that the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808." A similar series of resolutions, written by Mr. Madison, were passed by the legislature of Virginia at a later day.

The authorship of the Kentucky resolutions has been a matter of discussion, though not for many years following their production was Mr. Breckenridge's claim disputed. Mr. Warfield asserts that the document was prepared by Mr. Breckenridge, after a consultation with Jefferson and Col. W. C. Nicholas, from a draught which Jefferson had drawn up by request, the draught being embodied in part only, and with many modifications by Mr. Breckenridge, who claimed, and during his lifetime always received, the honor of being their author.

The volume is a valuable contribution to the constitutional history of our country.

II.

NAPOLEON AND THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.

THE picture of Napoleon Bonaparte which Count Tolstoi draws in his review of the Russian campaign,* is several shades darker than any yet presented by his numerous biographers and critics. Very naturally, the Russian could not be expected to extol the conqueror of Moscow, but Tolstoi's reputation for love of justice and clearness of vision would lead the reader to anticipate an impartial, unpartisan estimate of a man whose career attracts the attention of writers and readers even at this day. A careful inspection of this work of eighteen chapters, discovers no trace of the greatness usually ascribed to Napoleon, even by his enemies. Everything has been taken from him save his name and his existence. If this were the only volume which contained the record of that memorable winter in Russia, scarcely enough interest would be aroused in the reader's mind to induce him to follow the fortunes of the French Emperor to the closing chapter. It is difficult to recognize the hero of Jena and Austerlitz in the stultified, erratic, selfish, inconsequent, itinerant general, whose numerous errors in judgment are condoned by the wisdom of his subordinates, and whose brilliant strategic movements, at least we have always so considered them, are made to appear the result of a blind and immovable Fate which held him in its firm grasp and prevented anything like the exercise of individual judgment. For example, the orders for the battle of Borodino contained, we are told, the following: "The batteries established at the points chosen by Napoleon with the cannon of Pernety and Fouché, will place themselves in line, one hundred and two pieces in all, and, opening fire, will devastate the Russian outworks and redoubts."

Tolstoi asserts that this command was futile, because the station selected by Napoleon for the batteries was at such distance from the Russian entrenchments that no shots could possibly have reached them, and the one hundred and two cannon would have thundered in vain. The entire order is stigmatized as confused and useless, to any one who might dare to analyze its meaning, and of the four commands contained in it, not one was carried out. "The progress of the battle was not directed by Napoleon, for no part of his plan was carried out, and during the engagement he did not know what was going on before his eyes."

*"The Physiology of War. Napoleon and the Russian Campaign." By Count Leo Tolstoi. Translated from the third French edition, by Huntington Smith. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

The author makes an inexcusably weak point when he asserts that it is paradoxical to claim that the battle of Borodino was the work of Napoleon, because *Napoleon did not kill anybody.* The soldiers did the killing, not by the emperor's orders, but acting from their own impulses. Had they been forbidden to fight they would have disobeyed orders, for to them a battle was necessary. From whatever standpoint this argument be viewed it is shallow. The same course of reasoning, applied to other military heroes, would almost invariably strip them of their glory. Moreover, the defenders of Napoleon have the right to assert, in face of this conclusion, that if the soldiers acted without, or contrary to, their general's orders, they, and not their leader, must be held responsible for the reckless loss of life and the terrible scenes of carnage which the Emperor is so generally accused of causing to gratify his own selfish ambition. Tolstoi allows that it *seemed to Napoleon* that his will was the mainspring of action, but this conclusion was but another proof of his fatuity. Again, no one was responsible for the burning of Moscow. The city burned "because it was in a condition when a city of wood must necessarily burn." In place of the careful proprietors of houses, it was occupied by an immense military force of strangers who smoked dangerous pipes and cooked their meals twice a day. A conflagration was, therefore, inevitable. The famous retreat, says this Russian critic, was managed as badly as it could possibly have been. No plan could have been invented whereby the French army would have been more speedily destroyed than that contrived by Napoleon. "To say that Napoleon led his army to destruction because he wished to destroy it, or because he was very stupid, would be as false and as unjust as it would be to say that Napoleon led his troops to Moscow because he wished to do so, and because he was a man of genius." His action simply coincided with the laws of the progress of events. When retreat was inevitable, this figurehead of the French army, for nowhere in these pages is he anything more, is represented as an obese, stupid, luxurious coward, who, elegantly attired in furs, safely ensconses himself in a comfortable traveling carriage, which he has caused to be well filled with Russian treasure, and, thinking only of his own safety, hastens as rapidly as possible towards his capital, where he receives the adulation of his people.

At no time in his career does he appear to be the master of his fortunes, nor does he display the most ordinary amount of common sense. He is the subject of a multitude of happy accidents. Fortuitous circumstances combine to load him with fame. "The stupidity of those about him, his own sincerity in falsehood, and his brilliant and presumptuous egotism, combined to push this man to the head of the army." Every action is received by its enthusiastic countrymen as heroic.

The conclusion which Count Tolstoi reaches is, that the final object of events or of historical personages is beyond the reach of man; at which point the reader is constrained to inquire, concerning the discussion through which he has come, *cui bono?* The work of the translator in this review, which will doubtless have a large circle of readers, has been very happily accomplished. The principal title seems to us much too general for such a very narrow piece of military history.

III.

HYPNOTISM AS A SCIENCE.

"ANIMAL MAGNETISM" is the latest volume in the International Scientific Series,* and is the product of the dual authorship of the Messrs. Alfred Binet and

* The International Scientific Series. "Animal Magnetism." By Alfred Binet and Charles Féré. D. Appleton & Co.

Charles Feré, whose researches and publications on this and kindred themes have been sufficiently extensive to guarantee their fitness for the task here assigned them. The work does not claim to be a didactic treatise, the authors rightly judging that such an undertaking would be premature at the present stage of the development of the science. They present, however, a great variety of experiments, and of facts deduced from personal and careful observation, and furnish the reader with the latest results and conclusions concerning this line of study. Many of the experiments described were performed at the Salpêtrière (where M. Féré is an assistant physician), and were made in accordance with the methods of M. Charcot, the chief of the school of the Salpêtrière. Among the chapters which will attract most attention are those which describe the methods of producing hypnotism; its various forms; hypnotic hallucination; application of hypnotism to therapeutics, and a consideration of hypnotism and responsibility. The action of æsthesiogenic agents in producing hallucination is clearly shown by means of experiments. For instance, "After awaking one of our subjects, we showed her a Chinese gong and the pad with which it was sounded. The sight of the instrument alarmed her, and as soon as it was struck she fell into a state of catalepsy. After this preparatory experiment, she was awakened and requested to look attentively at the gong, and meanwhile a small magnet was brought close to her head. In the course of a minute she asserted that she could not see the instrument and that it had completely disappeared, and when the gong was sounded, more loudly than before, she did not fall into a state of catalepsy, but only looked at it with an air of some surprise. Hence it appears that the magnet, in some sense, paralysed the vision of the gong; the perception of this object was replaced by a corresponding anæsthesia, so that the noise of the gong no longer produced catalepsy."

The volume will be of interest to lovers of the marvelous, and of value to the scientific observer.

IV.

A STUDY IN METEMPSYCHOSIS.

THE transmigration of souls is a subject so full of suggestions that it is a wonder some great novelist has not seized upon it as the central idea of a thrilling story. The author of "An Unlaid Ghost"* has in part filled this void in literature, and has produced a novelette which, with some defects of treatment, commends itself as one of originality and power. The historical portion concerns itself with the crimes of Poppæa, wife of the Emperor Nero, who is supposed to be sentenced to live after death in this world in another form, there to endure the anguish of being a cause of misery to others—her very existence bringing a blight upon those she loves. This ends the first part. The second is taken up with the history of a beautiful and lovable girl who is Poppæa *revivibus*, though, of course, she does not know it. The reader follows with keen interest the trials of this maiden, who, indeed, seems to be the victim of some awful and inexplicable doom, in inflicting injury where she only wishes to bless. Things right themselves at last, but in a way the reader could scarcely anticipate. As we have suggested, the story is one of more than ordinary power, holding the reader to rapt attention throughout. The defects are rather of the philosophic order than literary. Poppæa dies humbled and repentant, but her resurrection in the person of the heroine of the second part still seems a rather weak illustration of the doctrine of metempsychosis. We do not recognize Poppæa in the pure and lovable girl who innocently suffers for

* "An Unlaid Ghost; a Study in Metempsychosis." D. Appleton & Co.

her. It is not the imperial murderess, but a substitute enduring the penalty of sins not her own. In fact, the idea of metempsychosis is lost in that of vicarious atonement. The story is a brief one, and, though skilfully told and full of master touches, rather confuses than explains the transmigration theory. One or two of the incidents seem also a little unlikely. The manner in which Sir Ashton forces his attentions upon Hortense is, to say the least, peculiar. There is nothing to lead up to such a dastardly outrage upon common propriety as is perpetrated with such coolness and audacity by a man whose portrait, as here drawn, suggests at least a man of some sense of decency. The young Frenchman's indiscretion is far more natural, since *he* thought the game a fair one and had some logic in his reasoning. But these are mere surface blemishes, and we hope the anonymous writer will feel encouraged to continue his labors in this line of literary effort.

V.

REVELATION AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THOSE who desire a brief exposition of the leading principles of Catholicism cannot do better than read Mr. Young's translation of Father Broeckaert's treatise entitled, "The Fact Divine."* In the first part of this book evangelical and orthodox Protestants will find little to condemn or even question, as it deals with the subject of the Christian revelation from a standpoint usually accepted by Christians of every school. The main feature of the work is its conciseness. The author, now deceased, spent much of his time as a tutor and professor in Catholic seminaries, and modestly designed this treatise as a kind of text book. There is a certain directness and terseness about the paragraphs which suggest this purpose to the reader, and which make the book very acceptable to those who want to get quickly to the kernel of the subject in hand. Thus, the great question of a First Cause is stated as follows: "The visible objects which surround us have no existence of themselves; therefore they received it from something else, and, in the last analysis, from a First Being, who possesses in Himself the cause of His existence." From this statement a brief logical argument is set forth as to the personality and perfection of God the Creator. One finds no sympathy here with speculative philosophy. Original sin is defined as the loss of the sanctifying grace which God had bestowed upon man with the duty of preserving it, rendering necessary the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. Evangelical Protestants would add "the work of the Holy Spirit." The special providence of God over the Jewish people is recognized as a special miracle, ever pointing to Christ as the Redeemer of the World. "Jesus Christ is God, not by a figurative appellation, nor in the sense of Divine adoption, nor of a favor," but "in the rigorous acceptation of the term." The proof of this is derived from Scripture prophesies, from the life of Christ, the teaching of the Apostles, and the uniform belief of the first Christians. This in no way differs from the orthodox Protestant view, but the reasoning ignores scientific difficulties, which are disposed of *en masse* by the trite remark: "Nature as well as religion has her mysteries." The union of the divine and the human in Christ is pronounced hypostatic—neither nature being absorbed by the other, and as an illustration, the author suggests the union of the body with the soul, or the action of the will upon the movements of the body—mysteries which science accepts without pretending to explain. The term "soul" in this sense need not involve immortality, but simply the inner nature. Even the vital principle

* "The Fact Divine." An Historical Study of the Christian Revelation and of the Catholic Church. By Joseph Broeckaert, S. J. McGowan & Young.

itself is incomprehensible. The difficulty of understanding the union of the two natures in Christ is not of itself a logical bar to its reception, if demonstrated by other arguments.

The second part of the treatise deals with the Catholic Church as such, and, as one might expect, the position of the author is clearly defined. He has no parley or compromise with Protestant ideas. The authority given to Peter was definite and supreme as the vicar of Christ, and flows onwards to the hierarchy through the Apostles, and the writings of the early Christian Fathers are freely quoted in support of this view. Doctrinal infallibility and spiritual government are the prerogatives of the Church. To substitute one's personal judgment for these is *heresy* and heresy is *sin*, though baptism by heretics in the name of the Trinity is valid. Our author defends the Inquisition as a union of the spiritual and civil powers—the one to establish a crime and the other to punish it. The Spanish Inquisition he regards as on a different footing from the Roman, but he defends it in the main. For the massacre of St. Bartholemew he holds the Church not responsible. As for Luther, Calvin and the other reformers of the Sixteenth Century, he writes in the severest terms, and he rejects the Protestant idea of the Bible as the sole rule of faith. As for the Church of England, which, by retaining the Episcopate, has separated the least from Catholic tradition, he predicts that she is destined either to be absorbed by German naturalism or to resume her place in the Catholic fold—perhaps both, by a process of decomposition. Philosophic speculation and freemasonry are alike inherently bad, foolish and mischievous, and the author concludes with a warm eulogium on the Catholic Church as the one hope of mankind.

We suppose that there is really very little that is new to be said on this great controversy. The prospects for a re-united Christendom are very dark at present, and the claim of the Catholic Church of absolute supremacy and infallibility is scarcely likely to draw together the various powerful forces which have raised the standard of the rights of the individual conscience. The best that both parties can do is, under the shelter of the spirit of toleration now prevailing, to acquaint themselves with each other. In this way they may find some grounds for mutual respect, co-operation and friendship, while differing in some essential particulars.

VI.

A TALE OF SOUTHERN LIFE.

MR. CONWAY'S novel "Pine and Palm"* is exceedingly fascinating as a story pure and simple. It catches the reader up at the beginning, and carries him along to the end, without a moment of indifference or fatigue. The characters, also, are firmly drawn; and if perhaps they err a little on the side of too much virtue, they are sympathetic and pleasing, and to each of them the author has contrived to give a strong and unmistakable individuality. More than this cannot be said of many of the novels that come to the reviewer's table now-a-days.

But over and above its pleasure-giving qualities, "Pine and Palm" possesses an interest and an importance, which will render it indispensable to the library of everybody who wishes to acquire something more than a superficial knowledge of American history. The picture of life on a sea island plantation in *ante-bellum* days, with its careful analysis of the inter-relation of blacks and whites, is evidently not a fancy sketch; and aside from its excellent artistic qualities, its freshness, its breadth, its color, its good humor,—its value as a record of the facts of a

*"Pine and Palm." A Novel. By Moncure D. Conway. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

past phase of American civilization can scarcely be over-rated. This value will be duly appreciated by the future historian of our country, who, wishing to depict the life, as well as to narrate the events, which marked the South in the times immediately preceding the Rebellion, will turn to "Pine and Palm" with no small feeling of gratitude to Mr. Conway for having written it. A like value attaches to the scenes in which grim old Captain John Brown plays a chief part; and to the description of the socialistic colony at Bonheur, under the leadership of the gifted and charming Maria Shelton.

It is not often that one succeeds in writing a novel which shall appeal equally to the light reader and to the serious student; but this is precisely the measure of success which Mr. Conway has achieved.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

D. Appleton & Co.

The Geological History of Plants. Sir J. William Dawson, F.R.S.
The Art of Investing. By a New York broker.
Slips of Tongue and Pen. J. H. Long, M.A.
The Deemster. A Romance of the Isle of Man. Hall Caine.
An Unlaid Ghost. A Study in Metempsychosis.
A Critical History of Sunday Legislation, from 321 to 1888 A.D. A. H. Lewis, D.D.
David Poindexter's Disappearance, and other tales. Julian Hawthorne.
The Story of Colette. From the French.

Chas. Scribner's Sons.

Society in Rome under the Cæsars. William Ralph Inge, M.A.
Bonaventure: A Prose Pastoral of Acadian Louisiana.

T. Y. Crowell & Co.

Maximina. Don Armando Palacio Valdes. Translated by N. H. Dole.
Initials and Pseudonyms. A dictionary of literary disguises. Wm. Cushing, B.A.

Mook Bros. & Co.

Dreamland. A Book of Modern Fairy Tales (4th edition). C. A. Byrne.

McGowan & Young.

The Fact Divine. An historical study of the Christian Revelation, and of the Catholic Church. Joseph Broeckaert, S. J.

Ticknor & Co.

Outlooks on Society, Literature and Politics. Edwin Percy Whipple.
Harvard Reminiscences. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., LL.D.

The Bancroft Company.

Nerve Waste. H. C. Sawyer, M.D.

Macmillan & Co.

A Study of Religion; Its Sources and Contents. Dr. James Martineau.

D. Lothrop & Co.

The Indian Side of the Indian Question. William Barrows, D.D.
Bybury to Beacon St. Abby Morton Diaz.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLXXVIII.

MAY, 1888.

Boston Public Library, DORCHESTER BRANCH.

COLONEL INGERSOLL ON CHRISTIANITY.*

SOME REMARKS ON HIS REPLY TO DR. FIELD.

As a listener from across the broad Atlantic to the clash of arms in the combat between Colonel Ingersoll and Dr. Field on the most momentous of all subjects, I have not the personal knowledge which assisted these doughty champions in making reciprocal acknowledgments, as broad as could be desired, with reference to personal character and motive. Such acknowledgments are of high value in keeping the issue clear, if not always of all adventitious, yet of all venomous matter. Destitute of the experience on which to found them as original testimonies, still, in attempting partially to criticise the remarkable Reply of Colonel Ingersoll, I can both accept in good faith what has been said by Dr. Field, and add that it seems to me consonant with the strain of the pages I have set before me. Having said this, I shall allow myself the utmost freedom in remarks, which will be addressed exclusively to the matter, not the man.

Let me begin by making several acknowledgments of another kind, but which I feel to be serious. The Christian Church has lived long enough in external triumph and prosperity to expose those of whom it is composed to all such perils of error and mis-

* This article is copyrighted, and all rights are reserved.

feasance, as triumph and prosperity bring with them. Belief in divine guidance is not of necessity belief that such guidance can never be frustrated by the laxity, the infirmity, the perversity of man, alike in the domain of action and in the domain of thought. Believers in the perpetuity of the life of the Church are not tied to believing in the perpetual health of the Church. Even the great Latin Communion, and that Communion even since the Council of the Vatican in 1870, theoretically admits, or does not exclude, the possibility of a wide range of local and partial error in opinion as well as conduct. Elsewhere the admission would be more unequivocal. Of such errors in tenet, or in temper and feeling more or less hardened into tenet, there has been a crop alike abundant and multifarious. Each Christian party is sufficiently apt to recognize this fact with regard to every other Christian party; and the more impartial and reflective minds are aware that no party is exempt from mischiefs, which lie at the root of the human constitution in its warped, impaired, and dislocated condition. Naturally enough, these deformities help to indispose men towards belief; and when this indisposition has been developed into a system of negative warfare, all the faults of all the Christian bodies, and sub-divisions of bodies, are, as it was natural to expect they would be, carefully raked together, and become part and parcel of the indictment against the divine scheme of redemption. I notice these things in the mass, without particularity, which might be invidious, for two important purposes. First, that we all, who hold by the Gospel and the Christian Church, may learn humility and modesty, as well as charity and indulgence, in the treatment of opponents, from our consciousness that we all, alike by our exaggerations and our shortcomings in belief, no less than by faults of conduct, have contributed to bring about this condition of fashionable hostility to religious faith: and, secondly, that we may resolutely decline to be held bound to tenets, or to consequences of tenets, which represent not the great Christendom of the past and present, but only some hole and corner of its vast organization; and not the heavenly treasure, but the rust or the canker to which that treasure has been exposed through the incidents of its custody in earthen vessels.

I do not remember ever to have read a composition, in which the merely local coloring of particular, and even very limited sec-

tions of Christianity, was more systematically used as if it had been available and legitimate argument against the whole, than in the Reply before us. Colonel Ingersoll writes with a rare and enviable brilliancy, but also with an impetus which he seems unable to control. Denunciation, sarcasm, and invective, may in consequence be said to constitute the staple of his work ; and, if argument or some favorable admission here and there peeps out for a moment, the writer soon leaves the dry and barren heights for his favorite and more luxurious galloping grounds beneath. Thus, when the Reply has consecrated a line (N. A. R., No. 372, p. 473) to the pleasing contemplation of his opponent as "manly, candid, and generous," it immediately devotes more than twelve to a declamatory denunciation of a practice (as if it were his) altogether contrary to generosity and to candor, and reproaches those who expect (*ibid.*) "to receive as alms an eternity of joy." I take this as a specimen of the mode of statement which permeates the whole Reply. It is not the statement of an untruth. The Christian receives as alms all whatsoever he receives at all. *Qui salvandos salvas gratis* is his song of thankful praise. But it is the statement of one-half of a truth, which lives only in its entirety, and of which the Reply gives us only a mangled and bleeding *frustum.* For the gospel teaches that the faith which saves is a living and energizing faith, and that the most precious part of the alms which we receive lies in an ethical and spiritual process, which partly qualifies for, but also and emphatically composes, this conferred eternity of joy. Restore this ethical element to the doctrine from which the Reply has rudely displaced it, and the whole force of the assault is gone, for there is now a total absence of point in the accusation; it comes only to this, that "mercy and judgment are met together," and that "righteousness and peace have kissed each other" (Ps. lxxxv. 10).

Perhaps, as we proceed, there will be supplied ampler means of judging whether I am warranted in saying that the instance I have here given is a normal instance of a practice so largely followed as to divest the entire Reply of that calmness and sobriety of movement which are essential to the just exercise of the reasoning power in subject matter not only grave, but solemn. Pascal has supplied us, in the "Provincial Letters," with an unique example of easy, brilliant, and fascinating treatment of a theme both profound and complex. But where shall we find another

Pascal? And, if we had found him, he would be entitled to point out to us that the famous work was not less close and logical than it was witty. In this case, all attempt at continuous argument appears to be deliberately abjured, not only as to pages, but, as may almost be said, even as to lines. The paper, noteworthy as it is, leaves on my mind the impression of a battle-field where every man strikes at every man, and all is noise, hurry, and confusion. Better surely had it been, and worthier of the great weight and elevation of the subject, if the controversy had been waged after the pattern of those engagements where a chosen champion on either side, in a space carefully limited and reserved, does battle on behalf of each silent and expectant host. The promiscuous crowds represent all the lower elements which enter into human conflicts: the chosen champions, and the order of their proceeding, signify the dominion of reason over force, and its just place as the sovereign arbiter of the great questions that involve the main destiny of man.

I will give another instance of the tumultuous method in which the Reply conducts, not, indeed, its argument, but its case. Dr. Field had exhibited an example of what he thought superstition, and had drawn a distinction between superstition and religion. But to the author of the Reply all religion is superstition, and, accordingly, he writes as follows (p. 475):

"You are shocked at the Hindoo mother, when she gives her child to death at the supposed command of her God. What do you think of Abraham? of Jephthah? What is your opinion of Jehovah himself?"

Taking these three appeals in the reverse order to that in which they are written, I will briefly ask, as to the closing challenge, "What do you think of Jehovah himself?" whether this is the tone in which controversy ought to be carried on? Not only is the name of Jehovah encircled in the heart of every believer with the profoundest reverence and love, but the Christian religion teaches, through the Incarnation, a doctrine of personal union with God so lofty that it can only be approached in a deep, reverential calm. I do not deny that a person who deems a given religion to be wicked may be led onward by logical consistency to impugn in strong terms the character of the Author and Object of that religion. But he is surely bound by the laws of social morality and decency to consider well the terms and the manner of

his indictment. If he founds it upon allegations of fact, these allegations should be carefully stated, so as to give his antagonists reasonable evidence that it is truth and not temper which wrings from him a sentence of condemnation, delivered in sobriety and sadness, and not without a due commiseration for those, whom he is attempting to undeceive, who think he is himself both deceived and a deceiver, but who surely are entitled, while this question is in process of decision, to require that He whom they adore should at least be treated with those decent reserves which are deemed essential when a human being, say a parent, wife, or sister, is in question. But here a contemptuous reference to Jehovah follows, not upon a careful investigation of the cases of Abraham and of Jephthah, but upon a mere summary citation of them to surrender themselves, so to speak, as culprits; that is to say, a summons to accept at once, on the authority of the Reply, the view which the writer is pleased to take of those cases. It is true that he assures us in another part of his paper that he has read the Scriptures with care; and I feel bound to accept this assurance, but at the same time to add that if it had not been given I should, for one, not have made the discovery, but might have supposed that the author had galloped, not through, but about, the sacred volume, as a man glances over the pages of an ordinary newspaper or novel.

Although there is no argument as to Abraham or Jephthah expressed upon the surface, we must assume that one is intended, and it seems to be of the following kind: "You are not entitled to reprove the Hindoo mother who cast her child under the wheels of the car of Juggernaut, for you approve of the conduct of Jephthah, who (probably) sacrificed his daughter in fulfilment of a vow (Judges xi. 31) that he would make a burnt offering of whatsoever, on his safe return, he should meet coming forth from the doors of his dwelling." Now the whole force of this rejoinder depends upon our supposed obligation as believers to approve the conduct of Jephthah. It is, therefore, a very serious question whether we are or are not so obliged. But this question the Reply does not condescend either to argue, or even to state. It jumps to an extreme conclusion without the decency of an intermediate step. Are not such methods of proceeding more suited to placards at an election, than to disquisitions on these most solemn subjects?

I am aware of no reason why any believer in Christianity should not be free to canvass, regret, condemn the act of Jephthah. So far as the narration which details it is concerned, there is not a word of sanction given to it more than to the falsehood of Abraham in Egypt, or of Jacob and Rebecca in the matter of the hunting (Gen. xx. 1–18, and Gen. xxiii.); or to the dissembling of Saint Peter in the case of the Judaizing converts (Gal. ii. 11). I am aware of no color of approval given to it elsewhere. But possibly the author of the Reply may have thought he found such an approval in the famous eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the apostle, handling his subject with a discernment and care very different from those of the Reply, writes thus (Heb. xi. 32):

"And what shall I say more? For the time would fail me to tell of Gideon, and of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthah: of David also, and Samuel, and of the prophets."

Jephthah, then, is distinctly held up to us by a canonical writer as an object of praise. But of praise on what account? Why should the Reply assume that it is on account of the sacrifice of his child? The writer of the Reply has given us no reason, and no rag of a reason, in support of such a proposition. But this was the very thing he was bound by every consideration to prove, upon making his indictment against the Almighty. In my opinion, he could have one reason only for not giving a reason, and that was that no reason could be found.

The matter, however, is so full of interest, as illustrating both the method of the Reply and that of the Apostolic writer, that I shall enter farther into it, and draw attention to the very remarkable structure of this noble chapter, which is to Faith what the thirteenth of Cor. I. is to Charity. From the first to the thirty-first verse, it commemorates the achievements of faith in ten persons: Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses (in greater detail than any one else), and finally Rahab, in whom, I observe in passing, it will hardly be pretended that she appears in this list on account of the profession she had pursued. Then comes the rapid recital (v. 31), without any specification of particulars whatever, of these four names: Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah. Next follows a kind of recommencement, indicated by the word *also;* and the glorious acts and sufferings of the prophets are set forth largely, with a

singular power and warmth, headed by the names of David and Samuel, the rest of the sacred band being mentioned only in the mass.

Now, it is surely very remarkable that, in the whole of this recital, the Apostle, whose "feet were shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace," seems with a tender instinct to avoid anything like stress on the exploits of warriors. Of the twelve persons having a share in the detailed expositions, David is the only warrior, and his character as a man of war is eclipsed by his greater attributes as a prophet, or declarer of the Divine counsels. It is yet more noteworthy that Joshua, who had so fair a fame, but who was only a warrior, is never named in the chapter, and we are simply told that "by faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they had been compassed about seven times" (Hebrews xi. 30). But the series of four names, which are given without any specification of their title to appear in the list, are all names of distinguished warriors. They had all done great acts of faith and patriotism against the enemies of Israel,—Gideon against the Midianites, Barak against the hosts of Syria, Samson against the Philistines, and Jephthah against the children of Ammon. Their title to appear in the list at all is in their acts of war, and the mode of their treatment as men of war is in striking accordance with the analogies of the chapter. All of them had committed errors. Gideon had again and again demanded a sign, and had made a golden ephod, "which thing became a snare unto Gideon and to his house" (Judges viii. 27). Barak had refused to go up against Jabin unless Deborah would join the venture (Judges v. 8). Samson had been in dalliance with Delilah. Last came Jephthah, who had, as we assume, sacrificed his daughter in fulfilment of a rash vow. No one supposes that any of the others are honored by mention in the chapter on account of his sin or error: why should that supposition be made in the case of Jephthah, at the cost of all the rules of orderly interpretation?

Having now answered the challenge as to Jephthah, I proceed to the case of Abraham. It would not be fair to shrink from touching it in its tenderest point. That point is nowhere expressly touched by the commendations bestowed upon Abraham in Scripture. I speak now of the special form, of the words that are employed. He is not commended because, being a father, he made all the preparations antecedent to plunging the knife into his son.

He is commended (as I read the text) because, having received a glorious promise, a promise that his wife should be a mother of nations, and that kings should be born of her (Gen. xvii. 6), and that by his seed the blessings of redemption should be conveyed to man, and the fulfilment of this promise depending solely upon the life of Isaac, he was, nevertheless, willing that the chain of these promises should be broken by the extinction of that life, because his faith assured him that the Almighty would find the way to give effect to His own designs (Heb. xi. 17–19). The offering of Isaac is mentioned as a completed offering, and the intended blood-shedding, of which I shall speak presently, is not here brought into view.

The facts, however, which we have before us, and which are treated in Scripture with caution, are grave and startling. A father is commanded to sacrifice his son. Before consummation, the sacrifice is interrupted. Yet the intention of obedience had been formed, and certified by a series of acts. It may have been qualified by a reserve of hope that God would interpose before the final act, but of this we have no distinct statement, and it can only stand as an allowable conjecture. It may be conceded that the narrative does not supply us with a complete statement of particulars. That being so, it behoves us to tread cautiously in approaching it. Thus much, however, I think, may further be said : the command was addressed to Abraham under conditions essentially different from those which now determine for us the limits of moral obligation.

For the conditions, both socially and otherwise, were indeed very different. The estimate of human life at the time was different. The position of the father in the family was different : its members were regarded as in some sense his property. There is every reason to suppose that, around Abraham in "the land of Moriah," the practice of human sacrifice as an act of religion was in vigor. But we may look more deeply into the matter. According to the Book of Genesis, Adam and Eve were placed under a law, not of consciously perceived right and wrong, but of simple obedience. The tree, of which alone they were forbidden to eat, was the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Duty lay for them in following the command of the Most High, before and until they, or their descendants, should become capable of appreciating it by an ethical standard. Their condition

was greatly analogous to that of the infant, who has just reached the stage at which he can comprehend that he is ordered to do this or that, but not the nature of the thing so ordered. To the external standard of right and wrong, and to the obligation it entails *per se*, the child is introduced by a process gradually unfolded with the development of his nature, and the opening out of what we term a moral sense. If we pass at once from the epoch of Paradise to the period of the prophets, we perceive the important progress that has been made in the education of the race. The Almighty, in His mediate intercourse with Israel, deigns to appeal to an independently conceived criterion, as to an arbiter between His people and Himself. "Come, now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord" (Isaiah i. 18). "Yet ye say the way of the Lord is not equal. Hear now, O house of Israel, is not my way equal, are not your ways unequal?" (Ezekiel xvii. 25). Between these two epochs how wide a space of moral teaching has been traversed! But Abraham, so far as we may judge from the pages of Scripture, belongs essentially to the Adamic period, far more than to the prophetic. The notion of righteousness and sin was not indeed hidden from him: transgression itself had opened that chapter, and it was never to be closed: but as yet they lay wrapped up, so to speak, in Divine command and prohibition. And what God commanded, it was for Abraham to believe that He himself would adjust to the harmony of His own character.

The faith of Abraham, with respect to this supreme trial, appears to have been centred in this, that he would trust God to all extremities, and in despite of all appearances. The command received was obviously inconsistent with the promises which had preceded it. It was also inconsistent with the morality acknowledged in later times, and perhaps too definitely reflected in our minds, by an anachronism easy to conceive, on the day of Abraham. There can be little doubt, as between these two points of view, that the strain upon his faith was felt mainly, to say the least, in connection with the first mentioned. This faith is not wholly unlike the faith of Job; for Job believed, in despite of what was to the eye of flesh an unrighteous government of the world. If we may still trust the Authorized Version, his cry was, "though he slay me, yet will I trust in him" (Job xiii. 15). This cry was, however, the expression of one who did not expect to be

slain ; and it may be that Abraham, when he said, "My son, God will provide Himself a lamb for a burnt offering," not only believed explicity that God would do what was right, but, moreover, believed implicitly that a way of rescue would be found for his son. I do not say that this case is like the case of Jephthah, where the introduction of difficulty is only gratuitous. I confine myself to these propositions. Though the law of moral action is the same everywhere and always, it is variously applicable to the human being, as we know from experience, in the various stages of his development ; and its first form is that of simple obedience to a superior whom there is every ground to trust. And further, if the few straggling rays of our knowledge in a case of this kind rather exhibit a darkness lying around us than dispel it, we do not even know all that was in the mind of Abraham, and are not in a condition to pronounce upon it, and cannot, without departure from sound reason, abandon that anchorage by which he probably held, that the law of Nature was safe in the hands of the Author of Nature, though the means of the reconciliation between the law and the appearances have not been fully placed within our reach.

But the Reply is not entitled to so wide an answer as that which I have given. In the parallel with the case of the Hindoo widow, it sins against first principles. An established and habitual practice of child-slaughter, in a country of an old and learned civilization, presents to us a case totally different from the issue of a command which was not designed to be obeyed and which belongs to a period when the years of manhood were associated in great part with the character that appertains to childhood.

It will already have been seen that the method of this Reply is not to argue seriously from point to point, but to set out in masses, without the labor of proof, crowds of imputations, which may overwhelm an opponent like balls from a *mitrailleuse*. As the charges lightly run over in a line or two require pages for exhibition and confutation, an exhaustive answer to the Reply within the just limits of an article is on this account out of the question ; and the only proper course left open seems to be to make a selection of what appears to be the favorite, or the most formidable and telling, assertions, and to deal with these in the serious way which the grave interests of the theme, not the manner of their presentation, may deserve.

It was an observation of Aristotle that weight attaches to the undemonstrated propositions of those who are able to speak in any given subject matter from experience. The Reply abounds in undemonstrated propositions. They appear, however, to be delivered without any sense of a necessity that either experience or reasoning are required in order to give them a title to acceptance. Thus, for example, the system of Mr. Darwin is hurled against Christianity as a dart which cannot but be fatal (p. 475):

"His discoveries, carried to their legitimate conclusion, destroy the creeds and sacred scriptures of mankind."

This wide-sweeping proposition is imposed upon us with no exposition of the how or the why; and the whole controversy of belief one might suppose is to be determined, as if from St. Petersburgh, by a series of *ukases*. It is only advanced, indeed, to decorate the introduction of Darwin's name in support of the proposition, which I certainly should support and not contest, that error and honesty are compatible.

On what ground, then, and for what reason, is the system of Darwin fatal to scriptures and to creeds? I do not enter into the question whether it has passed from the stage of working hypothesis into that of demonstration, but I assume, for the purposes of the argument, all that, in this respect, the Reply can desire.

It is not possible to discover, from the random language of the Reply, whether the scheme of Darwin is to sweep away all theism, or is to be content with extinguishing revealed religion. If the latter is meant, I should reply that the moral history of man, in its principal stream, has been distinctly an evolution from the first until now; and that the succinct though grand account of the Creation in Genesis is singularly accordant with the same idea, but is wider than Darwinism, since it includes in the grand progression the inanimate world as well as the history of organisms. But, as this could not be shown without much detail, the Reply reduces me to the necessity of following its own unsatisfactory example in the bald form of an assertion, that there is no colorable ground for assuming evolution and revelation to be at variance with one another.

If, however, the meaning be that theism is swept away by Darwinism, I observe that, as before, we have only an unreasoned dogma or dictum to deal with, and, dealing perforce with the unknown, we are in danger of striking at a will of the wisp. Still,

I venture on remarking that the doctrine of Evolution has acquired both praise and dispraise which it does not deserve. It is lauded in the skeptical camp because it is supposed to get rid of the shocking idea of what are termed sudden acts of creation; and it is as unjustly dispraised, on the opposing side, because it is thought to bridge over the gap between man and the inferior animals, and to give emphasis to the relationship between them. But long before the day either of Mr. Darwin or his grandfather, Dr. Erasmus Darwin, this relationship had been stated, perhaps even more emphatically by one whom, were it not that I have small title to deal in undemonstrated assertion, I should venture to call the most cautious, the most robust, and the most comprehensive of our philosophers. Suppose, says Bishop Butler (Analogy, Part 2, Chapt. 2), that it were implied in the natural immortality of brutes, that they must arrive at great attainments, and become (like us) rational and moral agents; even this would be no difficulty, since we know not what latent powers and capacities they may be endowed with. And if pride causes us to deem it an indignity that our race should have proceeded by propagation from an ascending scale of inferior organisms, why should it be a more repulsive idea to have sprung immediately from something less than man in brain and body, than to have been fashioned according to the expression in Genesis (Chap. II., v. 7) "out of the dust of the ground"? There are halls and galleries of introduction in a palace, but none in a cottage; and this arrival of the creative work at its climax through an ever aspiring preparatory series, rather than by transition at a step from the inanimate mould of earth, may tend rather to magnify than to lower the creation of man on its physical side. But if belief has (as commonly) been premature in its alarms, has non-belief been more reflective in its exulting anticipations, and its pæans on the assumed disappearance of what are strangely enough termed sudden acts of creation from the sphere of our study and contemplation?

One striking effect of the Darwinian theory of descent is, so far as I understand, to reduce the breadth of all intermediate distinctions in the scale of animated life. It does not bring all creatures into a single lineage, but all diversities are to be traced back, at some point in the scale and by stages indefinitely minute, to a common ancestry. All is done by steps, nothing by strides, leaps, or bounds; all from protoplasm up to Shakespeare, and,

again, all from primal night and chaos up to protoplasm. I do not ask, and am incompetent to judge, whether this is among the things proven, but I take it so for the sake of the argument; and I ask, first, why and whereby does this doctrine eliminate the idea of creation? Does the new philosophy teach that if the passage from pure reptile to pure bird is achieved by a spring (so to speak) over a chasm, this implies and requires creation; but that if reptile passes into bird, and rudimental into finished bird, by a thousand slight and but just discernible modifications, each one of these is so small that they are not entitled to a name so lofty, may be set down to any cause or no cause, as we please? I should have supposed it miserably unphilosophical to treat the distinction between creative and non-creative function as a simply quantitative distinction. As respects the subjective effect on the human mind, creation in small, when closely regarded, awakens reason to admiring wonder, not less than creation in great: and as regards that function itself, to me it appears no less than ridiculous to hold that the broadly outlined and large advances of so-called Mosaism are creation, but the refined and stealthy onward steps of Darwinism are only manufacture, and relegate the question of a cause into obscurity, insignificance, or oblivion.

But does not reason really require us to go farther, to turn the tables on the adversary, and to contend that evolution, by how much it binds more closely together the myriad ranks of the living, aye, and of all other orders, by so much the more consolidates, enlarges, and enhances the true argument of design, and the entire theistic position? If orders are not mutually related, it is easier to conceive of them as sent at haphazard into the world. We may, indeed, sufficiently draw an argument of design from each separate structure, but we have no further title to build upon the position which each of them holds as towards any other. But when the connection between these objects has been established, and so established that the points of transition are almost as indiscernible as the passage from day to night, then, indeed, each preceding stage is a prophesy of the following, each succeeding one is a memorial of the past, and, throughout the immeasurable series, every single member of it is a witness to all the rest. The Reply ought surely to dispose of these, and probably many more arguments in the case, before assuming so absolutely the rights of dictatorship, and laying it down that Darwinism, carried to its

legitimate conclusion (and I have nowhere endeavored to cut short its career), destroys the creeds and scriptures of mankind. That I may be the more definite in my challenge, I would, with all respect, ask the author of the Reply to set about confuting the succinct and clear argument of his countryman, Mr. Fiske, who, in the earlier part of the small work entitled "Man's Destiny" (Macmillan, London, 1887) has given what seems to me an admissible and also striking interpretation of the leading Darwinian idea in its bearings on the theistic argument. To this very partial treatment of a great subject I must at present confine myself; and I proceed to another of the notions, as confident as they seem to be crude, which the Reply has drawn into its wide-casting net (p. 475):

"Why should God demand a sacrifice from man? Why should the Infinite ask anything from the finite? Should the sun beg of the glow-worm, and should the momentary spark excite the envy of the source of light?"

This is one of the cases in which happy or showy illustration is, in the Reply before me, set to carry with a rush the position which argument would have to approach more laboriously and more slowly. The case of the glow-worm with the sun cannot but move a reader's pity, it seems so very hard. But let us suppose for a moment that the glow-worm was so constituted, and so related to the sun that an interaction between them was a fundamental condition of its health and life; that the glow-worm must, by the law of its nature, like the moon, reflect upon the sun, according to its strength and measure, the light which it receives, and that only by a process involving that reflection its own store of vitality could be upheld? It will be said that this is a very large *petitio* to import into the glow-worm's case. Yes, but it is the very *petitio* which is absolutely requisite in order to make it parallel to the case of the Christian. The argument which the Reply has to destroy is and must be the Christian argument, and not some figure of straw, fabricated at will. It is needless, perhaps, but it is refreshing, to quote the noble Psalm (Ps. l. 10, 12, 14, 15), in which this assumption of the Reply is rebuked. "All the beasts of the forest are mine; and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills. . . . If I be hungry I will not tell thee; for the whole world is mine, and all that is therein. . . . Offer unto God thanksgiving; and pay thy vows

unto the Most Highest, and call upon Me in the time of trouble; so will I hear thee, and thou shalt praise Me." Let me try my hand at a counter-illustration. If the Infinite is to make no demand upon the finite, by parity of reasoning the great and strong should scarcely make them on the weak and small. Why then should the father make demands of love, obedience, and sacrifice, from his young child? Is there not some flavor of the sun and glow-worm here? But every man does so make them, if he is a man of sense and feeling; and he makes them for the sake and in the interest of the son himself, whose nature, expanding in the warmth of affection and pious care, requires, by an inward law, to return as well as to receive. And so God asks of us, in order that what we give to Him may be far more our own than it ever was before the giving, or than it could have been unless first rendered up to Him, to become a part of what the gospel calls our treasure in heaven.

Although the Reply is not careful to supply us with *whys*, it does not hesitate to ask for them (p. 479):

"Why should an infinitely wise and powerful God destroy the good and preserve the vile? Why should He treat all alike here, and in another world make an infinite difference? Why should your God allow His worshipers, His adorers, to be destroyed by His enemies? Why should He allow the honest, the loving, the noble to perish at the stake?"

The upholders of belief or of revelation, from Claudian down to Cardinal Newman (see the very remarkable passage of the *Apologia pro vitâ suâ*, pp. 376–78), cannot and do not, seek to deny that the methods of divine government, as they are exhibited by experience, present to us many and varied moral problems, insoluble by our understanding. Their existence may not, and should not, be dissembled. But neither should they be exaggerated. Now exaggeration by mere suggestion is the fault, the glaring fault, of these queries. One who had no knowledge of mundane affairs beyond the conception they insinuate would assume that, as a rule, evil has the upper hand in the management of the world. Is this the grave philosophical conclusion of a careful observer, or is it a crude, hasty, and careless overstatement?

It is not difficult to conceive how, in times of sadness and of storm, when the suffering soul can discern no light at any point of the horizon, place is found for such an idea of life. It is, of

course, opposed to the Apostolic declaration that godliness hath the promise of the life that now is (1 Tim. iv. 8), but I am not to expect such a declaration to be accepted as current coin, even of the meanest value, by the author of the Reply. Yet I will offer two observations founded on experience in support of it, one taken from a limited, another from a larger and more open sphere. John Wesley, in the full prime of his mission, warned the converts whom he was making among English laborers of a spiritual danger that lay far ahead. It was that, becoming godly, they would become careful, and, becoming careful, they would become wealthy. It was a just and sober forecast, and it represented with truth the general rule of life, although it be a rule perplexed with exceptions. But, if this be too narrow a sphere of observation, let us take a wider one, the widest of all. It is comprised in the brief statement that Christendom rules the world, and rules it, perhaps it should be added, by the possession of a vast surplus of material as well as moral force. Therefore the assertions carried by implication in the queries of the Reply, which are general, are because general untrue, although they might have been true within those prudent limitations which the method of this Reply appears especially to eschew.

Taking, then, these challenges as they ought to have been given, I admit that great believers, who have been also great masters of wisdom and knowledge, are not able to explain the inequalities of adjustment between human beings and the conditions in which they have been set down to work out their destiny. The climax of these inequalities is perhaps to be found in the fact that, whereas rational belief, viewed at large, founds the Providential government of the world upon the hypothesis of free agency, there are so many cases in which the overbearing mastery of circumstance appears to reduce it to extinction or paralysis. Now, in one sense, without doubt, these difficulties are matter for our legitimate and necessary cognizance. It is a duty incumbent upon us respectively, according to our means and opportunities, to decide for ourselves, by the use of the faculty of reason given us, the great questions of natural and revealed religion. They are to be decided according to the evidence; and, if we cannot trim the evidence into a consistent whole, then according to the balance of the evidence. We are not entitled, either for or against belief, to set up in this province any rule of investiga-

tion, except such as common-sense teaches us to use in the ordinary conduct of life. As in ordinary conduct, so in considering the basis of belief, we are bound to look at the evidence as a whole. We have no right to demand demonstrative proofs, or the removal of all conflicting elements, either in the one sphere or in the other. What guides us sufficiently in matters of common practice has the very same authority to guide us in matters of speculation; more properly, perhaps, to be called the practice of the soul. If the evidence in the aggregate shows the being of a moral Governor of the world, with the same force as would suffice to establish an obligation to act in a matter of common conduct, we are bound in duty to accept it, and have no right to demand as a condition previous that all occasions of doubt or question be removed out of the way. Our demands for evidence must be limited by the general reason of the case. Does that general reason of the case make it probable that a finite being, with a finite place in a comprehensive scheme, devised and administered by a Being who is infinite, would be able either to embrace within his view, or rightly to appreciate, all the motives and the aims that may have been in the mind of the Divine Disposer? On the contrary, a demand so unreasonable deserves to be met with the scornful challenge of Dante (Paradise xix. 79):

> Or tu chi sei, che vuoi sedere a scranna
> Per giudicar da lungi mille miglia
> Colla veduta corta d'una spanna?

Undoubtedly a great deal here depends upon the question whether, and in what degree, our knowledge is limited. And here the Reply seems to be by no means in accord with Newton and with Butler. By its contempt for authority, the Reply seems to cut off from us all knowledge that is not at first hand; but then also it seems to assume an original and first hand knowledge of all possible kinds of things. I will take an instance, all the easier to deal with because it is outside the immediate sphere of controversy. In one of those pieces of fine writing with which the Reply abounds, it is determined *obiter* by a backhanded stroke (N. A. R., p. 491) that Shakespeare is "by far the greatest of the human race." I do not feel entitled to assert that he is not; but how vast and complex a question is here determined for us in this

airy manner! Has the writer of the Reply really weighed the force, and measured the sweep of his own words? Whether Shakespeare has or has not the primacy of genius over a very few other names which might be placed in competition with his, is a question which has not yet been determined by the general or deliberate judgment of lettered mankind. But behind it lies another question, inexpressibly difficult, except for the Reply, to solve. That question is, what is the relation of human genius to human greatness. Is genius the sole constitutive element of greatness, or with what other elements, and in what relations to them, is it combined? Is every man great in proportion to his genius? Was Goldsmith, or was Sheridan, or was Burns, or was Byron, or was Goethe, or was Napoleon, or was Alcibiades, no smaller, and was Johnson, or was Howard, or was Washington, or was Phocion or Leonidas no greater, than in proportion to his genius properly so called? How are we to find a common measure, again, for different kinds of greatness; how weigh, for example, Dante against Julius Cæsar? And I am speaking of greatness properly so called, not of goodness properly so called. We might seem to be dealing with a writer whose contempt for authority in general is fully balanced, perhaps outweighed, by his respect for one authority in particular.

The religions of the world, again, have in many cases given to many men material for life-long study. The study of the Christian Scriptures, to say nothing of Christian life and institutions, has been to many and justly famous men a study "never ending, still beginning"; not, like the world of Alexander, too limited for the powerful faculty that ranged over it; but, on the contrary, opening height on height, and with deep answering to deep, and with increase of fruit ever prescribing increase of effort. But the Reply has sounded all these depths, has found them very shallow, and is quite able to point out (p. 490) the way in which the Saviour of the world might have been a much greater teacher than He actually was; had He said anything, for instance, of the family relation, had He spoken against slavery and tyranny, had He issued a sort of *code Napoleon* embracing education, progress, scientific truth, and international law. This observation on the family relation seems to me beyond even the usual measure of extravagance when we bear in mind that, according to the Christian scheme, the Lord of heaven and earth

"was subject" (St. Luke ii. 51) to a human mother and a reputed human father, and that He taught (according to the widest and, I believe, the best opinion) the absolute indissolubility of marriage. I might cite many other instances in reply. But the broader and the true answer to the objection is, that the Gospel was promulgated to teach principles and not a code; that it included the foundation of a society in which those principles were to be conserved, developed, and applied; and that down to this day there is not a moral question of all those which the Reply does or does not enumerate, nor is there a question of duty arising in the course of life for any of us, that is not determinable in all its essentials by applying to it as a touchstone the principles declared in the Gospel. Is not, then, the *hiatus*, which the Reply has discovered in the teaching of our Lord, an imaginary *hiatus?* Nay, are the suggested improvements of that teaching really gross deteriorations? Where would have been the wisdom of delivering to an uninstructed population of a particular age a codified religion, which was to serve for all nations, all ages, all states of civilization? Why was not room to be left for the career of human thought in finding out, and in working out, the adaptation of Christianity to the ever varying movement of the world? And how is it that they who will not admit that a revelation is in place when it has in view the great and necessary work of conflict against sin, are so free in recommending enlargements of that Revelation for purposes, as to which no such necessity can be pleaded?

I have known a person who, after studying the old classical or Olympian religion for the third part of a century, at length began to hope that he had some partial comprehension of it, some inkling of what it meant. Woe is him that he was not conversant either with the faculties or with the methods of the Reply, which apparently can dispose in half an hour of any problem, dogmatic, historical, or moral; and which accordingly takes occasion to assure us that Buddha was "in many respects the greatest religious teacher this world has ever known, the broadest, the most intellectual of them all" (p. 491). On this I shall only say that an attempt to bring Buddha and Buddhism into line together is far beyond my reach, but that every Christian, knowing in some degree what Christ is, and what He has done for the world, can only be the more thankful if Buddha, or Confucius, or any other teacher

has in any point, and in any measure, come near to the outskirts of His ineffable greatness and glory.

It is my fault or my misfortune to remark, in this Reply, an inaccuracy of reference, which would of itself suffice to render it remarkable. Christ, we are told (pp. 492, 500), denounced the chosen people of God as "a generation of vipers." This phrase is applied by the Baptist to the crowd who came to seek baptism from him; but it is only applied by our Lord to Scribes or Pharisees (Luke iii. 7, Matthew xxiii. 33, and xii. 34), who are so commonly placed by Him in contrast with the people. The error is repeated in the mention of whited sepulchres. Take again the version of the story of Ananias and Sapphira. We are told (p. 494) that the Apostles conceived the idea "of having all things in common." In the narrative there is no statement, no suggestion of the kind; it is a pure interpolation (Acts iv. 32–7). Motives of a reasonable prudence are stated as matter of fact to have influenced the offending couple—another pure interpolation. After the catastrophe of Ananias "the Apostles sent for his wife"—a third interpolation. I refer only to these points as exhibitions of an habitual and dangerous inaccuracy, and without any attempt at present to discuss the case, in which the judgments of God are exhibited on their severer side, and in which I cannot, like the Reply, undertake summarily to determine for what causes the Almighty should or should not take life, or delegate the power to take it.

Again, we have (p. 486) these words given as a quotation from the Bible:

"They who believe and are baptized shall be saved, and they who believe not shall be damned; and these shall go away into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."

The second clause thus reads as if applicable to the persons mentioned in the first; that is to say, to those who reject the tidings of the Gospel. But instead of its being a continuous passage, the latter section is brought out of another gospel (St. Matthew's) and another connection; and it is really written, not of those who do not believe, but of those who refuse to perform offices of charity to their neighbour in his need. It would be wrong to call this intentional misrepresentation; but can it be called less than somewhat reckless negligence?

It is a more special misfortune to find a writer arguing on the

same side with his critic, and yet for the critic not to be able to agree with him. But so it is with reference to the great subject of immortality, as treated in the Reply.

"The idea of immortality, that, like a sea, has ebbed and flowed in the human heart, with its countless waves of hope and fear beating against the shores and rocks of time and fate, was not born of any book, nor of any creed, nor of any religion. It was born of human affection; and it will continue to ebb and flow beneath the mist and clouds of doubt and darkness, as long as love kisses the lips of death" (p. 483).

Here we have a very interesting chapter of the history of human opinion disposed of in the usual summary way, by a statement which, as it appears to me, is developed out of the writer's inner consciousness. If the belief in immortality is not connected with any revelation or religion, but is simply the expression of a subjective want, then plainly we may expect the expression of it to be strong and clear in proportion to the various degrees in which faculty is developed among the various races of mankind. But how does the matter stand historically? The Egyptians were not a people of high intellectual development, and yet their religious system was strictly associated with, I might rather say founded on, the belief in immortality. The ancient Greeks, on the other hand, were a race of astonishing, perhaps unrivalled, intellectual capacity. But not only did they, in prehistoric ages, derive their scheme of a future world from Egypt; we find also that, with the lapse of time and the advance of the Hellenic civilization, the constructive ideas of the system lost all life and definite outline, and the most powerful mind of the Greek philosophy, that of Aristotle, had no clear conception whatever of a personal existence in a future state.

The favorite doctrine of the Reply is the immunity of all error in belief from moral responsibility. In the first page (p. 473) this is stated with reserve as the "innocence of *honest* error." But why such a limitation? The Reply warms with its subject; it shows us that no error can be otherwise than honest, inasmuch as nothing which involves honesty, or its reverse, can, from the constitution of our nature, enter into the formation of opinion. Here is the full blown exposition (p. 476):

"The brain thinks without asking our consent. We believe, or we disbelieve, without an effort of the will. Belief is a result.

It is the effect of evidence upon the mind. The scales turn in spite of him who watches. *There is no opportunity of being honest, or dishonest, in the formation of an opinion.* The conclusion is entirely independent of desire."

The reasoning faculty is, therefore, wholly extrinsic to our moral nature, and no influence is or can be received or imparted between them. I know not whether the meaning is that all the faculties of our nature are like so many separate departments in one of the modern shops that supply all human wants; that will, memory, imagination, affection, passion, each has its own separate domain, and that they meet only for a comparison of results, just to tell one another what they have severally been doing. It is difficult to conceive, if this be so, wherein consists the personality, or individuality, or organic unity of man. It is not difficult to see that while the Reply aims at uplifting human nature, it in reality plunges us (p. 475) into the abyss of degradation by the destruction of moral freedom, responsibility, and unity. For we are justly told that "reason is the supreme and final test." Action may be merely instinctive and habitual, or it may be consciously founded on formulated thought; but, in the cases where it is instinctive and habitual, it passes over, so soon as it is challenged, into the other category, and finds a basis for itself in some form of opinion. But, says the Reply, we have no responsibility for our opinions: we cannot help forming them according to the evidence as it presents itself to us. Observe, the doctrine embraces every kind of opinion, and embraces all alike, opinion on subjects where we like or dislike, as well as upon subjects where we merely affirm or deny in some medium absolutely colourless. For, if a distinction be taken between the colourless and the coloured medium, between conclusions to which passion or propensity or imagination inclines us, and conclusions to which these have nothing to say, then the whole ground will be cut away from under the feet of the Reply, and it will have to build again *ab initio*. Let us try this by a test case. A father who has believed his son to have been through life upright, suddenly finds that charges are made from various quarters against his integrity. Or a friend, greatly dependent for the work of his life on the co-operation of another friend, is told that that comrade is counterworking and betraying him. I make no assumption now as to the evidence or the result: but I

ask which of them could approach the investigation without feeling a desire to be able to acquit? And what shall we say of the desire to condemn? Would Elizabeth have had no leaning towards finding Mary Stuart implicated in a conspiracy? Did English judges and juries approach with an unbiassed mind the trials for the Popish plot? Were the opinions formed by the English Parliament on the Treaty of Limerick formed without the intervention of the will? Did Napoleon judge according to the evidence when he acquitted himself in the matter of the Duc d'Enghien? Does the intellect sit in a solitary chamber, like Galileo in the palace of the Vatican, and pursue celestial observation all untouched, while the turmoil of earthly business is raging everywhere around? According to the Reply, it must be a mistake to suppose that there is anywhere in the world such a thing as bias, or prejudice, or prepossession: they are words without meaning in regard to our judgments, for, even if they could raise a clamor from without, the intellect sits within, in an atmosphere of serenity, and, like Justice, is deaf and blind, as well as calm.

In addition to all other faults, I hold that this philosophy, or phantasm of philosophy, is eminently retrogressive. Human nature, in its compound of flesh and spirit, becomes more complex with the progress of civilization; with the steady multiplication of wants, and of means for their supply. With complication, introspection has largely extended, and I believe that, as observation extends its field, so far from isolating the intelligence and making it autocratic it tends more and more to enhance and multiply the infinitely subtle, as well as the broader and more palpable modes, in which the interaction of the human faculties is carried on. Who among us has not had occasion to observe, in the course of his experience, how largely the intellectual power of a man is affected by the demands of life on his moral powers, and how they open and grow, or dry up and dwindle, according to the manner in which those demands are met.

Genius itself, however purely a conception of the intellect, is not exempt from the strong influences of joy and suffering, love and hatred, hope and fear, in the development of its powers. It may be that Homer, Shakespeare, Goethe, basking upon the whole in the sunshine of life, drew little supplementary force from its trials and agitations. But the history of one not less wonderful

than any of these, the career of Dante, tells a different tale; and one of the latest and most searching investigators of his history (Scartazzini, Dante Alighieri, *seine zeit, sein leben, und seine werkes*, B. II. Ch. 5, p. 119; also pp. 438, 9. Biel, 1869) tells, and shows us, how the experience of his life co-operated with his extraordinary natural gifts and capabilities to make him what he was. Under the three great heads of love, belief, and patriotism, his life was a continued course of ecstatic or agonizing trials. The strain of these trials was discipline; discipline was experience; and experience was elevation. No reader of his greatest work will, I believe, hold with the Reply that his thoughts, conclusions, judgments were simple results of an automatic process, in which the will and affections had no share, that reasoning operations are like the whir of a clock running down, and we can no more arrest the process or alter the conclusion than the wheels can stop the movement or the noise.*

The doctrine taught in the Reply, that belief is, as a general, nay, universal, law, independent of the will, surely proves, when examined, to be a plausibility of the shallowest kind. Even in arithmetic, if a boy, through dislike of his employment, and consequent lack of attention, brings out a wrong result for his sum, it can hardly be said that his conclusion is absolutely and in all respects independent of his will. Moving onward, point by point, toward the centre of the argument, I will next take an illustration from mathematics. It has (I apprehend) been demonstrated that the relation of the diameter to the circumference of a circle is not susceptible of full numerical expression. Yet, from time to time, treatises are published which boldly announce that they set forth the quadrature of the circle. I do not deny that this may be purely intellectual error; but would it not, on the other hand, be hazardous to assert that no grain of egotism or ambition

* I possess the confession of an illiterate criminal, made, I think, in 1834, under the following circumstances: The new poor law had just been passed in England, and it required persons needing relief to go into the workhouse as a condition of receiving it. In some parts of the country, this provision produced a profound popular panic. The man in question was destitute at the time. He was (I think) an old widower with four very young sons. He rose in the night and strangled them all, one after another, with a blue handkerchief, not from want of fatherly affection, but to keep them out of the workhouse. The confession of this peasant, simple in phrase, but intensely impassioned strongly reminds me of the Ugolino of Dante, and appears to make some approach to its sublimity. Such, in given circumstances, is the effect of moral agony on mental power.

has ever entered into the composition of any one of such treatises? I have selected these instances as, perhaps, the most favorable that can be found to the doctrine of the Reply. But the truth is that, if we set aside matters of trivial import, the enormous majority of human judgments are those into which the biassing power of likes and dislikes more or less largely enters. I admit, indeed, that the illative faculty works under rules upon which choice and inclination ought to exercise no influence whatever. But even if it were granted that in fact the faculty of discourse is exempted from all such influence within its own province, yet we come no nearer to the mark, because that faculty has to work upon materials supplied to it by other faculties; it draws conclusions according to premises, and the question has to be determined whether our conceptions set forth in those premises are or are not influenced by moral causes. For, if they be so influenced, then in vain will be the proof that the understanding has dealt loyally and exactly with the materials it had to work upon; inasmuch as, although the intellectual process be normal in itself, the operation may have been tainted *ab initio* by colouring and distorting influences which have falsified the primary conceptions.

Let me now take an illustration from the extreme opposite quarter to that which I first drew upon. The system called Thuggism, represented in the practice of the Thugs, taught that the act, which we describe as murder, was innocent. Was this an honest error? Was it due, in its authors as well as in those who blindly followed them, to an automatic process of thought, in which the will was not consulted, and which accordingly could entail no responsibility? If it was, then it is plain that the whole foundations, not of belief, but of social morality, are broken up. If it was not, then the sweeping doctrine of the present writer on the necessary blamelessness of erroneous conclusions tumbles to the ground like a house of cards at the breath of the child who built it.

In truth, the pages of the Reply, and the Letter which has more recently followed it,* themselves demonstrate that what the writer has asserted wholesale he overthrows and denies in

* NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for January, 1888, "Another Letter to Dr. Field."

detail. "You will admit," says the Reply (p. 477), "that he who now persecutes for opinion's sake is infamous." But why? Suppose he thinks that by persecution he can bring a man from soul-destroying falsehood to soul-saving truth, this opinion may reflect on his intellectual debility: but that is his misfortune, not his fault. His brain has thought without asking his consent; he has believed or disbelieved without an effort of the will (p. 476). Yet the very writer, who has thus established his title to think, is the first to hurl at him an anathema for thinking. And again, in the Letter to Dr. Field (N. A. R., vol. 146, p. 33), "the dogma of eternal pain" is described as "that infamy of infamies." I am not about to discuss the subject of future retribution. If I were, it would be my first duty to show that this writer has not adequately considered either the scope of his own arguments (which in no way solve the difficulties he presents) or the meaning of his words; and my second would be to recommend his perusal of what Bishop Butler has suggested on this head. But I am at present on ground altogether different. I am trying another issue. This author says we believe or disbelieve without the action of the will, and, consequently, belief or disbelief is not the proper subject of praise or blame. And yet, according to the very same authority, the dogma of eternal pain is what?—not "an error of errors," but an "infamy of infamies;" and though to hold a negative may not be a subject of moral reproach, yet to hold the affirmative may. Truly it may be asked, is not this a fountain which sends forth at once sweet waters and bitter?

Once more. I will pass away from tender ground, and will endeavor to lodge a broader appeal to the enlightened judgment of the author. Says Odysseus in the Iliad (B. II.) *οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη*: and a large part of the world, stretching this sentiment beyond its original meaning, have held that the root of civil power is not in the community, but in its head. In opposition to this doctrine, the American written Constitution, and the entire American tradition, teach the right of a nation to self-government. And these propositions, which have divided and still divide the world, open out respectively into vast systems of irreconcilable ideas and laws, practices and habits of mind. Will any rational man, above all will any American, contend that these conflicting systems have been adopted, upheld, and enforced on

one side and the other, in the daylight of pure reasoning only, and that moral, or immoral, causes have had nothing to do with their adoption? That the intellect has worked impartially, like a steam-engine, and that selfishness, love of fame, love of money, love of power, envy, wrath, and malice, or again bias, in its least noxious form, have never had anything to do with generating the opposing movements, or the frightful collisions in which they have resulted? If we say that they have not, we contradict the universal judgment of mankind. If we say they have, then mental processes are not automatic, but may be influenced by the will and by the passions, affections, habits, fancies, that sway the will; and this writer will not have advanced a step toward proving the universal innocence of error, until he has shown that propositions of religion are essentially unlike almost all other propositions, and that no man ever has been, or from the nature of the case can be, affected in their acceptance or rejection by moral causes.*

To sum up. There are many passages in these noteworthy papers, which, taken by themselves, are calculated to command warm sympathy. Towards the close of his final, or latest letter, the writer expresses himself as follows (N. A. R., vol. 146, p. 46):

"Neither in the interest of truth, nor for the benefit of man, is it necessary to assert what we do not know. No cause is great enough to demand a sacrifice of candor. The mysteries of life and death, of good and evil, have never yet been solved."

How good, how wise are these words! But coming at the close of the controversy, have they not some of the ineffectual features of a death-bed repentance? They can hardly be said to represent in all points the rules under which the pages preceding them have been composed; or he, who so justly says that we ought not to assert what we do not know, could hardly have laid down the law as we find it a few pages earlier (ibid, p. 40) when it is pronounced that "an infinite God has no excuse for leaving his children in doubt and darkness." Candor and upright inten-

* The chief part of these observations were written before I had received the January number of the REVIEW, with Col. Ingersoll's additional letter to Dr. Field. Much of this letter is specially pointed at Dr. Field, who can defend himself, and at Calvin, whose ideas I certainly cannot undertake to defend all along the line. I do not see that the Letter adds to those, the most salient, points of the earlier article which I have endeavored to select for animadversion.

tion are indeed every where manifest amidst the flashing coruscations which really compose the staple of the articles. Candor and upright intention also impose upon a commentator the duty of formulating his animadversions. I sum them up under two heads. Whereas we are placed in an atmosphere of mystery, relieved only by a little sphere of light round each of us, like a clearing in an American forest (which this writer has so well described), and rarely can see farther than is necessary for the direction of our own conduct from day to day, we find here, assumed by a particular person, the character of an universal judge without appeal. And whereas the highest self-restraint is necessary in these dark but, therefore, all the more exciting inquiries, in order to maintain the ever quivering balance of our faculties, this writer chooses to ride an unbroken horse, and to throw the reins upon his neck. I have endeavored to give a sample of the results.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

DANGEROUS "TRUSTS."

We have entered upon a dangerous epoch in the evolution of our civilization, and hardly a fortnight passes now without developing some new combination of gigantic "trusts" of some corporate, industrial, or commercial interest, to fix the price to consumers of all sorts of things and commodities, independent of the economic operations of the law of supply and demand. One of the first, as well as one of the greatest combinations ever formed was the Standard Oil Company, and it has thus far been so eminently successfuly in absolutely controlling the market price of oil, regardless of consumers or producers, and in defiance of supposed well settled principles of political economy, that it has inevitably bred an ugly brood of imitators.

The next great combine was the whisky trust, commonly known as the whisky ring. This became so strong and potential that it commanded the submission, not only of States, but of the National Government, to its behests and interests. It insists upon a monopoly tax upon whisky, but generally pays the tax (if at all) only when it suits its own convenience. The people of this country have already become weary of hearing of trust conspiracies for the monopoly of beef, salt, gas, coal, oil, rubber, lead, lead pencils, copper, etc., indeed, almost everything which may be controlled by aggregated capital.

Perhaps one clear and concise statute forbidding corporations or aggregated capital to do business except as a unit would break up these pernicious trusts, which have been so serious a menace to commercial progress and to our future national prosperity. The introduction of such an enactment is imperatively demanded by the requirements of the situation. Otherwise all competition, the life of all trade, will be eventually crushed out. An economic writer of great force says: "The 'trusts' are, in effect, corporations created without the consent of the state, and

not subject to the control exercised over legalized corporations. The combination of coal companies to sustain the prices of coal and to arbitrarily limit production is practically a 'trust' in the general scope of its operations. The steel-rail combination is of like character. And so with others. *The object of all these combinations is to effect an illegal purpose by legal means.* What is to be done with them? It is a well settled principle of law that associations have no more right to inflict injuries upon others than individuals have. But these associations merely agree verbally to quit selling their products until their price shall be offered them. The 'trusts' do not hesitate to undersell troublesome competitors or to overbid them for necessary raw material, thus making themselves, if successful, the only wholesale buyers and the only wholesale sellers of the commodities they deal in. After having established themselves by breaking down competition, they make the consumer pay the expense of the experiment and such further charge as they think the business will bear. It is difficult, if not impossible, to punish these combinations as conspiracies without such invasion of private right as would, perhaps, constitute an equivalent or greater evil. It is evident, however, that there must be devised some system of regulation to meet a new danger with new remedies. Possibly rascalities of this nature may be repressed by taxation. At any rate, if the 'trusts' be not conspiracies, there should be such publicity of '*their understandings among gentlemen*' as to enable the public to take proper measures for self protection."

Comparisons are generally odious, but I shall, nevertheless, attempt to make one. The corporations and "trusts" of this gloriously free country may well be compared to the aristocracy in Europe in their relations with the people: both are tolerated and highly privileged, although the corporations and "trusts" are far more influential, powerful, and injurious here than are the aristocracy of Europe in their own countries. And, inconsistent as it may appear, many of our "Fourth of July orators" and others loudly denounce the blooded and titled aristocracy of Europe, which does not and can not injure us here, but say nothing about the great combinations here in our midst, and allow them to continue to rule and rob us. Let us just for a moment look at things as they really are. Practically, all the great necessities of life in this country, excepting only the air—and

that would be monopolized if it had solidity, like the earth—are now controlled by soulless and mercenary combinations. Are these things inevitable? Are they the legitimate product of our civilization? If they are, we had better begin anew. But they are not the outgrowth of progress. They are rather fungous growths—horrible excrescences. They are the fruits of bad legislation; and bad judicial construction of already bad laws. Laws enacted by professional politicians have erected monopolies that have already absorbed more than one-half of the wealth of the country and like vampires are sucking the life-blood of the people. The unorganized masses of consumers and producers can protect themselves against these "trusts" in but one way, and that is through laws which will utterly overthrow and prevent such giant growths. The primary object and justification of government is to protect the weak and prevent a powerful few from wronging the many. But if we cannot bring the Standard Oil Trust into subjection to the law, how will we ever cope with all those other "trusts" organized for the express purpose of evading all laws Congress may pass, and to violate with impunity every State law that can be enacted. But these combinations have at present such a powerful grip upon Congresses and Legislatures, that they will not permit efficient laws to restrain them to be enacted. Think of it! It is estimated by reliable authority that much more of the wealth of the United States is now owned and controlled by corporations and monopolistic trusts, than by private persons. Fifty years ago corporations were nothing; now they are everything. They dominate all channels of activity; they control governors, judges and legislatures; they make hewers of wood and drawers of water of all who are outside of their charmed circles. It is perhaps well, from an orthodox, fire and brimstone standpoint, that they are soulless entities without moral responsibility. Or what would be their future state? The first telegraph line ever built in the United States was largely built at the expense of the Federal Government. Suppose that the government had then bought out Mr. Morse and extended the system gradually over the country, would the men managing it have exercised any more political influence than has at all times been exercised by Jay Gould and his partners in the present management of the telegraphic system of the country? That there might have been stealing goes

without saying; but, basing our knowledge upon human experience, there is no probability that Government officials could ever have stolen such amounts as are represented by the "water" in the stock of the Western Union Telegraph Company, on which those using the telegraph are taxed to pay dividends. The same truth applies to the Pacific railroads. They were built by private parties with money obtained from the sale of Government bonds and lands. The men who obtained control of this work not only paid to themselves extravagant prices for doing it, but they robbed the treasury of thirty-three millions of dollars over and above their own estimate of the cost of the roads. The building of a road to the Pacific was at the time a military, political, and commercial necessity, and it was on that ground that Government aid was given in its construction. But if the Government had a right to help build it—it had a right to build it without the aid of private parties. Had it done so, and then operated it, there might have been some stealing, and the managers might have gained some political influence, but does any one imagine that they could have gained such influence over Congress as that exercised by the railway ring, and disclosed by the Credit Mobilier investigation, or that all of them together could have committed such robberies as have been exposed by the recent report of the Pacific Railway Commission?

Government officials would have been sent to the penitentiary for the hundredth part of the offenses that have made private citizens "great financiers," governors, judges and United States Senators. Had the Government built the Pacific railroads and the telegraph lines and kept them in its possession the cost of the building would by this time have ceased to be a factor in operating them. This would have been a few big steps towards an important and permanent advantage to the people at large. It would mean cheaper telegraphic facilities, cheaper travel and cheaper transportation for freight for all time to come. But instead of having what should be really theirs, they are now compelled to pay large tribute to a few millionaires for its use. And yet in the very teeth of these facts the work of creating new gigantic and dangerous "trusts" or combinations, seems to be increasing and going steadily on. The plain truth is that gigantic corporations like the Pacific railroads and the Western Union Telegraph Company are beyond and above the control of municipal

ordinances or State laws. It is even doubted by many, whether the vast powers of the General Government will prove to be sufficiently potential against such an aggregation of capital and brains. Exercising functions that are largely public in their character they nevertheless enjoy all the rights and all the advantages of private enterprises. As absolutely essential agencies for the transaction of business they are protected by the business interests of the country from the operation of laws enacted for the purpose of bringing them into subjection to authority.

There is nothing democratic about such vast monopolies for controlling those channels through which intelligence and traffic are effected. Competition is crushed by its very weight, holding business men by the throat, and forcing them to deliver. They are despotic in spirit, tyrannical in method, openly hostile to liberty and free institutions, and threatening menaces to the pursuit of happiness, and to equality and equal opportunities under the law. When the people of this country once get their eyes wide open they will hardly permit such dangerous excrescences to fasten their deathlike grip upon our liberties and our laws; and if the recent consolidation of the Baltimore and Ohio Telegraph Company with the Western Union shall have the practical effect to direct public attention seriously to the monstrous and abnormal growth of the Western Union monopoly, there will arise such a loud and vigorous protest of public sentiment in opposition to the general introduction of such a dangerous factor in public and business affairs, as will raise such a flood tide of antagonism that those who have provoked it must not complain if they shall be swept beyond the line of justice by its violence. They are so big that they will not be admonished; they will not bend, and that means that sooner or later they must be broken. No doubt there are a great many well meaning people in this country who are allowing foolish fears to make them think and act falsely, not only to their own true interests, but to their Americanism, to their natural tenddencies and honest convictions. They view the steady growth of monopolistic monstrosities with increasing alarm, but they do nothing to prevent it. They ardently believe in democratic institutions, and feel their hearts stirred now and then by the old-time passion for liberty, and yet shut their eyes to the steady growth of a public sentiment among the friends of monopoly in favor of

a "strong government" that will depend on force alone for the maintenance of public order. Why is this? There is on the other hand a growing sentiment of unrest and disgust among all who really believe in democratic institutions. They begin to see that something must be done, but they are not agreed as to what that something is. Many of them wilfully shut their eyes to the only remedy that can put an end to the tendency that enables rich men to rule.

It is poverty, not ignorance, that makes voters submissive. Ignorance does not make men humble; it makes them conceited. It is dependence, not fear, that enables the rich man to carry his followers to the polls, as the old baron took his retainers into battle. The only salvation for republican institutions is the utter abolition of our present system of tolerating unequal opportunities, whether they be natural or the creatures of law.

Harshly as the system grates on the true interests and the sense of justice of the people, they are but slowly provoked to aggressive action; but when they once plainly see these great so-called trusts reaching out to control arbitrarily the cost of necessaries of business or of life, there will be a speedy popular combination against the combines, and it will be revolutionary if revolutionary action shall be needed to overthrow this assault upon the natural and economic laws of production and consumption, and of supply and demand. There is, however, still a faint ray of hope to some people since the colossal conspirators of the Pacific railroads have come forward with a compromise to fund the proceeds of their rascality into a fifty years' bond, and other "trusts" may do the same later on. The lamented Judge Black once described such a scheme as this, as an invention to increase the plunderer's stealing powers, "through which his felonious fingers are made long enough to reach into the pockets of posterity," so that he "lays his lien on property yet uncreated, anticipates the labor of coming ages, coins the industry of future generations into cash, and snatches the inheritance from children whose fathers are unborn."

W. M. Rapsher.

MR. MATTHEW ARNOLD ON AMERICA.

In the last number of the *Nineteenth Century* Mr. Matthew Arnold labors for the humanization of America. It seems to be his hobby. Our great dangers, as he sees them, are "self-glorification and self-deception"—"the predominance of the common and ignoble, born of the predominance of the average man." We should accept kindly the whole warning Mr. Arnold gives us, but probably our self-glorification is more annoying to others than dangerous to ourselves. Self-deception is a far more serious matter; —but are we guilty of it? Certainly we are told often and plainly of our faults, and even Mr. Arnold admits that we are a shrewd and progressive people and have fine political institutions. Perhaps he is deceiving himself concerning our self-deception, but we must listen patiently and strive to find out our faults and correct them. Our newspapers ought to help us in this, but they, Mr. Arnold says, are very bad. Upon this point, however, he speaks as an aggrieved party. Our newspapers were unkind to him, and he is only "getting even." When he went west from New York he was armed with a letter to Joe Medill, the old-time editor of the Chicago *Tribune*. Notwithstanding Mr. Arnold's safeguard, that paper, as he tells us, pictured him by saying "he has harsh features, supercilious manners, parts his hair down the middle, wears a single eye-glass and ill-fitting clothes." The same paper afterwards marred this graphic sketch by calling him a "cur." Mr. Arnold is not to blame for resenting such treatment from our press, though in seeking his revenge he is not proceeding in a way to promote the "sense of elevation" for which it is the purpose of his article to contend.

Mr. Arnold says that "the common and ignoble is human nature's enemy;" and "the predominance of the common and ignoble, born of the predominance of the average man," is the

malady in which he sees the greatest danger to us especially, and to humanity generally. This may be a danger in countries whose political institutions and social laws provide for the survival of the *un*fittest; but how can it be a serious danger where distinction and predominance flow only from merit? Are we deceiving ourselves in denying "the predominance of the common and ignoble" in our country? To find the most suitable term for expressing the special deficiency of America, Mr. Arnold turns to his master, Carlyle, who tried to dissuade a younger brother from emigrating by saying to him, "Could you banish yourself from all that is interesting to your mind—forget the history, the glorious institutions, the noble principles of old Scotland, that you may eat a better dinner perhaps?" Mr. Arnold says of this, "I am not saying that Carlyle's advice was good, or that young men should not emigrate. I do but take note, in the word *interesting*, of a requirement, a cry of aspiration, a cry not sounding in the imaginative Carlyle's breast only, but sure of response in his brother's breast also, and in human nature."

Carlyle's argument to his brother was that "*the history, the glorious institutions, the noble principles*" of their own country were so interesting that he ought not to banish himself from them for the sake of bettering his fortune. He presented the attractions which Scotland afforded to a native, as a sufficient season for staying at home. Mr. Arnold commits the absurdity of citing this in a criticism of America, because he, an Englishman, does not find America *interesting*. Of course *our* "history, glorious institutions, and noble principles" may fail to be interesting to Sir Leppel Griffin, Mr. Matthew Arnold, or any other foreigner; but we cannot admit that we are uninteresting, in fact, without first inquiring whom we should interest to escape the verdict of our self-constituted judge. Surely we have been interesting to British sovereigns from Victoria all the way back to George the Third, and to British statesmen from Gladstone to Pitt; and it is beyond dispute that we have proved interesting to the British army and navy wherever we have met them—especially the parts commanded by Burgoyne, Cornwallis, Packenham, Dacre and Barclay. Mr. Arnold cites one of our newspapers as saying: "Wales says Mary is a darling," the meaning being that the Prince of Wales "expressed great admiration for Miss Mary Anderson." This reminds us to claim that Miss Anderson, an

American, is *interesting* the British people in the histrionic art; and it may be added that Buffalo Bill, with the unmatched skill of his cow-boys in riding bucking ponies, is interesting them (to coin a word) in the *horseonic* art. There is nothing elevating or interesting in hobby-horse-riding over America's faults, but bucking ponies *elevate* humanity, and are interesting—especially to the part of humanity that gets *elevated.*

Notwithstanding the fact that it is Mr. Arnold who charges us with being *uninteresting,* his own writings afford evidence that we have been somewhat *interesting* to him. But Mr. Arnold gives the word *interesting* a meaning to suit himself, and the *interesting,* as he understands it, is not to be found in the quarters just mentioned. His "requirement," his "cry of aspiration" is for the *interesting* of another kind. He takes from Carlyle the word *interesting,* as the very one for his purpose ("There is *our* word launched," he says with evident glee), but he proceeds at once to give the word a meaning of his own. For Carlyle, *the interesting,* was in the "history, the glorious institutions, the noble principles" of his country. For Mr. Arnold, "the great sources of the *interesting* are distinction and beauty,"—(not history, glorious institutions, noble principles)—and we fail, Mr. Arnold says, to come up to his standard. Our deficiency, according to Mr. Arnold himself, is due largely to our freedom from the rot of the feudal ages. "If we in England," he says, "were without the cathedrals, parish churches and castles of the Catholic and feudal age, and without the houses of the Elizabethan age, but had only the towns and buildings which the rise of our middle class has created in the modern age, we should be in much the same case as the Americans."

Then, it is old cathedrals, churches, and castles, "you know," that make the present generation of Englishmen *interesting.*

We may not boast with Mr. Arnold on guard, but we need not be discouraged by our lack of ruins and relics of folly and superstition.

Mr. Arnold says of our country: "There is little to nourish and delight the sense of beauty there. In the long settled States east of the Alleghanies, the landscape in general is not interesting, the climate harsh and in extremes." This is a shallow as well as an unjust criticism. He charges an whole country with possessing little to nourish and delight the sense of beauty, and in

support of the charge specifies that in one small part of it "the landscape *in general* is not interesting, the climate harsh and in extremes." We may fairly demur to what Mr. Arnold says of the landscape and climate east of the Alleghanies; and his stereotyped charge of boastfulness must not deter us from pointing out the shallowness of his criticism of a country extending from the home of storms and ice in the North, to the land of sun and flowers in the South, and from the Atlantic in the East to the Pacific in the West, possessing nearly every form and shade of beautiful landscape, and every variety of desirable climate that nature has vouchsafed to the earth.

Mr. Arnold turns from landscape and climate to men, and says: "As to distinction, and the interest human nature seeks from enjoying the effect made upon it by what is elevated, the case is much the same. There is very little to create such effect, very much to thwart it. Goethe says somewhere that 'the thrill of awe is the best thing humanity has;' but, if there be a discipline in which the Americans are wanting, it is the discipline of awe and respect."

There may be some truth in this. We stand in awe only of God and His works, and, therefore, we are not as *aw-fully* disciplined as people who are thrilled all their lives by the presence of "Majesties," "Lords," and other born aristocrats. But we are not wholly lacking in the discipline of respect for men.

Mr. Arnold says: "In truth, everything is against distinction in America, and against the sense of elevation to be gained by examining and respecting it." He is entirely wrong. In no country on earth is there a fairer field for distinction or a distinction more respected. *But it must be the distinction of merit.* We have no respect for a man of poor intelligence and bad character, because he may claim the distinction of being born a lord, or the like; nor do we admit that any "sense of elevation" would be gained by "admiring and respecting" such distinction.

Mr. Arnold, maintaining that we are without men of distinction, says: "Now, Lincoln is shrewd, sagacious, humorous, honest, courageous, firm; he is a man with qualities deserving the most sincere esteem and praise, but he has not distinction." Without chaffering about the meaning of the word distinction, it is certain—distinction or no distinction—that Lincoln's ability,

character, and deeds have given us all the "sense of elevation" that we can gain by admiration and respect for man. No higher "sense of elevation" could be created among us by trying to learn respect for the distinction of those born aristocrats, who are neither "shrewd, sagacious, humorous, courageous, nor firm"—men entirely destitute of "qualities deserving esteem and respect." In short, we are unable to do better in the cause of humanization, by "admiration and respect," than to admire and respect merit.

Mr. Arnold's essay upon General Grant, published a year or so ago, and his article in the last number of the *Nineteenth Century Magazine,* indicate that he labors under two difficulties: that instead of being clear, his stream of thought is muddy; and that he is not master of his mother tongue. If the two essays just mentioned are English literature (and they pass for it), then, at the risk of "self-glorification" and "self-deception," let us persevere in the development of American literature.

JAMES B. FRY.

TESTIMONY BEFORE HOUSE COMMITTEES.

No one has a right to demand as a matter of right that he shall be heard by a Committee of the House. The constitutional right of petition to Congress has nothing whatever to do with the claim to be heard in argument before a Committee. It is a matter of discretion with a Committee as to the mode in which it will seek information concerning subjects referred to its consideration.

The claim latterly made by the manufacturers, and those who profess to speak in their name, that they shall have "the right" to be heard, grows out of the general impression of those gentlemen that a tariff bill is largely private legislation for the benefit of the manufacturers, and that being so they have the right to represent their private interests before the Committee of Ways and Means.

The majority of the Committee believe that a tariff bill, like all other public legislation, should be based upon the interests of the public, while, of course, no harm, if it could be prevented, should be done to any private interest. As a matter of experience in former Congresses, these "hearings" were carefully prepared, and often disingenuous arguments, having the effect, whether intended so or not, to confuse and mislead, and so prepared as to conceal rather than to give information.

The gentlemen who proposed to appear were not to come as witnesses to be put upon oath and subject to cross-examination, nor did they propose to reveal to the Committee the cost of the particular article which the particular gentlemen manufactured, so that the Committee might ascertain from them what was the precise difference between the cost of the article manufactured in America and a similar article manufactured abroad. Nor did they propose to give to the Committee as a whole any information not obtainable by any member of the Committee in conversation with these gentlemen or others engaged in similar business; but solely to appear as organizations, associations or committees to present argu-

ments prepared for the purpose of influencing the Committee to legislate in their particular interest; to bring pressure to bear upon the Committee by the appearance of the powerful organizations they represented, and to organize all the protected industries in one combined resistance against any legislation which would undertake to change the present excessive protection.

The mass of material accessible for the purpose of tariff legislation was, in the judgment of the majority, sufficient to render these "hearings" unnecessary. In addition to the testimony taken before the Tariff Commission and the hearings taken before the Ways and Means Committees of the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses, and the very full statistical reports of the various bureaux of the Government, printed arguments in the shape of pamphlets, circulars and letters by persons interested in every industry affected by any possible change in the tariff, were sent to each member of the Committee, and possibly to all the members of the House. Therefore every member of the Committee had abundant means to inform himself as to the facts necessary to reach an intelligent conclusion concerning the matters that were under discussion.

The Committee also felt that the granting of permission to hear any one argument from those representing any one industry was a pledge on its part to hear all other industries, or all other persons professing to represent them, and it was not willing to grant such permission, in view of the possible delay which would occur.

The Committee also knew that any bill it reported would have to undergo discussion in the Committee of the Whole under the five-minute rule; that there was no factory or interest that did not have on the floor some member of Congress who felt that natural and just interest in its development that would render him certain to make himself familiar with the facts concerning the question, and thus submit those facts to the consideration of the House upon his responsibility as a representative.

C. P. BRECKENRIDGE.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF BRAIN-WORK.

Is THERE any element in brain-work but the physical?

"Doctors differ," but upon this point all agree, that it is the only element in that complicated process, which we possess any material means of studying or modifying, and hence is entitled practically to our undivided attention, as physiologists. We are totally unable to imprison a thought beneath our cover-glass, to ascertain the specific gravity of a concept, or the form and color of a moral judgment, but we can observe and study the thought-organ, and determine under what conditions of its substance these processes are advanced or retarded, and crudely measure their intensity by the amount of energy expended. This has been found to bear sufficiently constant relation to the intensity of the process, to afford a rough indication of the force and vigor of the mental operation. Following closely upon this comes the question, "Is the measure of the physiological efficiency and integrity of the thought organ the measure of the intellectual capacity of the individual?" and further and still more pertinent to our range of inquiry, "Is the development of the thought-organ always proportionate with the development of the other tissues of the body?" in other words, "Is a good brain likely to accompany a good physique?" Recent investigations have answered the first question for us by showing conclusively that the brains of those of marked ability in any particular field are unmistakably superior, both in size, weight and complexity of structure, to those of the average of their fellows. The second question yet remains unanswered, and my object in this sketch is briefly to submit a few considerations bearing upon its solution. We all know what the popular theory upon this question is, that brain must be developed at the expense of muscle, and muscle at the expense of brain; that a man cannot be good for both at once, and the typical hard student is necessarily

pale and stooped shouldered, while the typical athlete or muscle worker is as stupid as the brutes whom he rivals in strength. But popular opinion is not infallible, and with all due deference to it, we would respectfully appeal to the judgment of history and science.

Taking, first, a comprehensive view of the historical data bearing upon the subject, we find two classes of facts, one consisting of comparisons between individuals of the same race in different ages, and the other of comparison between individuals of races of different degrees of civilization in the same age ; and the evidence from both classes is unmistakably uniform. In the first class, the few data at our command most decidedly indicate that in spite of our Iliads and Heroics the "men of these degenerate days" are not only healthier and longer-lived, but taller and heavier than their ancestors and predecessors from five hundred to one thousand years ago, inasmuch as they can neither squeeze into their armor, handle their swords, nor even lie down in their coffins.

Many of the suits of armor in the Tower of London would be a tight fit for boys of sixteen to-day, while the average British soldier finds his hand cramped for room on the hilts of the renowned cross-hilted swords of the Crusaders, and going a step further back, the old Greek stone coffins sarcophagi are nearly half a head too short for the average man of to-day.

Such records as we possess, of any scientific accuracy, of the feats of physical prowess, such as running, leaping and hurling the stone, would be easily beaten by our modern athletes.

The other class of data indicate with almost equal clearness that, with a few exceptions, the higher the degree of civilization of a race the greater the perfection of its physical development; in other words, the history of civilization would seem to be the history of an improving physique.

The Indians of our Western plains, the Bushmen and the Hottentots of South Africa, the Negroes of the Gold Coast, the Hindoos of the Indian peninsula, the Terra del Fuegans of the Antarctic, the Esquimaux of the Arctic circle, are all almost as markedly inferior to their Aryan contemporaries as the mustang is to the English thoroughbred.

Many as are the stories which are related of Indian speed and endurance, their fleetest couriers can be both out-run and out-

winded even by amateurs who have submitted to a similar course of training, while their inferiority in wrestling, boxing, and other feats of strength needs only to be referred to.

A civilized man can beat the savage at his own game, and even with his own weapons. A series of scientific experiments has established the fact that the contractile power of the average Frenchman's biceps is nearly twenty per cent. and that of an Englishman's nearly twenty-five per cent. greater than that of the average Tasmanian's.

What light does the history of the four great world empires throw upon this question? What relations existed between the stages of their physical development and their hold upon their imperial power?

When we are first introduced to them, we find the Babylonians a nation of simple, hardy Chaldean shepherds and hunters, living in tents, and compelled, from the very nature of their circumstances, to develop and depend upon a vigorous physique as their means of existence.

It was these qualities that made them the masters of the then known world, but with power came riches and their almost invariable accompaniment, luxury and effeminacy. They forgot how to fight, a fatal symptom in any nation; their wars are all carried on by mercenaries, their cattle are tended, their leopards killed, their houses builded, and every manly function performed by slaves, whilst they are crowding themselves together in cities, lounging in hanging gardens, gorging themselves with dainties, and rotting the last fibre of their manhood with wine. What is the inevitable result? Outraged nature revenges herself; and there suddenly appears on their northwestern frontier a people, who might almost be regarded as the re-embodiment of the spirits of their ancestors. A mere handful of brave, hardy mountaineers, living by the chase, and capable of existing on beech nuts and goat's flesh, they swept everything before them, and gathering force as they advanced, utterly overthrew the world's capital herself, and made her empire a thing of the past.

The "fittest" had survived, but so had the law of selection, and at last, after years of unlimited power, they too became subject to its penalty.

Wealth and idleness had softened their muscles, unstrung their nerves and weakened their courage, and they too were "weighed

in the balance and found wanting." In the very zenith of their power, one of their most adventurous expeditions brought back reports of an insignificant little nation, inhabiting a rocky peninsula and the adjacent groups of islands just beyond their extreme western frontier, who had actually had the hardihood to assist one of their satraps in a rebellion against his master, and an army of myriads was at once dispatched to bring them captives to be placed on exhibition. They declined to come, and so emphatic and convincing was their refusal that nearly one-fourth of the Persian army was constrained to remain as a fertilizer for that stony little peninsula, while another moiety furnished a royal banquet for the Mediterranean fishes. Thinking there must have been some misunderstanding, the invitation was repeated even more urgently than before, with nearly two millions of couriers to bear the message, and Marathon, Salamis, and Thermopylæ were the Greek notes of acceptance, signed after the ancient custom, in the blood of the writer.

For scarcely a century longer had the Persian degeneracy progressed, when the sword of Alexander suddenly flashed above their national horizon, and in six short years his invincible little wedges of human bone and brawn had rent the empire of Darius into a thousand fragments, never again to be united. Wherein lay the Grecian superiority ? A single incident furnishes the key to the whole question. When the Persian invasion was impending the Greeks naturally shrunk from meeting such myriads single-handed, but their confidence was instantly restored when the first Persian prisoners brought in were publicly stripped and their slender muscles and soft white skins exposed to view.

It was the contest of men against weaklings and they had no fears for the result.

The three hundred who held hundreds of thousands at bay at Thermopylæ, and the men who scattered the barbarian myriads like chaff at the Granicus, were the results of centuries of the most careful artificial selection to which the human race has ever been subjected.

For generations the weaklings had been destroyed in infancy and only the robust and vigorous permitted to survive ; in childhood they had been cradled in the hollow of their father's shield ; their earliest playthings had been the dull spear and the wooden sword ; from earliest boyhood they had been dieted, trained, and

hardened as skillfully and rigidly as gladiators preparing for the arena; and the legitimate result was, not only a physique, which in strength and beauty has never yet been surpassed, if equaled, but also a brain which in vigor of conception and keenness of insight still holds its place in the very foremost ranks of the march of intellect.

Had they preserved the balance of their powers they might have been masters of the world to-day, but again the inevitable law of decadence after maturity becomes manifest.

The lists of the Olympic games are thronged with professionals; a Plato is heard lamenting that their gymnasia have become mere arenas for the exhibition of feats of skill by hired athletes, the living "bricks" in the walls of Sparta are replaced by mercenaries, and intellectual and moral degeneracy surely and rapidly follow. Already the screaming of the Roman eagles is heard upon their western coasts and grand old Greece falls, almost without a struggle, before a people who are vastly her inferiors in every particular, save their physical vigor and a wolfish greed for battle.

The Roman was essentially a fighting animal. He was bred and trained as such, and his short, heavy sword, driven by his strong right arm and directed by the brain which inevitably accompanied it, carved out a world empire, the most splendid and most enduring that the race has ever looked upon.

All our forms of legal and political thought still bear the stamp of Rome, and every school boy is familiar with the history of her rise and fall.

It is the old, old story of riches, luxury, and effeminacy, and a horde of athletic savages, our ancestors, shatter to atoms the greatest political masterpiece of any age.

The whole history of the human race bears more than a fanciful analogy to the old fable of Tullus, the giant son of the Earth, whom even Hercules for a long time was unable to conquer, since every time he was thrown he derived fresh strength from contact with his mother, the Earth, but whose strength and life rapidly ebbed away when lifted clear of the earth and held in mid-air by the wily Greek, after he had learned the secret of his power.

Once let the human race be cut off from personal contact with the soil, once let the conventionalities and artificial restrictions of so-called civilization interfere with the healthful simplicity of nature, and decay is certain.

But, it may be objected, was not the predominant element in these old world empires largely physical, so that physical conditions would principally determine their permanence ?

While admitting the partial truth of this suggestion, we are prepared to go a step further, and meet the objection on grounds to which no such exception can be taken.

If we were to ask what three nations had made the most forcible impression upon human thought, we should probably be pointed to the Greeks, the English, and the Germans.

If we can prove that these three nations have or had some quality in common which was especially prominent either just before or during their period of greatest intellectual vigor, and whose decline was rapidly followed by a corresponding intellectual decay, we shall at least have some right to regard it as an important factor in their supremacy.

Let us turn to the pages of history and see if we can discover this common factor. It certainly is not their form of government, for the Greeks lived mainly under a democratic oligarchy; the English under a constitutional monarchy; the Germans, until of late, under a despotism; it is not their race nor their climate, nor their geographical position, least of all their religion; in fine, their only prominent feature in common is their magnificent physique, and for this they are probably more conspicuously distinguished than any other nations of history.

Their reputation for physical prowess was second only to the renown of their intellect.

More than this, in all three their period of greatest physical vigor invariably immediately preceded or accompanied their most conspicuous intellectual triumphs, and its decadence was always promptly followed by intellectual degeneracy.

The Greeks were bred and reared a nation of athletes ; the gymnasium was as indispensable as the temple or the home, manly strength and skill were well nigh deified, and the victor in the great Olympic games considered scarcely less than a god, and yet these magnificent animals have left on record not only forms that for strength and symmetry are alike the wonder and the despair of all succeeding generations, but the most magnificent type of intellectual beauty, the broadest and clearest views of the problems of government, the most intense love of freedom, and the greatest systems of deductive philosophy

which the race has ever known, while in poetry, sculpture, and architecture, the arts which appeal to the finest faculties of man, the world still sits at their feet. The Greek biceps and the Grecian profile were inseparably connected, and Homer, Solon, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Sophocles were both the legitimate products and the ardent supporters of the Greek gymnasia. From the days of the captives in the Romish slave market who excited the admiration of Gregory to the Peninsular campaign of Wellington and the adamantine human wall from which the charge of the old guard rolled back shattered and broken at Waterloo, British bone and sinew has compelled the admiration even of its enemies, and has formed the solid foundation of England's intellectual greatness.

Even to-day the most prominent features in the popular conception of an Englishman are his love of the bath-tub, his enormous appetite and his intense devotion to field sports and exercise of every description.

The most rugged and inaccessible mountain chains cannot separate him from his bath-tub, his carnivorous appetite excites the horror of the vegetarian Hindoos, and is indulged at the very risk of his own life, while he lays out cricket-creases and tennis-courts at the very equator.

Can we hold that the connection is a purely accidental one between the tireless physical vigor and bull-dog tenacity of life and purpose of the English race, and the fact of their tongue being the language of millions upon millions, and bidding fair to become the universal thought-medium ; their empire, upon which the sun never sets ; the priceless services they have rendered to the cause of civil and religious liberty, and the intellectual influence represented by such names as Pitt and Gladstone, Carlyle and Bacon, Wesley and Spurgeon, Newton, Darwin, and Spencer ?

The great national movement of Germany, which has been accompanied by such a remarkable display of intellectual energy, as is signalized by the names of Leibnitz and Kant, Goethe and Schiller, Helmholtz and Virchow, Bismarck and Von Moltke, has its foundation in the almost intolerable military drill and warlike training of the two Fredericks, was fostered by the bitter object lesson on the value of physical prowess, inculcated by the wars of Napoleon, and was inseparably connected with the rise of the great Turnverein system of gymnastics under Father Jahn.

To-day, wherever the German tongue is spoken, together with the poetry of Schiller and the music of Wagner, is found the Turner's gymnasium, and again muscle and brain go hand in hand.

When we turn to the data furnished us by individuals, the physical basis, if not the physical nature of brain work, becomes even more apparent.

It has been proved by actual experiment that great men have not only heavier and finer brains, but taller, heavier, and handsomer bodies than the average of their contemporaries.

The facts established by Beard in his remarkable paper on the longevity of brain workers are familiar to all. Even such a body of questionably great men as the Congress of the United States will be found to average higher in height, girth, weight, and physical beauty than any similar body of their constituents. Whenever we meet a distinguished man, or even see his portrait, we instinctively look for the physical evidences of his mental power, and seldom are we disappointed. There are exceptions, of course, to every rule, but the law of dependence of mental vigor upon physical is well nigh as invariable as the law of heredity, and Little Tommy Green's familiar question, "How large was Alexander, pa, the people called him great?" was after all but the naïve expression of primitive humanity's instinctive expectation, that physical must accompany mental greatness. Lincoln's exploits as a wrestler and rail splitter; Conkling's as a boxer; Gladstone's as a tree-feller; the youthful feats of strength and daring of Bismarck, and the magnificent physiques of Burke and Pitt, Webster and Beecher, Huxley, Bancroft, and Tennyson are not as familiar to the world as their deeds of intellectual prowess, but they are just as essential characteristics of the men.

To the question, "Why this relation exists?" physiology returns us a few brief but suggestive answers. 1st. That the voluntary muscles are the true blood-supply-regulator of the whole organism; in other words, that the brain of a man whose muscles are the most thoroughly developed and frequently exercised will have the fullest and richest supply of life blood; in short, that good muscle means good possibility of brain work. 2d. That as the muscles are both the protectors and the tools of the brain, the more perfect their development the greater the ease with which it can both escape injury and perform the functions necessary to the support of

animal life, thus leaving a greater proportion of its power to be expended in the direction of purely intellectual development; and third, that even the simplest co-ordinate successive contractions of muscle-fibre draw upon and develop not only the five senses and their centres, but large tracts of the cortex itself, which if not immediately concerned in the higher mental processes are most intimately connected with the cells and tracts that are.

What recognition of this important interdependence do we find in most of our systems of education? Almost none, except in our colleges, in which the growth of athletics, stimulated probably by the late war, is one of the most encouraging features of the times. Fortunately, the fashion is rapidly spreading downward, but we, as physicians, must most strenuously insist upon a more important and practical recognition of this truth, than the introduction of ten minutes of dumb-bell exercise or calisthenics in six or eight hours of study.

Our common school pupils are crammed and forced and gorged with intellectual pabulum from six to nine hours a day, while they are at best simply advised and often only permitted to spend from one to three hours a day in the open air, too often in such an exhausted condition as to be incapable of really vigorous play, and this indisposition is too often increased by repeated feminine admonitions, not to waste too much time in play, or to indulge in energetically vigorous sports, because they are "so rough and horrid" and spoil their nice clothes.

A host of instructors, consisting almost exclusively of weak and nervous females, is busily engaged in impressing upon the rising generation that intellectual greatness is the only thing worth striving for, and that physical prowess is worthy only of navvies and pugilists, as the means of its development are so very "ungentlemanly" and "unlady-like." Being almost wholly under petticoat government, not only in the school, but, alas! too often in the home, at a time when his ideals for life are being formed, a boy is almost compelled to form his conceptions of manly vigor from pugilists and professional sports, while the mischief is intensified in both sexes from the pernicious and premature sexual development, which inevitably results from our boasted system of co-education. If our school children of to-day were to spend four hours out of the eight in vigorous, pleasant out-door exercise, they would accom-

plish more in the remaining four than they do now in the entire eight, and with infinitely less strain upon their vital forces. This may seem a startling proposition, but it has been more than proved, not only by the experience of our university and college students, but also by the experiments of Mr. Chadwick, among the factory children in England, on what is known as the "half-time system," by which the children were given four hours, not of vigorous recreation in the open air, but of regular work in the factory, and then four hours of study, with the surprising result that they made better progress, with less effort, than those who studied the whole eight hours.

The best brain-workers of to-day in England and on the Continent spend only three to five hours per diem at the desk or in the laboratory. In view of these facts, it seems to me that the following modifications in our present common school system of education would be at least desirable: 1st. That a play-ground for summer and a well-equipped gymnasium for winter should become indispensable adjuncts of every graded school building. 2d. That for every hour of study the pupil should be expected, and, if necessary, obliged to spend an equal time in vigorous physical exercise, if possible, in the open air, for proficiency in which credit should be given him in his final average. 3d. That a thorough knowledge of the laws of health and the physiology of exercise should be required of every teacher. 4th. That at least half of the teachers should be men, and be selected with a view to not only their mental and moral, but also their physical fitness, to become the ideals of the rising generation.

WOODS HUTCHINSON.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF CONGRESS.

IMAGINE a medium sized man in clerical cut clothes, and a dark grayish beard. His sightless eyes are cast upwards, and in a melodious voice and well measured accents he is delivering the morning prayer to the House. To me there is something indescribably solemn in this blind man's exhortation. Congressmen are not proverbial for their reverence, but their attention at prayers is always respectful, and compares favorably with that of Senators at the other end of the Capitol.

Indeed there is only one Senator, I understand, who makes a rule of always being on hand at prayers, and the president of that august body has grown so accustomed to the absence of the rest that instead of calling upon them as a whole, he simply expresses the hope that the Senator from that particular State "will please come to order." Be this as it may, the anecdote has given time for the prayer of our chaplain to draw to a close. The Speaker's gavel descends with a sharp rap that breaks the spell, and a moment after the clerk is reading, in a hard prosaic voice, the doings of the previous day. This concluded, the reports of committees are made, and this in turn over, the House settles down to business. Do I say "settles down," rather startles up into life. What a hub-bub it is! To the novice it appears the very realization of the Anarch's dream; but gradually, as he watches, studies and observes, he gets hold of the end of the skein and undoes the snarl.

Then he begins to appreciate what a wonderful machine the organism of the House is. I say machine, for it is literally a machine. A machine in the highest acceptation of the word, and the noise is but the gyrations and the revolutions of its numberless wheels.

To be anything here you must be part of this machinery: the big wheels being the Chairmen of the prominent committees and making in their revolutions the most noise; the little wheels making not quite so much, but still making quite sufficient. Like all ma-

chines, too, this is cruel. A new member gets up to air his eloquence because he has not yet had time to become a part of the cosmos of the House, to fit himself into its wonderful system; the machine falls upon him, crushes him, rolls him out flat and throwing him to one side goes on in its heartless, pittiless regularity as before. For this reason the career of a Randolph Churchill would be a matter of absolute impossibility here, and if you will search the records you will find that not a solitary member has made during his first term quite the mark that precocious young man did in Parliament. In short there is less jumping into sudden prominence with us, and though there are brilliant exceptions to this, as in the cases of Mr. Cockran, Mr. Cummings, Mr. Lodge and Mr. Raynor, in a general way distinction in the House is usefulness in the House, and this usefulness can alone be purchased by a long apprenticeship.

The rules of the House encompass you and embarrass you as a net which only gradually and slowly falls away from about your limbs.

Nevertheless new members are apt to think that they know these rules; they have read them up of course, and probably have learnt them by heart. Three months afterwards it gradually dawns upon them that they are as ignorant of their practical application as they are of the characters of the Chinese grammar. Four years later, if sufficiently fortunate to be occasionally called to the Chair, they may occasionally be detected earnestly conferring as to some vexed question of order with the journal clerk, whose advice, if they are sensible, they will be quick to take and to express accordingly.

The last journal clerk used to be of invaluable assistance to a new chairman. He was the arbiter of arbiters on any matter of House regulation when all other arbiters have failed. In a sense Harry Smith was and might even be now considered the very center of the hub of our political system, for he has codified the rules that govern the most important branch of the law-making power of the United States.

What is the use of these rules? To facilitate the business of law making? No, decidedly not. Then it is to prevent legislation. Well, I will not go quite so far as to assert that. Their purpose rather is to prevent hasty legislation, and they are resorted to by the minority to protect themselves.

Notice how magnificently the leader on the wrong side of the House employs them. Notice how by means of them he often makes the wrong come right. I must confess I am a great admirer of this gentleman from Maine, in all but his political principles. As regards his qualities of a speaker, I have heard far more eloquent men and far more brilliant men, but never one who spoke more to the point. You are always sure that he is dead wrong, but he makes you think at the moment that he is dead right, for he not only has the talent of knowing just what to say, but the genius of knowing just when to leave off. A somewhat harsh, rasping voice, it stills in a moment the buzz of conversation, penetrating the confused din the way a keen-edged wind will do a fog. His very personality assists his leadership. Heavy and yet not pompous he stands during a debate with head cocked on one side, always attentive. Coming down the aisle, now to the rescue of one of his weaker followers, now to the attack of one of his staunchest adversaries, he is a tower of strength, to which all his party cling. Notice his generalship on the subject of the Speaker's contested seat. See how skillfully he threw the Democrats into the false position of appearing to try to keep "an honest son of toil" out of his rights. Not a man of the Republicans but knew that Carlisle was duly elected; not a man of them but recognized his fairness as a Speaker and felt besides a sincere sympathy for him in his illness; but by a skillful series of manœuvres these sentimental considerations were avoided and the onus of responsibility thrown on the Committee of Elections.

I shall never forget that day, and particularly when it was decided that the contestant should be heard in his own defense. Up to now Thoebe had been an abstraction, but suddenly he rose from among our very midst, where he had been quietly seated unbeknown to us. "That's Theobe; there he is," and every eye was directed to a medium-sized man standing behind a desk. There was something of the *coup de theatre* in the abruptness of his appearance, but I must allow I was rather taken with his looks. An earnest face it seemed to me, as I saw it in profile; a rather low forehead, a slightly turned up nose and a very long goatee like a three-inch stick depending from the end of his chin. Yet it was a sad, care-worn face, a face that never smiled. His black frock coat was buttoned at the last button, and he frequently used his handkerchief to press it to his lips.

His speech, however, was disappointing. With all due allowance for the difficulty of addressing such an assemblage for the first time—as critical, exacting an audience as perhaps exists in the world—his defense hardly came up to what his looks had led us to hope. It was disconnected and rambling, and this could hardly be excused by embarrassment, since he appeared perfectly cool and self-possessed. Nevertheless, he was every now and then vociferously applauded, even by the Democrats, particularly when I think from a slip of the tongue he said, "that he did not consider it much of an honor to be elected to this House."

Equally with the gentleman from Maine the gentleman from Pennsylvania always attracts the attention of a new member, for equally when he speaks a hush falls over Congress. It is the silent homage the House pays, and it pays it conspicuously to these two men. Both these men inspire confidence in their followers, if not enthusiasm. Comparing them together, I should say the one is a great debater, the other a forcible speaker. The one always having *the* word, the other sometimes laboring for *a* word. But this very struggle for utterance, for phraseology, carries with it its own peculiar force, for a crowded brain, as a crowded church, emits its inmates slowly. Vigor, power is in Randall's face, in the nervous twitching of the eyes and mouth (as if about to smile, but that so often do not smile); in the very movement of the shoulders, and still more so in the index finger now pointed outwards, or again as it is raised to the spectacles to lift them up to the forehead from off the eyes. A great, strong, powerful intellect is in this man's head, relieved by a subtle smile that comes at last, and at the least expected moment, to light up the sombre face. And yet he can speak fervently at times. What a meaning there was in his remarks, deeper and truer than mere flowers of rhetoric could convey, when a few weeks ago, in behalf of Congress, he accepted the pictures that Massachusetts had presented of her distinguished speakers. How forcibly he spoke the cares of public men, their responsibilities, their oft unrecompensed labors, and the scantiness of their reward.

Earnest as was his address, however, it offered a striking contrast in style and phraseology to that of Mr. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, who seconded the motion. With a voice as silvery as the silver of his own gray hair he fairly thrilled his hearers, and, passing through all grades of eloquence, he rose to a climax of

oratory at the close that I have never heard equaled, save by Mr. Cockran in his magnificent defense of Mr. White. Alas, the style of Mr. Breckenridge is one that passes away. Everything beautiful is being superseded for the useful, and, fools that we are, we fail to perceive that mere beauty has its purpose. His eloquence is the eloquence of the South, before modern Sheffield and Birmingham came to crush it with their iron wheels. But hurried as the world is, busy as is Congress, it will always make time to listen to the gentleman from Kentucky, and to recognize in him the genial, the graceful, the Prince Charming of Debate.

Of the leader of the Democratic side, I have had fewer opportunities of judging, for, owing to the overwhelming nature of his committee work, he has been heard but seldom lately on the floor of the House. On the few occasions he has spoken, however, he struck me as a quick, generous, and impulsive man, strikingly handsome, and of a cast of features and carriage reminding one strongly of a *beau sabreur*—a man to head a victorious column, or to lead a forlorn hope in a desperate assault.

Mr. Cox, of New York, too, is a most distinguished speaker. He shines and sparkles, scintillates and shines. Every subject he touches turns to sunshine, and there is a warm spot in every new member's heart for him. May his "sun" never "set."

How well I remember the first speech I ever heard in these classic halls. It was just after my election, and consequently during the short session of the Forty-ninth Congress. The orator was well under way as I entered, and such impassioned fervor as his I never witnessed. Not confining himself to rhetoric, he displayed a physical energy that fairly fascinated me, for his arms and hands were going like the arms of a windmill. I was surprised to notice, however, that in spite of it all no one was paying the slightest heed to him. The gentleman in front of him was gracefully reposing with his feet upon his desk. His immediate neighbor was reading the New York *Herald*, his friend on the right was munching an apple, while the attention of the whole House was as little occupied with the speaker as if he were a fly buzzing in the northeast corner of the ceiling.

I was surprised at this; I was pained. It argued ill for my own career, since I was perfectly well convinced I could never get up a tithe of the steam this gentleman did. I must have shown my feelings on my countenance, too, for he caught my eye and held it

like a drowning man a straw. From that moment he addressed his remarks solely to me. He even advanced upon me, increasing the vehemence of his gestures as he did so. I forget now the subject of his discourse; but I think it had to do with removing the tariff off peanuts. At any rate he was terrible in his earnestness, and his long locks rose and fell in sympathetic harmony with his gestures.

It was extremely embarrassing, however, to be thus singled out on my very first appearance, too; and at last to break the horrid spell he exercised upon me, I ducked behind the screen that circles the chamber. When I gained a safe retreat, I turned to an official who had considerately been acting as my guide. On expressing to him my astonishment that such animated oratory had met with such scant recognition, he smiled condescendingly; then as we passed out: "You won't be here long," he explained colloquially, "before you find that they'll be foaming at the mouth, and not a quarter of those on the floor will even know they're in town."

As regards speaking, or at least the first attempts at speaking by new men, I am reminded of a good story told in my hearing by a distinguished member of the British House of Commons. He had previously served as mayor of a large city and came to Parliament with a great reputation for oratory. On the eve of his maiden effort in the House he was approached by an elderly colleague, who, after explaining that every legislative body had its own little weaknesses, described that of Parliament to be a petty jealousy of reputations earned outside its own halls. "I know it's very trivial and absurd," went on the monitor, "but if you could only recognize this little prejudice and *just break down in your speech*, they'd feel very kindly towards you, and you'd gain by it later." Whether the same "little prejudices" have weight here I cannot say; but of this I am assured, namely, that a few days spent in Congress before taking one's seat are of great utility to the budding statesman. Not that he learns much, but he learns this most useful lesson—how little he does know. He gets permeated with the atmosphere of legislation, and there is just that much less for him to have to absorb when he comes up a full-fledged Congressman. There are fewer demands upon his time, and he has consequently the opportunity to study the workings of things and the men he will subsequently encounter. Some of

these men, however, he will not meet again, for members have been known to fail of re-election. Indeed, the present House has lost two noteworthy men in General Bragg and Colonel Hepburn. I remember them together, in connection with the Dependent Pension Bill.

What powers of debate they possessed: inspired invective in the one; stern, relentless, pitiless logic of retort in the other. General Bragg, in showing that he had the right to represent the soldier, sketched in glowing terms his own brilliant career, closing with a graphic picture of how, when he reviewed his troops, the cheer would be caught up from man to man, and the word roll down the lines that General Bragg was riding by.

"Yes," answered Colonel Hepburn, "and there was a time when Benedict Arnold rode down the line and received the well merited cheers of his men. Years after his desertion he met a former comrade in arms on British soil, and asked him what would be his (Benedict Arnold's) fate should he ever venture to return to America. 'Would the wound that I received at Saratoga in my leg save my life?' The reply was this: 'If we ever caught you on American soil, we would cut off the leg you so gloriously had wounded at Saratoga and we would bury it with all the honors of war; but as for your carcass, if we could only get hold of that, we'd hang it on the highest gibbet we could find.'"

The records of the war speak in too eloquent language of General Bragg's career to require any protest from my pen at the calumny of linking merely his name with that of Benedict Arnold.

But, how I am running on or rather running back. I began with the present Congress and here I am sticking at the Forty-ninth. Even as I write (for I am writing at my desk) a gentleman is "up." "Mr. Speaker," he is saying: "Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn." Then a vote is taken, next a division is demanded, and finally, if he has the requisite number of votes behind him, the ayes and noes are called. To call the ayes and noes consumes exactly thirty-six minutes. After the motion to adjourn has been voted down, he repeats the motion in a slightly different form, and the whole process is gone over again and very likely a third and even a fourth time. This is what is called "filibustering," and the gentleman employs these tactics quite legitimately to retard consideration of some bill he does not approve of.

The last and most extraordinary case of filibustering is that

of the now famous deadlock. What excitement reigned when it first dawned upon us that the "Direct Tax bill" was to produce a night session, but how little we dreamed that the now memorable "4th" was to extend into a week. At the demand for a call of the House the great dome of the capital flashes with electric fire, and members hurriedly come flocking back. By midnight the House has assumed the appearance of a battle ground, with gentlemen stretched lifeless here and there over the seats and ottomans, vainly seeking rest. Every now and then the sergeant-at-arms would haul up before the bar of the House a "prisoner," and we would all rise up in a sort of general resurrection to chaff him—voting to fine him five thousand dollars, perhaps, asking who gave him his *boutonniere*, and remarking generally upon the attractiveness of "her society."

Sometimes the haul would consist of several gentlemen, and they would stand there like great recalcitrant school-boys caught playing truant. The most puzzling part of the whole performance was to know alongside of whom you would find yourself in the morning; thus you would take a place next to a Democrat and wake up alongside of a Republican. A good joke was played upon me the last night of the deadlock. I was sleeping in the lobby, and during my restless slumbers in some manner kicked off one of my boots. On being suddenly called, I slipped on what I supposed was my own shoe, for it was lying alongside of me, and rushed on to the floor to vote. As I gradually regained my senses I became aware of the fact that I was wearing the property of some one else, and was only given a cue by noticing a gentleman hopping about the floor on one foot in all the agony of a tight fit. It seems that he too had kicked off his shoe on retiring to a couch, and this being facetiously changed for mine, he had pulled it on in his hurried awakening. But the deadlock has been too fully discussed to warrant more than these brief references from me. We broke it by a small majority to adjourn.

An amusing illustration of how one is occasionally obliged to rely on others in questions one has had no time to consider appeared the other day in a Washington paper. Mr. A. approaches Mr. B. and inquires why he voted on a certain question in the affirmative. "I voted aye," was the answer, "because I saw Mr. C. vote aye, and I voted as he did because Mr. C. closely resembles my old Colonel in the war."

"That's an odd reason," the first speaker replied, somewhat puzzled.

"Not so odd as it might seem," was the retort. "I followed my old Colonel for four years, and he never led me during all that time into a single dangerous position."

The curious manner in which a majority will be had on a rising vote, and this majority melt into a minority when it comes to having one's vote recorded, was amusingly illustrated the other day, when the matter was under discussion of providing each member with a clerk. Practically Congress is becoming an unpaid Parliament. Of course, a man can live on his salary, and live well on it, but he can hardly afford to hire a clerk and meet all such demands on his purse as are necessary to be met if he contemplates a continuation in public life. To begin with, the mail of an average Congressman will mount up to forty letters a day, and if he answers all these in his own hand, he has just so much less time and energy to expend on his parliamentary duties. The Senate, with one-third the labor demanded of each member, had set the precedent of voting themselves such assistance; but somehow, when it came to having one's name recorded in black and white, the Republican phalanx in the House, which had been energetically supporting the measure, flopped around, and, making of necessity a virtue, voted against the proposal. Of course, we were all hugely disappointed, for we had expected the Republicans to pull the coveted chestnuts for us from the fire. They were too sharp. "I would rather be in the Fiftieth Congress without a clerk," said a gentleman who viewed the matter from a practical standpoint, "than see my successor enjoying the services of one in the Fifty-first." Probably he voiced the sentiment of the majority.

Leaving aside the question of one's correspondence, the attendance at the House is long and fatiguing, beginning, if you include committees, at ten and lasting often till past six. In addition, there are occasional night sessions, and certainly an average of four sub-committee meetings per week. These, combined with the preparation of reports and of speeches, visits to the different departments, and efforts to secure places for your constituents, make just thirty-four hours work for the twenty-four. How do you do it then? We don't do it; but the hardest thing to learn is what you can safest leave undone.

An old war-horse can tell to a nicety even when his presence in the House is required. "Is Mr. B. in his seat?" some one is said to have once inquired of a doorkeeper. "Certainly," answered the official. "But how do you know, you haven't looked." "I don't need to look," was the cynical reply, "for this is Mr. B.'s first term."

The continued presentation of cards, too, keep you in a lively state of distractedness. People send in for you on every conceivable pretext, and they always time their visits at the exact moment when you are most particularly engaged. "Three ladies in the waiting room and a constituent at each door," exclaims a neighbor of mine, pulling his hair in despair, and he goes on with a letter acknowledging a consignment of hay to be sold in Washington for a country neighbor, and this done amiably writes his autograph in the book of a page.

Sometimes people call you out to talk over their pension cases, and their tales would melt a heart of adamant.

One of the most touching is that of a man who seeks support from an ungrateful government because of having fallen from a tree during the war while picking cherries; that of another for having contracted rheumatism by sitting down on a cold, icy stone.

All these claims are listened to with deep sympathy and bills in many cases drawn up for their relief. And all the time you are being called upon to sign petitions, to put your name in autograph books and to answer questions you know nothing about; to see that you don't vote aye when you ought to vote no, and your ears ringing the while with the reading of bills, the calls of committees and the oft repeated expression "Mr. Speaker, I object," or "I want to say just here—" "The third reading and engrossment of the bill"—"Those in favor of," etc., etc., expressions that rise superior to the general buzz of conversation and unite in producing the noise of a vast factory, which is exactly what Congress is—a vast factory for the turning out of laws.

LLOYD S. BRYCE.

THEORY OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

THE village nestling at the foot of the hill, where I am now writing, contains a thousand inhabitants, and is the central neighborhood of a township of twenty-five hundred. The township, or town, as it is called, lies among the hills of Western Massachusetts, a thousand feet above the sea. It is six miles long and three broad, and is occupied chiefly for agriculture, there being only five or six small factories where cloth, paper and machinery are made. The total value of property, real and personal, placed upon the tax rolls is $2,670,000, rated at about sixty per cent. of its real value, which, therefore, must be near four and a half millions. The taxes for roads, bridges, schools and every other town, county and State expense, amount to a little less than one per cent. upon this assessed valuation. Thirty-nine persons only, including two sent to the State Insane Asylum, receive aid as paupers, twenty-nine of them but a partial support. The number of dwellings is 478, and of families about 500. So that nearly every family lives by itself, usually in a dwelling of its own, that is, a house with a garden, all owned by the head of the household. There is a public library of 6,000 volumes, where any resident may read as much as pleases him, and from which any tax-payer may, without charge, take books for reading at home. The number of volumes taken and retaken from the library during the year is 8,000, and not one has been lost in ten years.

There is a town-hall for town meetings; there are five school houses, one of them sheltering under the same roof a primary, intermediate and high school, and there are five churches of different denominations, two Congregational, one Episcopal, one Methodist and one Roman Catholic. The schools are free to all and books are provided for the scholars. A wooded hill is dedicated to the public, as a pleasure ground for all, rich and poor, young and old. The little community for its internal affairs is

governed by the town-meeting, where every adult male who pays a tax, however small, has a voice ; that is to say, the town meeting is the legislative assembly of the town ; it is convened twice a year, and as much oftener as there may be occasion, and disposes of town affairs. The chief executive officers are three selectmen. There are but three federal officials in the town, and they are postmasters ; the only state officials are six justices, three notaries public and a deputy sheriff. The town is one of thirty-two towns in the county, which has a population of 74,000, and is itself a corporation, with corporate officers, for the management of its corporate affairs, though there is never a meeting of the citizens of the county. The county is one of fourteen counties in the state, which has 2,000,000 of inhabitants and a government of its own, and the state is one of the United States which have a population of 60,000,000 and a common government of all.

The functions of these different governments are set forth in written constitutions and statutes. The township is invested with power : To grant such sums as are judged necessary for the support of public schools, for the relief and employment of the poor, the making and repairing of highways and townways, the writing and publishing of town histories, for burial grounds, for the destruction of noxious animals, for necessary aid to disabled soldiers and sailors and their families and the families of the slain, for monuments to those who died in the service, for conveying pupils to and from the public schools, for procuring the arrest of criminals, for maintaining a free public library and reading-room, and for all other necessary charges arising in the town. The disbursement of these various sums of money and the superintendence of the business for which they are granted are functions of the town.

The cities are clothed with larger powers of municipal government. The government of the county is vested in county commissioners, whose powers are declared to be : To provide for erecting and repairing court-houses, jails, and other necessary public buildings, for the use of their counties ; to represent their county, and have the care of its property and the management of its business and concerns in all cases not otherwise specially provided for.

The state having been originally sovereign and as such joining the confederation, retains all the powers of sovereignty not conceded by its own people to the common government of all

the states, as expressed in the Constitution of the Union. The State Government is divided into three departments—legislative, executive, and judicial. The first is vested in two houses, Senate and Representatives; the second in a Governor, all being chosen annually, the members of the Legislature by districts, and the Governor by the whole people. The powers conceded to the United States are thus described in the Federal Constitution, a description which I give in the very words of the instrument, because they have been so often misunderstood and so often misrepresented.

"To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debt and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States; to borrow money on the credit of the United States; to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States and with the Indian tribes; to establish an uniform rule of naturalization and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy throughout the United States; to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures; to provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States; to establish post-offices and post-roads; to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries; to constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court, to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations; to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water; to raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years; to provide and maintain a navy; to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces; to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions; to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress; to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards and other needful buildings; and to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."

The powers of this federal government are divided between three departments, legislative, executive and judicial; the legislative consisting of the two houses of Congress, the executive of the President, and the judicial of the Supreme and inferior courts.

It would lead me too far from my present purpose to discuss more particularly the boundary between the national and the state governments. That is a subject so vast in its reach and so momentous in its results, that it needs a treatise by itself. My aim now is to point out, if I can, the theory on which all American government, state and national, rests, without dwelling upon the partition of sovereignty between the or parts upon the ramifications of local rule, all which like the trunk, branches and leaves of a tree, make up the great figure, as it stands and sways to and fro in calm and storm, sunshine and shadow. For the present it is enough to say, that the general idea of the state and federal governments and of the relations between them is, that the latter has charge of the relations of each state with the others and of all with foreign nations, the former has charge of the relations between its own citizens.

This is a bird's-eye view of the little community which I began by describing, and of all the communities of which in successive gradations it forms a part. Judged by its results, displayed on so small a theatre, I should say, that the political system of this little community is, with one exception, not necessary now to be discussed, as nearly perfect as it can be made. Every human being has shelter, clothing, food, and instruction; all adult males have a voice in the management of what is common to all the people, and for the larger concerns which they have in common with the county, state or nation, they have their representatives in every deliberative assembly.

How did all this come about? It came naturally. It was not imposed by violence, it was not effected by fraud. We know every degree of the process. Self-government is as natural in the new world as is chieftainship in the old. We know every step in our own history. We know who first and who afterwards came hither, when they came and whence they came and what they did when here.

The settlements which most of all laid the foundations of American government were made in New England.

The first of these settlements occurred at Plymouth and the second in Massachusetts Bay. The Plymouth settlers coming without royal patent or other authority than their own high resolve, when they were about to land, entered into a solemn compact with one another, by which in the presence of God they combined themselves together into a civil body politic, by virtue of

which they were to enact such just and equal laws from time to time as should be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony.

In making this compact each man acted for himself alone and as the equal of every other man. Equality of rights, absolute equality, was thus the first principle upon which the new government rested. As other settlements were made in the Plymouth Colony, each followed the example of the parent one, and when a conference of the different settlements became necessary delegates were sent chosen by the body of each community of settlers. The colony of Massachusetts Bay was formed under an English charter, but this charter intrusted the government of the colony to the freemen of the company without distinction. Thus it was that equality became the corner stone in the foundation of New England freedom.

It were needless to trace the progress of this principle in the different colonies. In some of them there were exceptions, but the exceptions proved the rule. In taking for an example a township in Massachusetts, it must not be understood that the same system of local government existed in all the colonies. In its most perfect form it was found only in New England. But in all the colonies there was some form of local government, sometimes in parishes or other small divisions. The general features were the same. When, therefore, the united colonies put forth the Great Declaration which proclaimed their independence of the British crown and gave the reasons for it, they put the equality of mankind at the head and front of their argument. "We hold," they said, "these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

This word "equal" is the pivot upon which the argument turns; the words "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" follow from it; they are amplifications of the same general idea. For if two are equal in rights, neither can justly interfere with the other by taking away his life or restraining him of his liberty, or obstructing his pursuit of happiness, so long as such pursuit does not interfere with the equal rights of another.

This great declaration has been accepted from that time to this as a just explanation of the theory of American government. More famous and far-reaching than Magna Charta, for while the work at Runnymede concerned only the people of England, the work in the Pennsylvania hall concerned all mankind, the declaration was welcomed with rejoicing as the signal of deliverance from the despotisms of ages. It has gone the circuit of the world, outlived dynasties and revolutions, and is as full of life to-day as it was in the dark days of 1776.

But why this recital? Is it not commonplace? Have we not heard it all before? Yes, indeed, it has been heard a thousand times, repeated in school books, declaimed by school boys, read out by Fourth of July orators from platforms innumerable. But has it been believed? Has it been accepted in its full significance? Commonplace it may be to scholars and thinkers; but to many a declaimer, aye, to many a legislator, it must sound as new and strange doctrine.

Let us, however, not make the mistake of confounding cause with concomitant, the reason of government with the conditions on which it should be founded. Equality is not an end but a means. If each person stood isolated, though he were the equal of every other person he would be useless and miserable. Equality of itself will not insure happiness. That is obtained by pursuit. Is it not the province of government to promise happiness to any one. That he must pursue for himself. His right to the pursuit is defended by government. The great men who formulated and proclaimed the Declaration of Independence knew very well on what foundation a state should be built, for they were themselves representatives of political societies long established, which had administered justice, mustered troops and engaged in many public enterprises. They knew as well as we know, out of what instincts and for what ends governments had been maintained in the colonies for nearly two hundred years. When, therefore, they spoke of equality they spoke of it, not as an end, but a means; not as the reason for having a government, but as the only just condition on which it was to be had and enjoyed. They meant that governments were instituted for the protection of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that preliminary to all was the great primal truth, that these several functions were to be exercised with equal reference to all the inhabitants of the state. The

theory is set forth in their own words, not in some of them only, but in all. Knowing the rights to be secured, we know that the means to secure them are: just and equal laws, the administration of justice, the public defense, the education of children, the construction of public works necessary for the common service, and the care of those feeble members of the state who are unable to take care of themselves. If there be any means of securing men's rights, other than these, I know not what they are. There is no occasion to revise the formula of the fathers. It is as true now as it was when it was first proclaimed. That generation has passed away, other generations have appeared and departed; old dynasties have been overthrown and new ones established, peoples have been divided and reunited, but the same truths remain; events do not alter them, time does not make them dim; they shine like the stars of the firmament, unchanged and unchangeable. Here is the American political creed. The rights for which government is instituted are set forth; the condition of ample enjoyment is given and the means are shown. Let us consider these means a little more closely to see how they may be best enjoyed, by adhering to the condition of equal rights for all.

Nobody here doubts the wisdom of just and equal laws. When it is said that laws are to be enacted for the common good, it is not meant that there is a common store of good, distinct from the separate share of each individual. If a measure were certain to make half the individual members of the state five times richer than they are and the other half poorer by one-fifth of their substance, the sum total would be nearly six-fold what it now is, but the measure after all would be robbery of half the people to enrich the other half.

So, too, of laws for the public defense; they may be perverted into instruments of injustice. A navy yard, for example, placed not where ships can be best built and easiest sent to sea, but where jobbers want contracts and politicians want votes, would be a yard with a double aspect, one for defense and the other for plunder.

When we find ourselves perplexed by contradictory theories or measures, it is useful to go back to first principles. The proper place of charity in the functions of government is a subject for careful discrimination. The end of government is not the development of man's social nature, but the maintenance of his rights,

the rights which God and nature gave him. His social nature develops itself, or is best developed by the affections and those ties which bind every man and woman born into the world. Government is a political machine, not a charitable institution. Association in political society is a different thing from association for companionship. The companionship of man and wife, for example, is an ordinance of nature, because each is imperfect without the other. This leads, of necessity, to the association of parent and child, and the multifold relations of kinship. These relations, however, weaken as they widen, and become commingled with like relations crossing in different directions. A father of a family sees his children and his grandchildren clustering around him, but they entwine themselves also with the descendants of other parents and grandparents, and the identity of blood is lost in two or three generations.

So the relations which arise from affinity or consanguinity may be left out of view, when considering relations that are political. Every man feels the necessity of some association for the better development of his own individuality. He needs the aid of his neighbor for defense against evil-disposed persons, hence a union for common defense ; he needs a road from his dwelling to one at a distance, and hence agrees with his neighbor that they should build one together ; he must cross a river, and being unable alone to build a bridge he unites with another to build it ; and so in other enterprises for the benefit of many, which the many must undertake in common. The aim, however, of all these common undertakings is the same, the benefit of the individuals who join them. The danger of these public works is favoritism to the few at the expense of the many.

The tendency to govern too much has in most governments no counteracting force to set against it, and only when those who govern and those who are governed are identical can the tendency to govern overmuch be overcome. In an unlimited monarchy the counteracting force is fear, the fear of encountering resistance. The autocrat has only to wish and to gratify his wishes, excepe that nature sets bounds to his desires on one side, and fear of going too far interposes on the other. In a limited monarchy, the number of those who govern is multiplied, and as they are also among the governed, they restrain themselves to the extent of protecting their own interests. Thus it has happened in

countries where the power is in the hands of the landlords, that the laws favor the landed interests. When, however, all have a hand in making the laws, they will be made for all, unless the general movement is obstructed or deflected by interested combinations.

Experience shows us that there is an ever-pressing tendency of majorities to exert their power, and thence arises the necessity of an ever vigilant watchfulness to restrain them. Two maxims are often heard in arguments about governments: one, "that which is best administered is best," the other "the best government is that which governs least." Both contain some wisdom, but neither is altogether true. A bad government may be faithfully administered, and yet, from defects in its constitution, it may work a great deal of harm; it may attempt to do too much; it may be obliged to do more than ought to be done by any government. For example, it was for a long time, and may be still, the system of France that a mill cannot be run without a license from the central government. In the administration of this government the license may be prudently and justly dispensed, but the rule that requires a license at all is a bad one. So with regard to the other maxim, a government may do too little; it may neglect to make adequate provision for the dispensation of justice or for the national defense. It is true, nevertheless, that a just application of our political creed would exclude very much of our legislation. The true end of government is to secure men's rights, not their fortunes or their pleasures.

The justification for any public enterprise is to be found in its tendency to secure some of the rights for which government is instituted. Every one of the eighteen clauses in which the powers granted to the Federal Government are expressed rests for its justification upon the principle I have stated. And though there be this difference between the Federal and the State constitutions, that while the former enumerates the powers granted the latter enumerates the powers withheld, there is implied in every State constitution a limitation of State power to the protection of the rights of the people. I do not say that an act of a State legislature not prohibited by the Federal or the State constitution, might be declared by the courts to be invalid. The powers of the State judiciary may in this respect be limited to declaring the inconsistency between two expressed laws and upholding the

greater as against the less. But I none the less affirm, that an act of a state legislature, which goes beyond the protection of the rights of the citizens and the sanction of those public enterprises which, being beyond the power of the individual, are really connected with his protection, passes the just limits of government as measured either by the lessons of reason or the precepts of the fathers.

There are two theories of government, the liberal and the meddlesome. Their limits are easily marked, if we follow the principle we have been considering. My life, my liberty, my pursuit of my own happiness are my inalienable rights. So are those of every other person. That all these may be enjoyed together, in harmony, is the aim of civil society. But in so much as there are many works which would promote individual happiness, to which, however, the abilities of one alone are unequal, many individuals unite in an enterprise for their common benefit. A road, as I have said, is one instance. Savages have no roads or next to none. One finds his way in the wilderness, over plains and hills, and another seeing the traces of his footsteps follows, and a path or trail is made through the forests or over the prairie. A civilized society makes a road, because a road is a convenience to every traveler, and all of them unite to survey and make it. This is but a sample of many works useful for the public, that is for the individuals who compose it, and therefore undertaken by the public. The individual is always the object in view. His protection in the full enjoyment of all his rights is the great object of all laws, of all institutions. Whenever society attempts to do more than this it oversteps its proper boundaries. So certainly is it a law of our nature, that we should not pass these limits, all history teaches us, that wherever we do pass them, we suffer sooner or later. The meddlesome theory leads to irritation, failure, reaction. Most certainly we promote our own individual happiness best when we mind our own business most.

There are many reasons why public charities should be watched. The temptation to feign distress is so great, the weight of idleness is so heavy, the pretense of helplessness is so common, that when the state interferes it does so for the most part in a manner so imperfect and with such wasteful extravagance that one could almost wish it were not undertaken at all. Yet food, clothing, and shelter must be provided for those who want and cannot by their

own efforts get them. Why we provide them is because a sympathetic nature has been implanted in the human soul. We cannot see a drowning man, but we rush to the rescue; we cannot look upon a burning building without striving to save the inmates; the monks of St. Bernard live in regions of ice, that they may help the way-worn and bewildered traveler. While this is our nature and we yield to the impulse, our faculty of reason admonishes us that the necessity is at once the cause and the limit of interference. No man should be helped who can help himself. Self-help is the best lesson for the poor and rich alike to learn. No great character was ever yet found without it, and with it few there are who fall by the wayside.

The administration of justice is of primal necessity in all social organizations. To be equal before the law is the aspiration and the aim of man under governments the most diverse. Some one has said, and I think it was Hume, that all the machinery of the state, all the apparatus of the system and its varied workings, end in simply bringing twelve good men into a box to decide upon their oaths. Te be equal, the administration of the law must affect all alike, must be equally within the reach of the poor and the rich, the weak and the powerful, the friendless and the befriended, and equally open to the knowledge of all.

The education of children and the care of those who are destitute are clearly within the scope of equal government; the reasons for them are not merely economical, they are vital. Self-preservation requires them. By education I mean only such culture of the mind and such an amount of learning as will teach all learners their duties and their rights, and make them capable of holding their own in the world.

The strongest of all the seductive influences which lead men astray from the simplicity of the early faith, and the frugality of the early times, is the tendency to extravagance in public expenditure. In devising the means of levying the largest contributions in order to fill the treasury, and then of emptying the treasury that it may be filled again, the tempter and the tempted vie with each other. Having thus discussed the means by which the rights for which governments are instituted are best secured, let us recur to the condition on which all these means are to be used and these rights secured. What is meant by equality? Men are not equal in stature or in strength of body or mind, or in genius, or in elevation of

spirit. There has been but one Shakespeare, but one Washington. Equality means equality in rights, in the right to live, the right to be free, the right to pursue one's own happiness, in his own way, without constraint from another, and as a necessary consequence equality in all those agencies of government by which these results are accomplished. The individual stands alone before his maker. He came into the world alone; he goes into the grave alone. "We brought nothing into this world, and we can carry nothing out." While we are here, we stand each by himself, accountable to God alone for the inner life, and to our fellow men only so far as we infringe their rights, which they have in equal measure with ourselves.

Were there occasion to fortify the lessons of our history and the teaching of the Fathers, by reasoning from man's nature, it would be easy. Self-knowledge and self-control are the hardest of all tasks. "Know thyself" is the precept of ancient sages. If self-knowledge and self-control be so difficult, how much more difficult are the knowledge and control of others. What person is there who should not say to himself, what candid person is there who would not say, I am ignorant and weak, I can see but a step before me; I thought one thing last year, I think a different thing this year; I was headstrong yesterday, I am irresolute to-day; how then can I, so weak myself, be strong enough to control another? If I cannot wisely govern myself, how dare I attempt to govern my neighbor?

There is no more fascinating study than to trace to its logical consequences this great doctrine of equal rights. The first of these consequences is religious peace. The belief in equal rights relegates to the domain of conscience that which should never have been admitted within the domain of government, and lifts from the world the dark and heavy cloud which has hung over it like a pall from the beginning of human records. The assumed insight into the unseen world, the dreadful power to bind or to unloose the souls of the departed, the propitiation of good and evil divinities, which the priesthood so long arrogated to itself, when supported by the secular arm filled the world with terror. Whether the rites were celebrated by Druids in British forests or by priests offering human sacrifices in Mexican temples, or by bishops in grand cathedrals, the spirit of domination was the same. It cost ages of cruel strife to implant in the minds of men

the belief that the relation between each of them and his Maker was a personal relation, within whose sacred precincts no other man was privileged to enter. The equality of men was the foundation on which the belief came finally to rest, and that equality being once established the sword fell from the girdle of religion and the robe of peace took its place. It is the reasonable and lofty boast of this, our country, that it has made religious freedom a reality at last, and established in our federal constitution the immutable decree that Congress shall "make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and the like in our State constitutions, that of New York containing these memorable words: "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind." Wherever now and in all time to come, the standard of the Republic is planted, there is and ever shall be religious peace. The next consequence of the belief in equal rights is its antagonism to the theory of hereditary government; a theory which has spread itself over the older continents save here and there a few heroic exceptions, as for instance behind the defenses of the Swiss mountains. What could be more absurd than the superstition that wisdom descends from father to son, in endless succession, unless it be that other superstition that the weak son of a born ruler could govern better than the elect of the people. Both these superstitions have gone down, in the New World, at least; for in all the vast domain which the foresight and daring of Columbus revealed to mankind, there stands not an hereditary ruler, outside of the empire of Brazil; a hundred millions who believe in equal rights against twelve millions who do not. I leave out of view the colonies which still remain subject to European thrones. Think of the uproar with which the world has resounded in the struggles of rival chieftains from the first battle on the plains of Asia to the last raid of Don Carlos in the fastnesses of Biscay; of the dungeons that have resounded with the cries of imprisoned patriots; of the fusillades and the scaffolds which have made the world red, of the implacable hatred with which a revolt against a dynasty has been pursued and punished after it has been suppressed; count the assassinations of heirs to thrones, and the cruelties of pretenders to thrones; and then think what the abandonment of hereditary government may do for the world.

Still another logical consequence of the belief in equal rights is the overthrow of privilege. Of all the forms of oppression with which the spirit of evil has afflicted mankind the greatest is privilege. It has stolen slaves from the coasts of Guinea, divided into castes the millions of India, built up the gigantic monopolies which fetter the industry and commerce of the world, and given birth to those swarms of lesser immunities which darken the land, like the cloud of locusts that came up on the east wind from the coasts of Egypt, and ate every herb of the land and all the fruit of the trees. Freedom to labor in any form of handicraft, to till the land, to engage in any calling, to buy or sell, when, where and how he may, is the birthright of every human being, derived from the Almighty, and however some may revile it, victory will come over to its side at last, and the hosts of monopoly great and small will be driven away into outer darkness.

A further consequence of the belief in equal rights is the stop which it must put to the career of conquest. The past history of the world has been a history of invasions, cruel and causeless invasions, one king warring against another king to get away his subjects, with no more regard to the rights or the wishes of the subjects themselves than if they were so many cattle grazing in the pastures, to be sold at the caprice of the owner, or stolen by the first and strongest robber. With the fall of the right of conquest would melt away the armaments by which the old world is trodden under foot, armaments which are never marshaled but to conquer or to resist conquest.

Thus has it been my aim to show in its just proportions the theory of this our American government, to recount the rights which it guarantees, and the means by which the guaranty is to be secured, and to show how there runs through all the idea of equal rights, with its softening and warming influence to smooth the way and lighten the burden of all the children of men.

This is our ideal commonwealth, as we love to see it, in the histories of early times and the constitutions of the States and Union ; a true democracy; not a wild, untamed, disorderly democracy, but a democracy of order and of law. It is not necessary to such a form of government that the people should act in mass, as they may act by delegation in all but their primary assemblies. The principle and the effect are the same. The formula of the Constitution of New York expresses in just terms the theory and

the practice: "The people of the state of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows." In no other way than by delegation can the collective will manifest itself in a populous state. The people cannot in general assembly enact the laws, or hear evidence and decide upon law or fact, or chase a fugitive, or inflict punishment. They act by their agents and signify their choice by the innumerable leaflets, no bigger than a linnet's wing, which decide the destinies of states. There is a too prevalent notion that in proportion as officials are elected by direct votes of the people in that proportion the government is democratic; or to express it differently, the more election the more democracy. This is a mistake. The most democratic of the old governments was in Connecticut, and there the freemen elected annually the Governor and the Legislature, and the legislature appointed all the magistrates, judicial and executive, from the judges and sheriffs to the justices of the peace. Before the last revision of its State Constitution the government of Massachusetts was administered by a Governor and Council elected annually by the people, and by a Senate and House of Representatives elected in the same way and for the same term, and the supreme judges and other officials were appointed by the Governor and Council, the judges for life, and the other officials for fixed terms of office. Now many of the executive offices are filled by popular vote. But the State Government is no more democratic than it was before, and no better administered. Connecticut, as I have said, was no less democratic in the old days than it is in these, when the members of the Legislature are elected for two years, and hold biennial sessions, and the judges are appointed by the Legislature for long terms of office. The experience of New York is full of significance. When first adopted the Constitution of the State provided for filling by popular election the offices in charge of the canals and the State-prisons. The Constitution has been amended, and both these branches of administrative service are now filled by the Governor, on the advice of the Senate. If the truth must be told, the filling of so many administrative offices by popular election tends to weaken the hold of the people upon these offices, by distracting the attention of the electors and smuggling into place unknown and incompetent holders.

There are some Americans, I am sorry to say, not very many I hope, but ignorant and noisy, who repudiate the principle on

which the government of their country is founded, scoff at the inalienable rights of man, mistake the abuses for the uses of our institutions, and think and speak of Europe as a fairer land with more benign institutions. These are illegitimate children of the Republic. They labor in vain. The doctrine of equal rights for all the children of the common Father will not be shaken till the earth trembles to its foundations.

Such is the theory of American Government, that ideal of American democracy, which I set about to give. I have confined myself to this ideal. I have not attempted to show wherein or how widely the practice departs from the theory; how much, if at all, the real lags behind the ideal. I have endeavored to portray this ideal as it yet lingers in tradition and may be traced in the pages of the Fathers; the ideal of a self-balanced and self-governed state, where every man stands erect in the fullness of his rights, and the pride of his manhood, neither cringing nor overbearing, owing no allegiance but of duty, claiming none but from the heart, fulfilling every service and exercising every right of the citizen. This, I am fain to think, is the true ideal of American government; a government founded not on the traditions of remote ages, not on usurpation, not on conquest, but on things older and firmer than all—the equality and brotherhood of men.

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

REASONS FOR ACCEPTING THE PRESIDENCY.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.
WASHINGTON, D. C., *June* 21, 1868.

DEAR SHERMAN:

Your kind favor written from New Mexico is received. You understand my position exactly. It is one I would not occupy for any mere personal consideration, but from the nature of the contest since the close of active hostilities, I have been forced into it in spite of myself. I could not back down without, as it seems to me, leaving the contest for power for the next four years between mere trading politicians, the elevation of whom, no matter which party won, would lose to us largely the results of the costly war which we have gone through. Now the Democrats will be forced to adopt a good platform, and put upon it a reliable man who, if elected, will disappoint the copperhead element of their party. This will be a great point gained, if nothing more is accomplished. I feel very grateful to the officers of our Army, whose military achievements made my reputation as well as their own, to know that they support me in this new field. I do not expect, or want, active support, but merely the satisfaction of knowing what your letter assures me of on your part. Officers who expect to make the Army their home for life have to serve under successive Administrations and should not make themselves obnoxious to any party likely ever to come into power.

I shall not ask you to comê to Washington until after November, and probably not then. For myself I expect to be away from here most of the time, but I shall keep within telegraph, and being within the limits of my command will exercise it.

Present my kindest regards to Mrs. Sherman and the children.

Yours truly,

U. S. GRANT.

A true copy of the original now in my possession.

W. T. SHERMAN,
General.

NEW YORK, April 5, 1888.

GERMANY'S RIGHT TO ALSACE.

THE American who returns from a tour in Europe, after turning his attention not only to nature and art, but to the political relations of the older hemisphere, must bring home a vivid impression of the serious dangers which threaten the peace of Europe. The most serious of these dangers is the well-nigh unendurable tension in the relations between France and Germany. This takes the form, in France, of a passionate bitterness against the victor of 1870—an intense longing pervading all classes of the community, to overthrow the treaty of Frankfort and to reopen the struggle for revenge. To this stands opposed in Germany a clear, calm resolve to hold firm the victor's prize of the great war, and to defend it, if need be, with sacrifices of every sort. The other great questions which agitate Europe would in all probability be settled in peaceful fashion by the peoples standing in such sore need of peace, if this embittered antagonism between France and Germany did not contain within itself fuel enough to produce, on the first occasion, a general explosion.

The question then may readily force itself upon the American who contemplates the situation of Europe without prejudice and in a friendly spirit, whether the victor of 1871 did not carry his demands to an excess fraught with the greatest danger to the entire continent and eventually to Germany itself. This view has found expression in the German Parliament. Socialistic Deputies have repeatedly declared that the constant danger of war, the consequent ever-increasing burdens of taxation, and the pressure of a military system are a results of the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine.

It is, however, certain that grief over the loss of two provinces is not the factor of prime importance in the feelings of the French.

The cry in the name of which a new struggle at arms is demanded is not the liberation of the provinces incorporated against their own will in the German Empire, but revenge, as such, and

in its own name. And he who is in any degree conversant with the French national character will cherish no doubt that the disposition of France would be the same, though Germany in the year 1871 had foregone all increase of territory.

The story is told that Thiers met with Ranke at Vienna in the winter of 1870–71, and, in a conversation upon the political situation sought to convince the German historian that as the war owed its beginning to the Empire, it had, in all reason, reached its end at the Empire's downfall. On the same occasion the French statesman is said to have addressed to Ranke the inquiry: "Against whom are you still fighting?" and to have received the reply: "Against Louis XIV." And, in fact, no one who surveys the history of Europe since the Reformation can fail to recognize that the effort to crush foreign nationalities by violence, and to establish French supremacy without regard to consequences, though it found in the "great monarch" its mightiest embodiment, ought yet to be ascribed, not to this or that ruler of France, but to the French people. This tendency has remained the same through all the changes of rule in France. The armies of the Revolution strove to carry out the ideas of the Revolution by force in all lands, and this spirit of violent propaganda was taken advantage of by the great Son of the Revolution in forming the plans of his ambition. Nothing less than the overbearing spirit, so deeply rooted in the French character, made it possible for Napoleon to erect upon the collapse of the old States his outrageous despotism.

The right of nations to select for themselves, without reference to outside powers, that form of constitution corresponding to their nature has never found recognition in France. Prussia had no sooner laid the foundations of a new Germany in 1866 than French Chauvinism saw in the Prussian successes an unpardonable insult to French honor. But how could a people, which from 1866 to 1870 was shrieking revenge for Sadowa, have forgiven Sedan, although the victor had attained no increase of territory? The German victory of 1870 made the probability of a second war so great that it became the first task of German statecraft to give to the military position of Germany the greatest possible strength.

The annexation of the fortress Metz with the French-speaking population lying about it, sprang, as Prince Bismarck has him-

self over and over openly declared, exclusively from strategic grounds.

As regards Alsace, however, and German Lorraine, *i. e.*, as regarded by far the larger part of the region annexed in 1871, there came into view, by the side of strategic considerations, national grounds of the first importance.

The French claim to Alsace was robbery, accomplished at a time when Germany, owing to the break-up of its political organization, was incapable of defending its own territory. Upon the soul of the freshly-established and mighty empire the expiation of this ancient grievance fell as a national duty of the most pressing character.

True, the labor of French statesmanship for two hundred years had not been without fruit. Alsace, at the moment of its annexation, had become French, not only externally, but with heart and soul. The entire population, with few exceptions, expressed itself in passionate protest against the provisions of the peace of Frankfort. It is precisely this circumstance which makes it difficult for the citizens of a democratic republic to approve the annexation of 1871. Yet there could be no greater mistake than to refer the differences in the judgments passed upon this act to the contrast between the monarchial and democratic ideas. Every sound conception of the state, in the republic no less than in the monarchy, must regard the nation as a unity, and as thereby precluded from according to each member of the body the right to determine at pleasure its own political form.

The assumption that not only the people as a whole but every part of the people is sovereign would lead to anarchy. Republican governments have defended with the greatest energy the unity of the state against desires for separation. Switzerland defeated the League of Separation by force of arms, and the United States held the Southern States in the Union through struggles prolonged through years. The only question, then, to be discussed, in an ethical judgment upon the annexation, is this: "Was the population of Alsace in 1871 still to be regarded as German?" A foreigner who looks at the political temper of the Alsatians is, in general, inclined to give a negative answer to this question. And, indeed, nothing seems more incomprehensible than the passionate opposition of an integral part of a nation to which the highest and

most precious right—the right to its own nationality—has been restored.

But one must remember that Alsace has been united with France for 200 years, and that she has lived through the entire period of the development of modern history as a part of France. The storms of the Revolution have blown through the land, and have swept away the German recollections as the autumn wind sweeps away withered leaves. The conspicuous military ability of the Alsatians has brought to them a rich participation in the military laurels of the First Empire. The potent centralization, which sways not only the political but also the intellectual life of France, has prostrated the spirit and soul of the people of Alsace. The ambitious elements have been constrained, in consequence of this centralization, to subject themselves to the sway of French customs. He who felt that he had in himself the stuff to achieve something in diplomacy, or in literature, or in art, was obliged to journey to Paris. Ever since the beginning of this century, it has been the exception for an Alsatian to study at a German University, while but few educated Alsatians could be found who had not spent at Paris, at least, a part of those youthful years which fix the character for life.

At all times, in the contact of German and French civilizations, the latter has gained a certain superiority. The German spirit is deeper than the French, more eager to solve by ever repeated effort the great fundamental problems of life. But the French possess a far greater talent for form. They tolerate more readily superficiality than obscurity of expression, and are unwearied in their effort to give to each thought an expression in which it can be grasped by every one and become the common property of all educated men. An extraordinary logical dexterity is united among the French with unsurpassed elegance. Hence the French are without doubt more likeable than the Germans. German friendship is perhaps firmer and more valuable than French friendship, but French social intercourse is incomparably more graceful and charming than social life among the Germans. It is to their gift for form that the French are indebted for an influence upon the intellectual development of Germany to which the innate worth of their ideas would never have entitled them. The classical period of German literature was forced to begin with a war for independence, waged against

the French spirit. Frederick the Great considered the German speech and the German literature barbaric ; he wrote his prose and verse in French, and he could give no better advice to Germans, in respect to literature, than to imitate French models. It was necessary for Lessing to overthrow by his unsparing criticism the art theories of Voltaire, before "Götz von Berlichingen" and the "Sorrows of Werther" could be created. In our own century, as well, which began with the liberation of Germany from the political and literary supremacy of France, it is equally true that the political theories and the literary currents in France have had a potent influence upon Germany. These are facts in the psychology of nations which, though we may lament, we cannot dispute, and which can become changed only gradually through the political unity and the unfolding of the power of Germany. What indeed is more easy to comprehend than that German Alsace, in its political union with France, should have taken on French customs ? In Alsace to-day the German language is, we may almost say, only known in the form of a dialect, while all higher subjects of thought are discussed in French.

The question now arises : "Have the Alsatians, in virtue of the experiences through which they have passed, ceased to be Germans ?" By no means. Who would venture to call Frederick the Great a Frenchman because he wrote his prose and verse in French ? The true soul of a people, the characteristic principle of its individuality, may remain unimpaired though a foreign civilization has, for a time, gained the mastery over that people. The population of Alsace, with the exception of the cultivated classes, in its thoughts, words, feelings, is purely German. The records of the struggles which the Alsatians and the people of German Lorraine have maintained for the retention of their language lie open to every one's view. They furnish the picture of a serious, capable people which defends itself with despair against the extirpation of its mother-tongue.

In a petition which was addressed, in 1868, to the Emperor Napoleon by the people of German-Lorraine, we read as follows : "O, sir ! How many fathers and mothers of families who earn their bread in the sweat of their brow impose upon themselves the pious, but none the less heavy, duty of teaching their children the Catechism in German by abridging in the winter evenings their own needful hours of sleep." In 1869, a radical journal

was established by prominent republicans of Mülhausen in the intent to propagate agitation against the Empire among the laboring circles. This paper appeared only in the German language, and justified this course in the following words : " Because the majority, yes the very large majority, of the Alsatian people is German in thought, in feeling, in speech ; receives its religious instruction in German ; loves and lives according to German usages, and will not forget the German language !"

In those realms of the intellectual life, especially, which touch most deeply the soul of a people, has the German nature of Alsace resisted the acceptance of a foreign form. In cultivated circles, too, which are under the influence of religious feeling, the drift of sentiment has been that German Christianity at least must be retained. The most distinguished Catholic pulpit orator of Alsace in this country, Abbé Mühe, who died in 1865, was able only once in his life to bring himself to preach in French ; and Canon Ca[illegible]au, of Strassburg Cathedral, published, three years before the annexation, an " Essai sur la conservation de la langue Allemande en Alsace," in which, in the interest of religion and morals, he energetically resisted the attempt to extirpate the German speech.

It is true, indeed, that the Rationalistic element among the Protestants had gained the ascendancy under the French rule, and that these were, and still remain, French in their sympathies. Rousseau and Voltaire stand higher in their estimation than Luther and Spener. But the Evangelical Protestant community remained, even up to the annexation, in spiritual fellowship with the Fatherland of the Reformation, and in numerous pastors' houses of Alsace, the genuine air of home is wafted upon the visitor from the German Fatherland. This, at all events, is certain : The proper mother-tongue of a people is that in which it *prays*. If the French journalists who travel through the country and send to Havre inflammatory reports of the popular feeling would visit, not alone restaurants, cafés, and promenades, but would also occasionally plant their foot in an Alsatian village church, they would receive impressions which would astonish but at the same time would greatly enlighten them.

It must then be admitted that the German Empire fitted again, in 1871, a member into its organism which had been severed from it by force. If there is any political principle amenable

alike to nature, morals, and reason, it is the principle of nationality, the victories of which are the great events of our century. The French have never, it is true, accepted this principle, but, when they wished to give a ground for that boundary of their territory acceptable to them, have preferred to derive this ground from geography. Under the term "natural boundary," the left bank of the Rhine has been from 1815 to 1870 demanded, sometimes covertly, sometimes openly. But nothing is less a "natural boundary" than a stream. The dwellers along its water-course are not thereby separated, but rather united. Even the Atlantic Ocean is a link between America and Europe. A river-valley always forms a geographical unity. He who has made a tour on foot along the ridge of the Vosges Mountains from the sources of the Saar as far as Ballon d'Alsace will not remain in doubt as to the natural boundary between France and Germany.

It is a question of the future whether the task which Germany has undertaken through the annexation of Alsace shall be accomplished with more or less difficulty, at a period more or less remote. Certain it is that the time of accomplishment is still distant, as long as the majority of the population in the provinces annexed endures only with obstinate reluctance the German rule. For the essence of the national state requires that the relations of obedience and appurtenance towards it be felt as a necessity by all classes of the population. Germany must, therefore, give to Alsace and to Lorraine German civilization, and the sense of membership in the German state. The measures for the accomplishment of this task cannot be of interest in a foreign country, nor can they be intelligently judged in the distance. The purpose of these lines is only this : to confirm well-disposed and unprejudiced Americans in the view that the present boundary line between France and Germany has been fixed, not by the sentence of a haughty victor, but in accordance with principles of justice and reason.

FREDERICK CURTIUS.

AMERICAN SHIPPING—THE DISEASE AND THE REMEDY.

THE statement that a nation possessing command of the cheapest and most efficient means of transportation, not only between internal points but to foreign ports, has a decided advantage in any struggle for supremacy, is too axiomatic to require discussion.

While the United States undoubtedly enjoys the cheapest freight rates and the most luxurious appliances for both railroad and steamboat travel known to the world, with a greater extent of mileage than is found in any other country, the state of our merchant marine during the last thirty years presents no ground for national pride, and the general conviction that a grave economic mistake has been made may give interest to a statement of the main facts and theories bearing on the subject.

The successful termination of our Revolution left us a loosely-organized country, hardly worthy of being called a nation. England, just beaten in an appeal to arms, purposed retaining us in the position of exporters of raw produce by aid of the concentrated capital and manufacturing appliances she possessed. The consequent impoverishment, with a growing tendency to lawlessness, was stopped by the wise measures inaugurated by Hamilton and seconded by Washington, which resulted in the adoption of our Constitution and the inauguration of Washington as President on May 30, 1789.

The second and third laws, passed July 4th and 20th of that year, under the preamble "Whereas, it is necessary for the support of government, for the discharge of debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures, that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandise imported," provided, among other things, that the duties on tea when imported direct in American ships should be but 58 per cent. of those collected when imported through Europe or in foreign

ships, thus early creating a demand for our famous China clippers, and laying the foundation for that triangular trade which was not successfully attacked until shortly before our civil war; a trade which David Ricardo, the renowned inventor of the theory of rent, spoke of as the most profitable part of commerce.

Bounties were also given on fish exported; a discount of ten per cent. of the duty was given on the imports in vessels built in the United States and owned by a citizen or citizens thereof, and the tonnage dues were fixed at six cents for vessels sailing under our flag, 30 cents on American built vessels under foreign flags, and 50 cents per ton on foreign built vessels. The effect of these enactments on our registered tonnage, those vessels engaged in foreign commerce or whaling, was almost magical. The tonnage increased from 123,893 to 603,376 tons, or 384 per cent., in one decade, while our wonderful growth in wealth and manufactures excited the attention of Europe; the Earl of Carlisle asserting that these causes "led to the introduction and extended the growth of American manufactures."

But we were opposed by a nation possessing greater capital and cheaper materials for ship building (except wood) than ourselves, which for 150 years had lived under a navigation act intended to "increase the shipping and to encourage the navigation of this country, whereon, under the good providence and protection of God, the wealth, the safety, and the strength of this empire are so much dependent," as the preamble to Charles II., 12th, recites. Since 1850 it has been thought advisable for the interests of British commerce to hold that the Navigation Act of England did not either increase the shipping, or encourage the navigation of that country, and all are familiar with the statement, yet Ricardo, speaking of this Act in the House of Commons, said, "Which until the year 1822 was held to be the perfection of human wisdom."

Possibly the reasons for calling in question the wisdom of this act are nowhere more clearly set forth than in a speech made in the House of Commons, May 12, 1826, by Mr. Huskisson, President of the Board of Trade, in which he entered into "An Exposition of the Present State of the Navigation of the United Kingdom," saying that navigation laws had a two-fold object: "First, to create and maintain in this country a great commercial marine, and, secondly (an object not less important in the eyes of states-

men), to *prevent any other nation from engrossing too large a portion of the navigation of the rest of the world.*" For this reason the right of importing foreign produce into England was limited, as much as possible, either to ships of the producing country or to British ships, so that the portion of the foreign carrying trade which did not fall to English shipping, should be divided among the maritime States, and not engrossed by any one. These regulations "were not formed merely for the preservation and encouragement of our own commerce, but also to weaken the powerful marine of Holland. Guided by this policy, our ancestors applied more severe measures toward the Dutch than they thought necessary toward any other nation."

Asking under what circumstances England founded her navigation system, he answers: "When her commercial marine was comparatively insignificant, her wealth inconsiderable, before manufactures were established, and when she exported corn, wool and other raw materials; when, on the other hand, Holland and the Netherlands were rich, possessed of great manufactures and of the largest portion of the carrying trade of Europe and of the world. What followed? The commercial marine of the other countries has dwindled away and that of Great Britain is now immense. But, in the progress of the change, England is become the great seat of manufactures and trading wealth. This was our state, though in a far less degree than at present, when America became independent. She started by applying towards us the system which we had applied towards Holland. She was then poor, with a very small commercial marine, without manufactures, having corn and raw materials to export; and we know what her shipping now is."

The freedom of a nation of better shipbuilders and sailors than the English, whose laws and policy were not dependent on nor inspired by British interests, and its effect, is thus described by Huskisson. "The peace with America gave the first great blow to the navigation system of this country. There had now arisen an independent state in the New World. Our colonies had fought for, and had taken, a station in the rank of nations. They had new interests in navigation to attend to, and a commerce of their own to protect. It therefore became imperative on this country, unless we were prepared to relinquish all trade with America, to conform to circumstances."

We all know how this conformation to circumstances brought on the war of 1812, which, with its results, calls out the following euphuistic sentence: "After a long struggle to counteract the navigation system of America, without in any degree relaxing our own, this country found it necessary to adopt the system of reciprocity, on which, since the year 1815, the commercial intercourse between the two countries has been placed." This reciprocity, according to Mr. Huskisson, consisted on the part of England in prohibition of the import of goods the produce of Asia, Africa or America in foreign ships unless in those of the producing country. And on our part of extending the prohibition to the various countries of Europe, so that an American ship could load at Liverpool or any other port, with any goods found there, while an English ship was restricted to English goods. He then asks if a mutual relaxation of these prohibitive clauses would not be advantageous to British shipping interests.

One instance which should not have escaped the attention of writers on this subject is, that until the law of August 5, 1882, our legal net registered tonnage was the gross tonnage of a vessel, while the net tonnage of a British steam vessel might be less than half the gross tonnage, so that an American built vessel under our flag would pay more port and dock dues in New York harbor, and in the harbors of the world, than under the English or nearly any other foreign flag. For example, the National Line Steamer America, which has a gross tonnage of 5,528 tons, and only 2,829 tons net, if built in this country, and under the American flag, would have paid for port dues in this harbor on the 5,528 tons, or $1,658.40, but if transferred to the English flag, it would have paid on only 2,829 tons, or $847.70.

The existence of a law so oppressive to our shipping interests on our statute books in 1882, shows a wide divergence from the spirit of the laws of 1789, which has apparently escaped the researches of the two writers whose views have been quoted.

Mr. Gladstone did not hesitate to express his conviction that through the possession of capital "we shall be able to meet any other country and to beat it." Though he said, and the sentence reads queerly in the light of his more recent utterances on the subject, "In 1842 America passed a highly restrictive tariff, and, in 1846, she relaxed it again; but I am afraid there are serious apprehensions to be entertained that the same influences that carried

the Presidential election may lead to alteration of the tariff *favorable to their interests.*"

About 1840, Cunard, by a series of masterly private negotiations with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had secured a subsidy of £60,000 per annum for a monthly line between Liverpool and Halifax and Boston, and then had it increased by 1849 to £90,000 for the same monthly service.

In the meantime, the Great Western Steamship Company of England had shown that in spite of the greater speed attained by our Liverpool packets going east, steam communication was, on the round trip, faster and always more reliable. And as freight was £7 per ton, passage 39 guineas ($198.68), with an extra postage on letters of one shilling sterling, our Government subsidized the Collins line. Cunard hastened to England, and without public letting secured a contract for a line to New York with an annual subsidy of £145,000. This put the Great Western line out of the race and they objected. Cunard testified before the Committee on Contract Packet Service, 1849: "I saw that the American Government was giving encouragement to a mail line which would interfere very much with me, and equally with the Government; depriving the Government of half its postage and me of half my passengers. *If I had got this contract three months sooner, there would have been no American line.*"

Mr. Golburn, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, defended, before Parliament, his disregard of the rights of the Great Western Company by the question, "Was it not obvious that the employment of two companies for accomplishing the same object would be more expensive to the public, and probably less effective, even supposing them both able to face the difficulties of the undertaking?" Subsequently, in the House of Lords, "He admitted that it was not done except at a very heavy expense, but it was not right to place that expense to the account of the post-office." (See Hansard's LXIV, 321.)

In the face of this determination of the British Government to capture the North Atlantic carrying trade, without regard to expense or the vested capital of its subjects, Senators Davis and Toombs, in anticipation of a rebellion, with the help of the dough-face vote, succeeded in passing a law approved by President Buchanan on June 14th, 1858, enacting that it should not be lawful for a Postmaster-General to make any contract with

any American or other vessel for carrying the mails for a greater compensation than sea and inland postage, nor for a longer time than two years; while the Cunard line, which had had its subsidy increased to £191,400 per annum, was working under a nine years' contract.

This law accomplished what was intended, the immediate destruction of the Collins line. The Havre and Bremen lines followed in the course of one or two years, and "a firm step," but not a first one, towards the success of the approaching Rebellion was taken. And now our advocates of British commercial supremacy divide their time between expressions of sorrow over the fact that we have no trans-Atlantic steamer line, and trying to convince the people that sending all our exports of manufactured goods, via Liverpool, forcing them to pay freight to that port and factors' charges there, before starting in competition with the manufactures of Great Britain, is "the natural order of things."

As British commercial and manufacturing interests have been able to procure the publication and wide dissemination of statements which have induced a general belief in this country that her heavy expenditures for mail packets have not been "for the special object of encouraging ship using and shipbuilding," but solely upon considerations affecting the efficiency and economy of the mail service, "or when any other considerations had weight, it was the necessity for intercourse with the colonies. I will quote from the Report of the Committee on Contract Packets, presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of her Majesty, 1853:"

"The object which appears to have led to the formation of these contracts and to the larger expenditure involved, were to afford us rapid, frequent, and punctual communication with those distant ports *which feed the main arteries of British commerce,* and with the most important of our foreign possessions; *to foster maritime enterprise, and to encourage the production of a superior class of vessels,* which would promote the convenience and wealth of the country in time of peace, and assist in defending its shores against hostile aggression."

"These expectations have not been disappointed." . . . "It is not easy to estimate the pecuniary value of these results. . ."

"Lastly, it is to be considered that there are several services which, if they were not carried on by the British Government,

would probably be undertaken by the governments of foreign states. . . . ."

Referring to the Cunard subsidy, which was shown to have grown to £173,340, or to be at the rate of $2.72½ per mile, it is asserted the subsidy was £61,642 in excess of the postage received.

"They attach great importance to a long and undisturbed term of contract as above, enabling them to incur the expenses necessary for a successful competition with their rivals." This contract, which was to continue at that time until 1862, was extended for five years in 1859, after the Collins line had been crushed, as above shown, by a combination of expectant rebels and doughfaces.

The value of a long time contract was shown as late as last July, when an extension of the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company's contract was under consideration before Parliament. According to "Herapaths' Railway and Commercial Journal," "Mr. Sutherland, the chairman of the company, in a very lucid statement showed that *the company do not favor foreign producers,* or use their power to injure the English shipping companies."

The assertion that the Collins line was destroyed by the law of 1858 is confirmed by some remarkable questions asked a Treasury official by members of a Parliamentary Committee on Packet and Telegraph Contracts in 1859. Some of these are transcribed:

By Richard Cobden:

"Q. 558. You are aware that it (the Collins line) ceased because the American Government withdrew the subsidy?"

By Mr. Wilson:

"Q. 613. Mr. Cunard's contract is £191,000, is it not?"

"A. Yes, £191,400."

"Q. 617. £320,000 is the amount which is now paid by this country and the colony for the trans-Atlantic postage, including the Galway line?"

"Q. 618. And in the face of these increasing subsidies the American Government has altogether relinquished the practice of subsidizing their vessels, and their vessels, of course, have been driven off the passage?"

It is doubtful if contempt for the patriotism or sense of any body of men was ever more thoroughly expressed than in questions 558 and 618, by which Messrs. Cobden and Wilson preserved in the pages of an official English document the story of our loss of

the North Atlantic carrying trade. Yet it is probable that the persons who delivered philippics in Congress against American interests, and wrote articles asserting that the withdrawal of subsidies was the only thing necessary for the financial success of the line, and the triumphant extension of American commerce, at least received the high honor of praise from England for their broad views, original thought, and thorough knowledge of political economy, as is the case with their successors of like kidney at the present day.

Three hundred and twenty thousand pounds, sterling, supported as it was by a patriotic national feeling, prevailed against an appropriation of $346,500, impelled by treason to every American interest. Under these circumstances English writers commenced preaching against subsidies. But the Cunard line is now getting a subsidy of $85,000 a year, a proceeding on a parity with a yearly land grant to the Illinois Central Railroad.

Hand in hand with the misinformation regarding the duration and action of our navigation laws and the purposes of the "Mail Packet Contracts," statements intended to injure or, at least, efficient in injuring our commercial and manufacturing interests, have been freely promulgated, as in "Our Merchant Marine." "And that was not in any sense as subsidy, but under contracts made by the Post-Office Department, solely upon considerations affecting the efficiency and economy of the mail service.

"But in every case these payments, by whatever names they have been designated, have been no more than was indispensable to secure the necessary mail, or the Government service, and no act of British legislation can be cited to show that money was ever voted by Parliament for the purpose of aiding in the construction and employment of ships for the British commercial marine.

And, "all these assertions, however, will be found on examination to rest upon no truthful or substantial basis, and are what may be properly designated as 'historic lies.'"

In the London *Times* of September 28th, 1886, is a letter from J. Henniker Heaton, M.P., to Postmaster-General Raikes, in which, after quoting the assertion of the Secretary of the Treasury, that "we are losing £1,000 a day, £365,000 a year, by our ocean mail service," he says: "As a matter of fact the amount ought to be reduced by the amount of the enormous sub-

sidies paid for purposes utterly different from those for which the post-office exists. It cannot be insisted upon too strongly that the subsidies are not paid by way of making up a deficiency in the postal accounts, *but in order to keep up the character of our merchant fleet.*

"As bearing on this question of subsidies, I may mention that three years ago England was the only European country sending regular and fast steamships to Australia. Three years ago the French Government subsidized the powerful Messagaries Maritimes to the amount of £160,000 a year. The company thereupon built for the Australian trade six magnificent steamers. . . . Each of these steamers now takes to France £100,000 worth of Australian produce every trip, and carries some of our mail. I observe that the four weekly steamers are now to be changed to fortnightly, with a subsidy of £250,000 a year.

"The German Government is equally alert. It has established a splendid line of steamers to Australia, with a subsidy of £120,000 a year.

"The danger with which these subsidized lines threaten our colonial trade need not be concealed . . . , but are we to assume that subsidized trade reaching the enormous volume of £100,000 will not be reciprocated ?"

There seems to be a direct antithesis between the two views quoted. Of course the well-known Quaker gun that our tariff prevents exportation of manufactured goods will here be brought to the front for the benefit of those who, getting their intelligence by second hands, do not know that in 1885 $27\frac{2}{10}$ per cent. of our exported manufactured produce went to Great Britain and Ireland, and that between 1860 and 1886 the value of our exports of manufactured products had increased 133 per cent., while the value of agricultural products increased only 75 per cent. during that time.

But Mr. Heaton does not rest with his letter to the London *Times*. In a communication to *The Colonies and India*, July 8th, 1887, he states, as if he had "historic lies" in his mind :

"The deficit of £365,000 is due to the subsidies which are given to various lines of steamships which carry the mails and by the amount of these subsidies the deficit ought to be reduced. . . . . In fact, there exists at this moment a law under which any steamer sailing from an English port can be com-

pelled to carry mails to the port of destination, no matter where, for 1d. per letter. *Letters are now carried to Australia and New Zealand at a charge to the Government of only 1d. per letter, in fast steamers not subsidized; yet in order to bolster up the subsidized steamers, the Government of England charges the people 6d. per letter.*"

The italics are Mr. Heaton's, and the subsidy paid to the Australian steamers is £170,000 per annum.

In the annual report on the foreign commerce of the United States for 1884, in a letter addressed to the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics by Mr. Atkinson, the question is asked: "Why has not a system of steamship communication been established, without any bounty or subsidy, between the United States and South America, as has been done between Great Britain and South America?" On writing to Mr. Nimmo complaining of the perversion of fact implied by the above question, I was assured that Mr. Atkinson, who was well acquainted with the history of this subject, thought my complaint was dealing with "ancient history."

In a report issued by the British post-office in 1863, it is said: "To assume that those packets were only established for post-office purposes is to charge the government with the most absurd extravagance. The West India packets, for instance, were established at a cost of £240,000 per annum, though the utmost return that was expected from letters was £40,000, leaving the £200,000 a clear deficit."

The contract with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, made for 10 years commencing in 1841, was by private agreement at the rate of £240,000 per annum, when the West Indian and Mexican Packet Company, according to testimony before a Parliamentary Committee, was doing the work for £76,373. In July, 1850, a new contract was made with the Royal Mail Company, to extend over 11 years, with 12 months' notice of discontinuance, at the rate of £270,000 per annum, for not to exceed 547,296 miles of sea service, between the latitude of the mouth of Jupiter Inlet in Florida and the mouth of La Plata, and as far west as the Isthmus of Panama. Any additional service to be paid for at the rate of 9 shillings and 10 pence, $2.36, per mile.

In 1863 another contract, to commence in 1864, was made with the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, to continue six

years, with twelve months' notice, at the following annual rates, viz.:

To Rio	£33,500
To the West Indies	172,914
	£206,414

On January 30th, 1883, Postmaster-General Fawcett said, in reply to a Parliamentary question: "The amount paid to the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company as an annual subsidy under contract was £80,500, and the amount of net receipts from the postage was £28,000." And on March 24th, 1884, Mr. Evelyn Ashley, in reply to another Parliamentary question, said of a new contract with his company, in the face of tenders for a less amount, "that several other tenders were sent in, but they proposed to take the mails via New York, *which was not a convenient course.*"

Our mails and ambassadors for years went to Rio via Liverpool. John Roach, who established a direct line between this port and Rio, reducing the freight on coffee, according to official statistics, from 75 cents and $1 per bag to an average of 40 cents, was, for this and other crimes against the trade and commerce of Great Britain, driven into bankruptcy and an unnecessarily early grave, with no recognition of his honesty except the abject apology of the *Evening Post*, the zeal of whose editor had led it into actionable calumny. Postmaster-General Vilas, with an appropriation in hand, nullifies the laws he had sworn to execute, and offers for this and other foreign mail service the pay with which Toombs and his co-conspirators arranged for the transfer of our commerce to Great Britain. Her Gracious Majesty has conferred the honor of knighthood on many a man who has done far less for British interests.

In "The Question of Ships," by J. H. Jerrold Kelley, Lieutenant United States Navy (Appleton, 1884), a book which has weight given it by being based on a prize essay on the subject, "Our Merchant Marine; the Sources of its Decline and the Means to be Taken for its Revival," the following sentence occurs: "Of the £783,000 voted in 1881, more than one-half went for mail purposes, and not a guinea was tabooed to ships surveying mankind with a commercial view, or built in any country from China to Peru."

Whether this sentence means anything more than that other subjects besides history are neglected at our national school for dilettanti sailors, the reader may judge. But as the English postal authorities refuse to send regular mails by the Fulda, which rescued the passengers of the Oregon without salvage, an act which, according to English papers, forged another link which binds England and Germany together, Lieutenant Kelley evidently cannot mean that England is building up the German merchant marine, as we are building up the English, even though the Fulda was built in England, and the charge per pound for letters via Southampton would be only one shilling ten pence, instead of three shillings via Cork.

Whatever mistiness there may be in the sentence quoted, Lieut. Kelley is an ardent advocate for the repeal of the navigation law. No stronger arguments for free ships were found in our newspapers just before the failure of the Glasgow Bank, with mortgages on some sixty unsalable steamers, than can be found in his book.

In none of the arguments, pro and con, on the question of free ships, has any one ever intimated that any part of the maritime position we held up to 1855 was due to the purchase of foreign ships, or to the procurement of foreign models. In the days before Polk, when the efforts of the Americans had been successfully directed to increasing and extending our commercial influence, and establishing a powerful maritime force, the only foreign-built vessels admitted to American register were those taken in war, mostly British, and then, as now, the British were neither as good modelers, sailmakers, or sailors as the Americans. This is a fact that even the dough-faces, who in 1858 voted with Toombs to destroy our commerce and cripple our export trade, were proud of, until Cunard had for some time received his enormous subsidies. And though it now suits the purpose of many to assert the contrary, the wonderful record of our yachts in the contests for the "America cup" fully controverts their statements.

Including the first race at Cowes in 1851, when the report was, "May it please your Majesty, there *is* no second," to the contest of last summer, there have been eight trials for its possession, in which seventeen races have been sailed, in only one of which, when the "Columbia" broke its steering gear, did the English yachts fail to "keep astern," and Lieutenant Henn, who spent a

year on our coast, says in the London *Field*: "Their ordinary coasting schooners would give many of our cruising schooner yachts all they could do to beat them, and most of the Gloucester fishing schooners, to say nothing of the pilot boats, can leave most of our cruising yachts out of sight."

This testimony, with the records of our races, is conclusive that we still retain our skill as marine architects and sailors; and it would take careful search among our professors of political economy to find a man who would assert that these races have not improved the models of English yachts. An acquaintance with the merits of our river, sound, and coasting steamers would convince any one that, if our opportunities for building ocean-going steamships had not been curtailed by the law of 1858, the world's sea borne freights and passengers would now be carried quicker and cheaper than at present, and the increase of ocean freights would have proceeded at a faster rate than the increase of our railroad freights, since we reduced our freight charges to between one-half and one-third of those in England, with a saving in freight money of £200,000,000, or $1,000,000,000 for the year 1884, on what we would have paid if our freight charges were as high as they are in England.

It seems absurd to argue that we, who stand pre-eminent for the efficiency and cheapness of our locomotives, cars, and railroad service generally, who have introduced our types of stationary engines and pumps into England, where they are either purchased or built, retain our old skill as sailors and have the fastest and best river and coastwise steamers in the world, cannot build and sail the fastest and best ocean steamers at the lowest cost, if our Government extended the same aid to our shipping which the merchant marine of England has received, and which Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and Austria are now giving to their shipping.

But no, papers which have had nothing to say about the Cunard or Vancouver-Hong Kong subsidy, that long stood the inconvenience resulting from all our mails from England arriving in one day, without criticism, and have failed to inform their readers that France and Italy, buying their ships from England, finding that a payment for mileage sailed was inefficient, resorted to direct subsidies, have found profit and pleasure in filling their columns with arguments for the prosperity of Clyde shipbuilders, and denunciations of subsidies—if paid to Americans.

When Gordon was cooped up in Kartoum, it was proposed to build a railroad from Suakim to Berber, and American pumps were ordered to supply water in the desert. British papers exclaimed, "we should like to know why the contract was let to an American at all, and why a single penny of the money paid by the British tax-payer should be sent out of this country?" "Warfare will assume a totally different aspect if British taxes are to be employed to enrich the rival manufacturers of other countries, while our own artisans lack bread."

The railroad could not be built without water.

There were no English pumps which could supply water for the distance required.

The Suakim-Berber road is not built.

And we are advised to buy ships for peace and war, where their purchase will enrich the rival manufacturers of a nation which, turning its attention from the Dutch to us, has not at any time ceased trying to reduce us to the condition of the Hollanders; even rewarding Laird with knighthood, whose efforts to prevent our engrossing too large a share of the world's commerce cost her $15,000,000 "smart money."

Mr. Wells and others advise us to buy our ships from England, and develop a superior class of naval constructors by repairing them. Something like this plan has been tried in literature, but has not proved entirely successful.

We are now just completing a century of national existence; and though, under the circumstances, nothing can be done with the small remnant, we can easily, if we will, arrange for a government which shall not only refrain from giving away every American interest in an effort to reduce us to the level of less favored nations, but will restore us to the proud position on the sea we were holding forty years ago.

E. P. North.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

HOW TO NAME CHILDREN.

THERE are some things which we cannot reason out. Science fails to disclose the reason why the cyclone, in its semi-elliptical whirl moves from the right to the left in the Northern hemisphere, and from the left to the right in the Southern half of the globe ; and so too some unknown force directs the spiral course of the creeping vine. May there not be some subtle forces directing the fate of men ? Do natural laws govern only the movement of the winds or the growth of plants ? May not a name bestowed upon the helpless infant produce effects, and become "One of the few, the immortal names that were not born to die ?"

Our first parents and the prominent persons spoken of in Holy Writ seem to have had but one name: Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, Moses, Aaron, and Joshua. But, passing without notice the intervening ages and coming down to our own times and confining ourselves particularly to our own country, if we examine the names of our great men we will be surprised at the preponderance of single-named (meaning but one name in addition to the surname) persons.

Let us go to the Revolution. Take the signers of the Declaration of Independence. First we find a committee appointed to draft it. They were Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston. None of these had middle names except Livingston. Of those who signed the Declaration, on the part of the States, there were as follows :

5 from Massachusetts, of whom one had a middle name.
3 from New Hampshire, of whom none had middle names.

2 from Rhode Island,	do.	do.
4 from Connecticut,	do.	do.
4 from New York,	do.	do.
5 from New Jersey,	do.	do.
9 from Pennsylvania,	do.	do.
3 from Delaware,	do.	do.
3 from Maryland,	do.	do.
3 from North Carolina,	do.	do.
4 from South Carolina,	do.	do.
3 from Georgia,	do.	do.

6 from Virginia, of whom two had middle names.

So that out of the fifty-three signers there were only three who had more than one name.

In 1786 there was a commercial convention called to meet at Annapolis to consider the commercial relations of New York, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Not a solitary delegate to that convention had a middle name.

In 1787 a convention was held to revise the Constitution, and out of the fifty-six delegates to this convention there were only five with more than one name.

Of the forty-eight who signed the Articles of Confederation on the 9th of July, 1788, only four had more than one name. Of the thirty-six speakers of the House during the first half century of the nation's existence, only twelve had more than one name. Of the five Chief Justices during the same period none had more than one name. (Now that there is a vacancy let double-named aspirants beware.) Of the thirty-one Associate Justices during the same period only five had more than one name. Of the eighteen Secretaries of State only two had middle names; of the eighteen Secretaries of the Treasury, only eight; of the twenty-six Secretaries of War, only nine; of the twenty-one Secretaries of the Navy, only eight.

We have had twenty-two presidents during our national existence. Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren, Tyler, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln, Johnson, and Cleveland all entered into office without the unnecessary luggage of a middle name. These sum up fifteen out of the twenty-two, and all the "two-termers" are in the list except one (U. S. Grant). Under such circumstances, now that we approach a Presidential election is it not pertinent to inquire, "What 's in a name?"

As far as I have been able to ascertain, only five ex-Senators became President: John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, James Buchanan—all of one name, except the ubiquitous Adams, who seems to have held every office of note in the country except the Chief Justiceship. As Grover Cleveland will be the Democratic nominee, it is well for the Republicans to remember that it seems to be an unwritten law that no Senator (particularly if he has a middle name) can be elected; and so, if they will take a Senator to test the rule, they have few to choose from. There is John Sherman, or Philetus Sawyer, or E. Hale, or J. Chace, or perhaps one or two more.

Is there not something in a name? Must not there be some influence, which we know not of, which, under the operation of cause and effect, produces such results as are cited above. It is true that there are instances of great men whose names are long and whose achievements are famous, but are they not few compared with the number of great men with single names?

PETER J. OTEY.

II.

OUR HOLD ON CUBA.

DO WE want Cuba? Do we want her as an integral part of the Nation? Do we want her as a colonial possession? I think the unanimous voice of the country would answer "No!" to both interrogatories. But is there not another species of ownership which will confer upon us all the advantages which would accrue from annexation without hampering us with the responsibilities springing out of annexation? It seems to me that Mother Britain has taught us how to own Cuba without owning it—how to control Cuba without governing it—how to reap all benefits of Cuban possession without the expense and responsibilities of Cuban protection.

Over the savage and semi-civilized tribes and nations which the commercial and religious zeal of the subjects of Victoria have subjugated to British influence, Great Britain, as a nation, has established what she calls "Commercial Supremacy." In plain language, she permits these weaker races to buy their rum, their Brummagem idols, and their scanty needs of dry-goods, only from herself, and prohibits them—not by force, but by the "laws of trade"—from disposing of their native products in markets other than those controlled by Englishmen.

To be sure, we have no American opium that we need market at the points of bayonets or the muzzles of guns, upon unwilling and inoffensive Cubans; but, inasmuch as we improved upon the British Constitution, so likewise we may improve

on the methods of the British tradesman. In the easiest and simplest manner possible, we can place Cuba at our mercy, by simply shutting her sugar out of American markets. And we can do this without over-taxing the energies of our navy, or incurring the displeasure of European powers. We have simply to increase the duties on imported sugar, and at once have Cuba at our mercy, and at the same time strengthen one of the great agricultural interests of our own country.

V. PERRY ATWELL.

III.

THE DEATH INSTINCT IN ANIMALS.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has given considerable space of late to discussing the instincts and reasoning powers of animals. One of the most interesting questions in this line of investigation is the question whether animals are subject to premonitions of impending death. It seems sometimes as if they could feel their mortal peril without any promptings of their five senses. I remember killing a cat once in my youth, when a second shot was necessary to finish it. As I leveled my gun at the wounded creature, she turned on me a look which I can still vividly recall, after the lapse of years. There was a dignity and a despair in her look that astonished me. She was an abject and wretched creature, to which death was a merciful kindness; but the terrible look of Death that she gave me haunted me for some time.

A gentleman of my acquaintance had a beautiful tortoise-shell cat of which he and his wife were very fond. For some reason or other they most reluctantly decided to kill it, and the gentleman went out to the barn and hunted up an axe and block suitable for the disagreeable operation. When he returned to the sitting-room, the big, lazy cat was lying on his wife's lap, purring contentedly. He started to pick it up, with perfect gentleness, as he had often done, but the cat suddenly shrank back from his grasp and, looking straight up into his face, gave a most unearthly howl, as of utter despair. Both the look and the cry were quite unlike anything that he or his wife had ever seen or heard. It seemed as if the creature were conscious of his intention. What mysterious sense told it of the axe and block awaiting it?

A case still more interesting, for which I can vouch, was that of a cow and her calf. The farmer who owned them kept the calf in his barn, but drove the cow off to a distant pasture every morning with the rest of the herd. She soon became reconciled to the arrangement, and was accustomed to feed quietly until it was time to return to her calf. One day the farmer killed the calf suddenly and painlessly. There was no outcry, no chance for the cow to see the deed. She was at a distance from the barn, which apparently precluded the possibility of her knowing what had been done. Yet no sooner was the calf dead, than she left her grazing with the rest of the herd and came up to the bars, lowing and showing every symptom of uneasiness. There she stayed from noon till milking time, moving about restlessly, as she had never done before. In this case the death instinct seems to have been interwoven with the subtle maternal instinct. There was no communication possible, so far as human senses could perceive, between mother and offspring; yet there is no doubt that the cow had at least some dim knowledge of what was going on, and that she suffered more than the calf did.

Probably other cases of this kind could be gathered together, if diligent inquiry were made. Such a collection would be of great value to the physiologist and psychologist.

ARTHUR MARK CUMMINGS.

IV.

MR. CARNEGIE ON SURPLUS REDUCTION.

MR. ANDREW CARNEGIE is not only an agreeable writer, but—so true is the rule that the optimist is likely to be right and the pessimist to be wrong in forecasting the future—a usually trustworthy writer. To two or three errors, however, in his essay on "The Surplus" in your March number, the general excellence of that essay renders it desirable to call attention.

It is safe to class his assumption that an average reduction of ten per cent. on import duties would be "certain to increase revenues," though such assumptions are often made, as an error. There is no certainty at all; only doubtful hypothesis. He supposes that imports would increase by more than ten per cent., without showing how we are going to find the ten corresponding per cent. additional goods to export, or how, failing this, we are going to escape the conditions which necessitate a substantial equivalence of imports and exports in international commerce. It is easy, doubtless, to point to instances where relieving a few articles of duty has been followed by largely increased importation of those articles; but this result of special reductions, too limited to affect the general balance of trade, could not be proportionately magnified by extending reduction to imported articles generally. Moreover, if this reduction were not the "horizontal" one contemplated by him, but affected raw materials chiefly, Mr. Carnegie's supposed effect would probably be reversed. Putting wool and ores on the free list could hardly fail, by cheapening supplies, to stimulate home manufactures of those articles, and diminish importations, thus giving a twofold reduction of revenue.

Mr. Carnegie follows Senator Sherman's example in slurring over the distinction, for this purpose so important, between "raw" and "finished" products; going even so far as to insinuate a doubt that the distinction is a valid one. But, without worrying over definitions, we must admit one clear difference between the production of an article ready for the consumer's use, and that of an article requiring additional labor to complete it. By protecting the latter we increase the cost of further elaboration and so impose a burden upon industry; while protection of the former has little direct effect on other industries, except in furnishing a home market for unfinished products. If, for instance, Spanish ore is easier to obtain for our manufacturers than ore from Lake Superior, as Mr. Carnegie states, and if an import duty has to be levied for the purpose of making it less accessible to them, the increased cost of material must put them at a disadvantage as compared with foreigners under no such burden, unless care is taken to shift this burden from shoulder to shoulder till the consumer is reached, that he may bear the whole of it. Also, unless we wish the blessings of protection to be monopolized by the producer of the crudest ware, we must increase the burden a little with each shifting, and so multiply it considerably for the consumer. But it must here be acknowledged that Mr. Carnegie may be quite correct in his practically most important contention. He can say with confidence that "Congress will not admit iron ore free of duty," and similarly with "the question of free coal," because he knows how weak and fallible our Congress is. Expectations from that body would be very different, were the Congress composed of statesmen instead of congressmen.

Our old acquaintance, the claim that "protection is given to home industries on account of the greater cost of labor here," greets us once more from Mr. Carnegie's lines. As usually met, it travels arm-in arm with that other claim, that the reward of the laborer is kept up in this country by tariff duties, and would sink to starvation-point on their removal; whereby two phenomena are neatly presented as at the same time cause and effect of each other. The simple

truth appears to be, that the greater cost of labor here is partly fictitious—an expression, that is, of the fact that money is of smaller value in our land, because our laws give it less purchasing power outside—partly a result of the greater intrinsic value of a day's labor by the educated American operative than by his worse-endowed foreign rival, and partly due to the better opportunities afforded the skilled workman in a newer country for setting up in business on his own account; altogether independent, so far as real, of import taxes, and capable of surviving their total abolition.

The insinuation with which he closes, that the President and others who advocate tariff reduction are sailing under false colors, calls for mention—hardly for serious refutation. Mr. Carnegie has made out quite a strong case in favor of using up the surplus to pay our still huge debt with; but he is not to be trusted when he intimates that such as wish to collect smaller revenues must be either stupid or dishonest.

WASHINGTON, D. C. HENRY FARQUHAR.

V.

AN IMPORTANT ANNIVERSARY.

DATING backwards from the 23d day of last April, and into the early years of the nation, if we run over exactly half a century of time, we come to an event which should fill the hearts of all good Americans with joint sensations of pride and sorrow. On the 23d of April, 1838, the British steamer "Sirius" steamed into New York harbor, followed, a few hours later, by another British steamer, the "Great Western." Looking at the event with the calmness that comes to us as a succeeding generation, we know that our forefathers unwittingly saw in this twin arrival a presage of our future (now present) commercial relations with Great Britain; for the arrival of these vessels at the port of New York was, in fact, the real beginning of steam navigation between this country and Europe—they were, in fact, the pioneer vessels of practical steam commerce. That we should feel pride in their arrival is justly due to those Americans who taught the builders and navigators of the "Sirius" and "Great Western" the possibilities of that American invention, the steam-ship; for it was an American vessel (the "Savannah"), designed, built, owned and navigated by citizens of the United States which, nineteen years previously, had told to the wondering nations of the world the possibilities of the marine steam-engine. That we should feel sorrow, mingled with the kin sensations of shame and regret, is but natural, when we consider how, during the last half century, Great Britain has usurped the steam carrying trade which properly belonged and belongs to the United States.

It would seem to be one of the laws of fate that an inventor should never reap the full benefit of his invention. It would seem as if the United States, the home of the inventor of the ocean steamship, had suffered from the operation of this same law. But man should be superior to fate; and truly the American has shown heretofore, in many ways, an ability to conquer fate; and even now the country is restless over the commercial supremacy of Great Britain; and men in all walks of life are beginning to discuss the measures that should be taken to procure for the United States the commercial marine to which her God-given ocean boundaries and the ability of her citizens justly entitle her.

Never, then, was there a more opportune moment for the discussion of those means and measures by which the United States is once again to lead the world in international navigation.

ETIENNE AYRAULT.

VI.

"FLEXIBLE MAJORITIES."

In his very able and catholic paper entitled "A Perilous Balance," in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for April, Mr. Rossiter Johnson says much that appeals to the good sense of every well-disposed American, whether of native or foreign birth. Certain of his conclusions, however, are hardly borne out when considered in the light of reasonable non-partisanship. It may probably be assumed that he means "Mugwumps" when he alludes to "Such cranks as choose to band themselves into little makeweight parties that constitute balances of power," and he kindly proceeds, in the next sentence, to remove the somewhat opprobrious taint that might attach to the term by calling for "majorities so flexible that they can be cast one way at one election and the opposite way at the next."

That is precisely the end for which Independents or Mugwumps exist, but Mr. Johnson seems to lose sight of the fact that before he can establish his flexible majorities of "twenty to one" on a working basis, there must needs be a modest beginning liable to denunciation as "little makeweight parties," and the like, to which he refers with such undisguised contempt. Every Republican probably regards the birth of his party as the inception of a genuine reform movement, but it is within the recollection of men not so very old that when the "free soil" defection took place from the Whig ranks, nay, later, when the Republican party itself came into existence, its members were the Mugwumps of their day, and were freely accused of "pharisaism," of setting themselves upon a "holier than thou" platform, and so on; phrases which every newspaper reader will recognize as familiar jibes cast at the "Independents" during the last presidential canvass. They are, in fact, phrases which rise naturally to the lips of every culprit when he finds himself in the presence of a jury that does not agree with defendant's counsel.

Mr. Johnson seems much disturbed at the nearly equal division of political parties, and the danger is, no doubt, grave in certain aspects. But there are compensations. We are all agreed that there should be larger majorities in every election, but irreconcilable differences arise when we attempt to decide from which party the majority should be drawn. In ordinary years of peace and prosperity the vote of every individual is largely influenced by personal considerations, mainly dependent, perhaps, upon the voter's pocket. The reasonable *pros* and *cons* regarding protection and free trade, for instance, are so nearly balanced that no considerable majority can be counted upon for either side, and so with regard to almost all the questions that arise in the ordinary course of events. But the moment a great vital matter distinctly involving right and wrong comes to the fore the "perilous balance" disappears, and the majority on the side of right becomes irresistible wherever there is a free vote of all the people. Such a crisis has not arisen since the great overturning of 1860–61. Leaving the slave States out of the question, since a free vote of all the people was impossible there, a glance at the returns will show that the majorities for the Government were overwhelming in all the Northern States, and the "perilous balance" was restored only when returning peace suffered the conditions once more to become normal. There might easily be honest differences of judgment concerning the proper course to be pursued regarding the treatment of the lately seceded States, and, in fact, these differences so promptly asserted themselves that the two great parties redivided practically upon traditional lines. If, however, any party should come before the people with some measure so obviously unwise that it could not be disguised by lying, the November elections would not leave public sentiment in doubt. Unquestionably

one great trouble is the facility with which lies are multiplied. Mr. Johnson permits us to infer that he never heard of Democrats or Republicans rebuking their respective journals for lying in the interest of their own parties, or of a "Mugwump rebuking a Mugwump paper for lying on all sides." I can only account for his failure to meet such advocates of truth on the ground that, in his opinion, as soon as a Republican begins to rebuke lying in the interest of his own party he is no longer a Republican. As for Mugwumps, the chief reason why they are reviled of both parties is that they never fail to denounce lying whenever they find it. When they do so fail they are no longer worthy the name.

CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON.

VII.

PERSONAL IMMORTALITY.

THERE is nothing so pleasing to human expectation as personal immortality. To be assured of everlasting life without pain or care, without weariness or satiety, with friendships unalloyed and with knowledge ever increasing, makes all trouble and sorrow in this world seem as nothing—as the mere dust that floats with the passing breeze. But is this pleasing dream an inspiration? Do desire and expectation constitute an infallible premise upon which to found unquestionable opinions? And is there adequate compensation for the loss of these cherished ideals?

Man's body, like those of other animals, is composed of the elements of matter in chemical combination, and finally after its brief life, returns to form part of the original stock from which it was constructed. Does there dwell in this corruptible body an undying and incorruptible personality? Does the Creator do aught contrary to the universal and recognized laws of life and death? And is it not generally conceded that anything and everything that will live "to eternity" has existed "from eternity?"

The glorious sun must, in the nature of things, go out in darkness. The stars that "glitter on the mantle of night" must finally disappear. There may be a new birth of suns and stars, resultant from the same cause which placed those now shining in the heavens, and thus, by renewal, add light and lustre to the universe through a seeming eternity. So with all animate and inanimate life; it is immortal in the principle of reproduction, whose cycles roll on unceasingly unless checked by superior and antagonizing forces. Reproduction is therefore an immortal principle precluding the probability of personal immortality. With life ends man's usefulness to the world or to his Creator. Is it probable that he will be preserved for pain or pleasure, for reward or punishment? The monarchs of the forest may be reproduced for an eternity of years with unchanged and recurring seasons.

The grain of wheat from Egypt's tomb lost none of its vitality during a sleep of three thousand years. The frail, sensitive plant is equally immortal in its nature. If there is anything on earth too beautiful to die, it is the rose. Yet with all its beauty and fragrance the hoar frost regards it not, and the summer's sun, after painting its loveliness, withers it without remorse, and but for the hope inspired by this reproductive principle, we should mourn its loss and weep at its destruction. Now we can truly say and rejoice that its beauty never fades and its fragance is everlasting.

Is man an exception to this wise and wonderful provision of nature? And is it not ample compensation to know that old age, decrepitude and uselessness are to give place to youth, strength and beauty, and that man's intelligence and virtues become an immortal inheritance by his children?

E. H. ROOD.

VIII.

THE USE OF HOLIDAYS.

In the December number of the REVIEW, Mr. Geoffrey Champlin, in a Note and Comment entitled "Our National Digestion," asked why we had lost the power to digest into the bone and blood of good citizenship the hordes of foreigners who, for the last decade, had come to this country; and Mr. Benton, in the April REVIEW, has a Note and Comment entitled "The Holiday Hallucination." I think I can answer Mr. Champlin's question, and refute Mr. Benton's argument, by the statement of a few facts which these gentlemen appear to have overlooked—though both are famed in literary circles for the thoroughness of their knowledge.

There are a great many people living who have no conception of what the old-fashioned Fourth of July was like; and there is a smaller class, who, while remembering the brass bands and the military parades, the speeches and bonfires, yet fail to see that there was, in all the noise and spread-eagleism, an influence stronger than the mere pleasure of an outing or the amusement of a show. As one remembering something of those former Fourth of July celebrations, I cannot agree with Mr. Benton that our old holidays have "been more formally observed." It seems to me that no thoughtful person can, on the Fourth of July, visit any of our great cities, or indeed any portion of our land where the foreign element largely predominates, without seeing that the observance of the Nation's birthday has fallen into desuetude—has become like an European Sunday, and lost nearly, if not entirely, all of those characteristics which made it so remarkable an anniversary during the first century of the Nation's existence.

Our national holidays were not established merely as seasons of recreation and amusement, but as occasions on which the people at large were to be educated in the history of the Nation and instructed in the principles on which the Nation was founded. On Washington's Birthday it was the custom to read aloud his Farewell Address from the pulpits of churches and the rostrums of public gatherings. On the Fourth of July the Declaration of Independence was declaimed by the principal orators of the neighborhood. There was a purpose then in the celebration of these days, for he who has learned the contents of those two State papers knows at least the groundwork of our political organization. Thus the observance of our national holidays educated the people in the rights and duties and principles of citizenship, and among the people so educated were the recent immigrants from other nations. The old-time observance of national holidays was an active, vital force working for good. It was not until this old-fashioned observance of our national holidays became obsolete that the Nation began to experience difficulty in assimilating our foreign-born population. It was not until Washington's Farewell Address and the Declaration of Independence had become forgotten that foreign agitators found listeners to foreign theories of government.

In the decay of the proper observance of our national holidays I see the reason why the Nation now suffers as it does, and in a return to the holiday practices of former days I see the remedy for the evils that afflict us.

GEORGE NELSON

IX.

THE DECLINE OF NEW ENGLAND.

THERE was a time when New England was looked upon as a sort of reservoir of the true American spirit; when she sent her sons and her daughters out from the towns and the farms to be teachers to the rest of the nation and to found new empires in the West; when the New England spirit seemed to be a leaven leavening all the national life.

No one, knowing what the New England characteristics were, two score years ago, can, to-day, travel through New England and fail to note the changes which time has made in the habits and characters of the people. It seems almost as if a strange race had taken possession of the soil. The traits and traditions of the earlier settlers seem to be almost wholly forgotten, and the state of life in which the former inhabitants passed their existence is obsolete. The equality which once existed between man and man—between employer and employé—has been changed; there are fewer "help" and more "servants;" the native stock has been replaced by French Canadians, Scandinavians and Irish. These changes in New England are the more important, in that they are typical of the change which is being wrought in other sections of the country where new lines of social demarkation between classes are being defined and castes are being formed.

When we look back on those good old days when to be a New Englander was to be a typical American, we can recall the pride that all men took in honest manual labor; we can recall how men and women labored without their labor lowering them in the social scale or preventing the development of their mental powers, how the squire left the scythe in the field while he leaned on the fence and talked about crops, or investments, or the last political news, to the farmer or the farmer's hired man, who was hauling grist to the nearest mill.

All this is changed. The squire has gone. The miller takes in city boarders and grinds no grain. The sturdy, independent farmer has moved westward. The French Canadian or the Swede has dispossessed the hired man, who is now a stranger, not a friend; an inferior, not an equal. Even in the factory history of New England there has been a decadence, the native born being supplanted by the foreign born, and social degradation following the change. It is from the Great West and the New South that the men now come who are typical Americans. If New England does not to-day lead the country as she did once, it is because the characteristics and modes of life of her present population no longer make great men.

A study of the reasons for the decline of New England is most interesting, nor are they hard to find. Something is due to the general change which the increase of population has worked by increasing the size of the country and creating new centres of influence. Something is due to the natural exhaustion following the drain which New England suffered when she sent the best of her brain and sinew into the fertile fields of the West, or into the battle-fields at the South, at once emptying herself of her strength and creating a vacuum into which poured rivulets from the inundation of foreign immigration (and however worthy the foreign laborer may be, something of his former state of servitude still lingers about him and humiliates him into a lower caste than the descendants of the former tillers of the soil).

But while these changes have operated to effect the decadence of New England, there is one change not hitherto mentioned, which far more than all others has caused the decline in the sturdy independence of the New England character. I mean the increased number of rich and idle people who make New England the camping ground of their summer days. When I image New England as she was, I see a modern Sparta constantly at war with a stubborn soil and a bleak climate and disciplined in strengthening labor of mind and body; when I image New England as she is to-day, I see a modern Capua, a vast hostelry, crowded with servants whose lives are spent in catering for the entertainment of idle pleasure seekers. Name for me the birthplace of any one of New England's greater sons, and in nine cases out of ten you will name one of the fashionable summer resorts. The multitude of seaport towns and country villages from which came so many of

the nation's best and greatest men are no longer now nurseries of earnest thinkers and patient workers, but the playgrounds of idle men and idler women from the cities.

It is to this idle class that New England owes the decay of her former influence. Watch any country village develop into a fashionable resort and you see the old New Englander move away. The show, the glitter, the greater wealth of the new comers, create a disparity which humiliates or offends the old settlers, and they move away; while those who stay cannot escape the pernicious influence of a large and wealthy idle class.

GEOFFREY CHAMPLIN.

X.

LEARNING TO WRITE ENGLISH.

BOOKS are made up of everything nowadays; and sometimes the most wretched stuff makes the most successful book. Lately somebody has collected a number of the most ridiculous and puerile compositions of our public-school children, and published them under the title of "Englische as she is spoke." They are of the same character as that of the boy who described a horse as "an animal with four legs, one on each end;" and a shout of laughter has gone up all over the country.

There is one thing, the simplest in the world, which is entirely neglected in our public schools, and which is perhaps the most potent means of acquiring good English that can possibly be invented. I mean the practice of constantly writing to dictation passages from the works of good authors. It is the reading-book, not the spelling-book, that should be used to learn to spell. Not only in New York, but all over the Union, the stupid practice prevails of making children memorize and write on their slates *lists of words*, instead of consecutive sentences. The book that has the largest circulation in this country is the stupidest and most meaningless book in existence, namely, Webster's Spelling-book. Now this practice of drumming single words, letter by letter, into the heads of children, affords no assistance whatever in acquiring the power of expression; it is mere parrot-like learning, unconnected with thought. Hence their inability to write thoughts. There is no surer way of making a simpleton of a boy than by drilling him for a "spelling-match," which is the laughing stock of foreigners and the favorite exercise of natives.

Consider for a moment some of the advantages of writing to dictation as compared with those derived from this word-spelling practice. 1st. By dictation, the child learns to associate words with ideas, to express *thoughts*, and not merely to spell *words*. 2d. It learns to *think* correctly by putting one thought logically after another. 3d. It learns the use of our common and most useful words, becomes familiar with the "well of English undefiled," which is much better than learning to spell *metempsychosis*, *phthisis*, etc. 4th. It acquires a *taste* for correct language by becoming practically acquainted with the idiomatic use of English words, some of which have, as is well known, directly opposite meanings according to use. 5th. It learns to spell similar sounding words according to meaning, *write*, *right*, *rite*, etc. 6th. It learns, in the very best manner, the important matter of punctuation, by putting in the points as they occur in the dictation; and when it is remembered that pointing in English composition is largely a matter of taste, it will be seen that no better method of learning it can be devised. 7th. It gives the child a *feeling* for correct language, without which no good writing is possible.

In fact, in writing to dictation the scholar drinks in good language at every pore : his hand, his eye, his ear, his mind, his imagination are all at work while so writing; he is learning the force, power, meaning and effect of words by actual use, by *doing*, which is the only correct way of learning. In spelling single words no faculty is employed except memory, the poorest of the faculties. It was by studying and writing passages from good English authors that two of our very best writers learned to compose, viz., Franklin and Cobbett, the former in Addison's *Spectator* and the latter in Swift's *Tale of a Tub*. The practice of writing to dictation is precisely the same as the work of the compositor ; it is setting down word after word, thought after thought, and pointing off according to sense, and this training presents the remarkable result that half the editors of the Uuited States, the men who form public opinion, have graduated, not from the university, but from the composing room. For heaven's sake, abolish this stupid practice of making children spell *words* and cause them to write *thoughts*, and you will have no further occasion to laugh at their use of "Englische as she is spoke."

ROBERT WATERS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I.

COUNT TOLSTOI'S SHORT STORIES.

COUNT TOLSTOI follows the fashion so prevalent just now among men of letters, of appearing suddenly in a new and unexpected rôle. We are familiar with his name as novelist, historian, moralist and political economist. The pen of an enthusiastic translator now introduces him to us in a sort of *pot pourri* volume,* the earlier and larger portion of which is made up of children's stories. The first three are of a religious nature, and the reader anticipates a book suitable for the Sunday-school library, so pure and elevating is their tone. But these are quickly followed by marvelous accounts of bear hunts, and stories of pet dogs and horses; and by scenes from common life written after the terse fashion of the Gesta Romanorum, and in other respects similar to these ancient tales. Attractive little sketches to illustrate the elementary principles of physics, zoölogy, and botany are succeeded by a collection of fables, in part paraphrases from the Indian, and in part imitations of them. The stories selected from the Novaya Asbuka, or, as the American boy would express it, from the "New Speller, or A-B-C book," might have been taken from an appendix to the immortal, blue-covered collection of Webster. This medley of short compositions concludes with a sketch of the school for peasant children founded by Count Tolstoi at Yasnaya Polyana, one of his estates a few miles from the city of Tula, in which the Count's peculiar ideas of education are exemplified. The school was founded on the principle that all children have an intense desire to learn, and that this desire furnishes the motive for self-government; consequently, each child is allowed to go and come at pleasure. The state of things resulting from such rules, or lack of them, is acknowledged to be somewhat humiliating to the teacher, whose classes often dismiss themselves summarily, seize their hats and rush away down the street, singing and shouting as they go. Count Tolstoi believes that no disciplinary interference whatever should be allowed in the school-room. Two boys, if found fighting, will soonest come to a natural understanding if left to themselves. Both are not guilty; the innocent is liable to receive injustice at the hands of a disciplinarian, if interference is allowed; if they are forced to ask pardon of each other, the evil passions thus suddenly calmed are sure to break forth again. "All scholars are eager to learn," reasons the Count, "since they come to school for no other purpose, and if they are interested they will not let their lawlessness run into excess." The highest form of discipline is attained when the pupils are granted full liberty to learn and to behave as they please. These theories do not

* "The Long Exile, and Other Stories for Children." By Count Lyof Tolstoi. Translated from the Russian by Nathan Haskell Bole. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.

readily suggest the best results to the American educator; but their practical working in the school at Yasna Polyana appears to have been, in a measure, successful.

Count Tolstoi is unquestionably a man of genius, and his merits are sufficiently appreciated in this country; but his translator's extravagant encomiums, as found in his preface, will be accepted at their face value by very few readers.

II.

CORRECTNESS IN SPEECH.

MR. J. H. LONG, in his little manual on "Slips of the Tongue and Pen,"* has collected a great deal of very useful material in the form of common errors, grammatical points, suggestions upon composition, synonyms, preferable forms of expression, objectionable words and phrases, and punctuation. Many persons will be surprised on looking the book through to find how much they do not know and how much they have to unlearn on the above points. The very first caution hits a very common misconception of the word "apparent," which is constantly used in the sense of "evident," whereas there is a very fine but real distinction between the two words. How many people fall into the way of saying a "bad cold," instead of "a severe or dangerous cold," it is impossible to say. Common use has almost established this and a great many other errors, but it is well, nevetheless, to keep up the standard of correct speech. When a person says, "I beg to say," he really means "I beg leave to say," but with the true American instinct of condensation the "leave" is often dropped. A real estate agent will probably tell you that such and such property has depreciated or appreciated in value, forgetting that "value" has no business in such a sentence. The author thinks that the intransitive meaning of "depreciate" is justifiable by usage. As to the word "differ" Mr. Long sides with those who say "differ from," but the advocates of "differ with" ought not perhaps, to feel discouraged. To "differ *from*" a person or thing is to be different in form, or in some other particular, but when we say we differ *with* a person we really mean that we dispute his conclusions—we have a difference or a disagreement with him. We are not so sure that Mr. Long does not lose sight of this distinction. A black man *differs from* a white man in respect of his color; he *differs with*" him when he contradicts or questions his logic. Apart, however, from an occasional instance of far-fetched criticism on common usage, this manual is evidently the work of an observant and scholarly mind, and a careful and frequent reading of it by that useful class of men and women, the reporters for newspapers, would save the English language from a great deal of very violent treatment. When a musical or dramatic critic writes about the *rendition* of a certain performance, or when one reads about a solitary traveler *partaking* of refreshments, when no one else was there to *partake with*, the commonness of the blunder is no excuse. And yet the most accurate of people will fall into such snares. Hence the utility of such unpretentious hand-books as the one now under notice.

III.

VOLAPÜK.

What is Volapük? Once in a while for a year or two past, newspaper readers have come across this mysterious word, and it is perhaps now beginning to be under-

* "Slips of Tongue and Pen." By J. H. Long, A.M., LL. B. D. Appleton & Co.

stood that it stands for a new language,—some attempt of somebody to construct a universal language.* And with that explanation the subject has probably been dismissed from most practical minds. Mankind has settled down so thoroughly into the destiny of confusion or at least diversity of tongues that the idea of having one speech and language looks chimerical. Whether it be possible for any human being to discover a way out of the bewildering labyrinth is a question which few busy people of to-day would care to spend much time considering. To many people, perhaps most, the acquisition of any foreign language, whether living or dead, is a task so painful and forbidding as to be practically impossible. Those who reside for any length of time abroad can usually "pick up" enough of the language of the people about them to hold their own in conversation. A few gifted ones overcome all difficulties, but the majority of even educated people, including those who can read and translate in different languages, never feel at home with any but their own.

Volapük—pronounced with a long o and the German ü—signifies world language, and is the latest attempt to create some international mode of expressing thought. Its author is a German Catholic priest, J. Martin Schleyer, who devoted twenty years to the maturing of his system. It was first published to the world in 1879, but for some time did not attract much notice. It gained ground, however, steadily, and several societies were soon formed in some of the leading cities of the continent of Europe for its propagation. There are at present about a hundred and fifty of these societies, and n periodicals are published in its interest. The chief aim of the friends o vement is to furnish a vehicle for international commercial correspondence in e form of a language which can be readily acquired by any intelligent person.

Mr. Sprague's Handbook supplies some information as to the general principles on which the constructi guage is based. Thus, the radicals or root-words are generally ch ing languages, the selection being made on grounds of brevi d ease of utterance. About 40 per cent. of these root-words h. The suffix ön gives the infinitive, and the other moods and tenses and the different parts of speech are formed in an equally simple manner. Every letter has a uniform and separate sound, invariably the same, and the plural is f d by adding s to the singular. Thus, "man," singular, as in T ans." Vom means woman; plural, voms. The inventor a careful study of the various European languages, sel one, and avoiding all irregularities of declension and conjuga s possible, every obscurity in accent, pronunciation and double me .

It could hardly be expected that ite perfection has been reached, but it is no slight tribute to the author of Volapük that of the many linguists and grammarians in various countries who have given it their careful attention none have condemned it as impractical, or have suggested any very important modifications. The American Philosophical Society appointed a committee to investigate it, and though this committee pointed out so tures which appeared to them open to objection, they reported on the whol gly in its favor.

As in so many other innovations upon old ways time alone will prove the

*"Handbook of Volapük." By Charles E. Sprague, Member of the Academy of Volapük, President of the Institute of Accounts. New York: The Office Company.

"Volapük: An Easy Method of Acquiring the Universal Language," etc., etc. By Klas August Linderfelt. Milwaukee: C. N. Casper

"Volapük: A Guide for Learning t .ersal Language." By Samuel Huebsch. New York.

adaptability of Volapük to the purposes for which it is designed. No one in his serious senses can imagine that it will displace any existing language, but it may be of vast service in simplifying the methods of communication between intelligent people of different nations. It might even be wise, after its utility has been demonstrated beyond question, to make it a regular feature of popular or at any rate of commercial education in every civilized country.

Of the three handbooks before us the first-named is the largest and most comprehensive, containing a complete grammar, with chapters on derivation, prefixes and suffixes, compound words, and a copious vocabulary. It also contains a key to the exercises. The other treatises are also admirably clear, and have the great merit of conciseness.

IV.

A DIFFICULT SUBJECT DISCUSSED.

THE author of "Divorce Abolished"* writes with a high moral purpose, and is evidently a careful student of human nature. The treatise is not a long one—a matter of some eighty-four pages—and those who feel that the question is one of great social importance and desire light upon it might do well to study the suggestions here thrown out. The author has evidently some confidence in his own opinions, for he announces that the evil of marital unhappiness can be abolished by those who will follow out his instructions. He gives ten prevalent causes of disagreement in married life, beginning with the general ignorance of women in the conduct of households and ending with the fact that the balance of power in the household now rests in the hands of the husband. Among the other evils are the undue idealism with which young people enter married life, the interference of outsiders, habits of dissipation, and the failure to concede the wife's ownership of herself. Without following the treatise through the entire ten causes, we may say that the views and suggestions seem to us to be at times sensible and timely, and at other times rather wanting in these respects. So far as the influence of parents, especially mothers, is concerned, in training and instructing children for the future opening before them, the author cannot speak too strongly. There is a deplorable lack of even elementary instruction and discipline in those matters which are essential to the proper conduct of homes. As for vice and dissipation, these are unfortunately too often the accompaniments, not only of poverty, but also of wealth and luxurious living, and will probably continue so to be until the end of things. The most interesting part of the treatise, though perhaps the most obscure, is that in which the wife's ownership of herself is discussed. The author seems here to have hit upon a great discovery, and certainly discusses it with moderation and delicacy, but just what the discovery is, and how it is to keep married people from quarreling, we can hardly make out. What is apparently enjoined, is a kind of platonic rule of life in the married state, with exceptions after due and formal consent. Frankly, it seems to us that the author here gets out of his depth altogether. He thinks that if wives were absolutely free to choose, there would be no danger of large families. But it is to be doubted if large families bring about divorces. We rather think that the evil may lie in the opposite direction. Large families give parents something to think about, and when large families begin to be looked upon as a curse, divorces become frequent. The author writes some good things about improvident marriages among the young, but if young people will only lower their false standards of home life and be content with small things, they will solve a great deal of the difficulty for themselves. Perhaps

* "Divorce Abolished." Published by A. J. Palmer, Minneapolis.

it would be wise to forbid by law any marriage until both parties give some proof of being provident. Society may come to this in time. If a man could not legally marry until he had saved a few hundred dollars by his own honorable labor, there would probably be more manliness and less dandyism among our youth than at present. As to the balance of power question, what the author advances is entitled to consideration. The whole subject is vastly important, and must before long attract general attention, the evils of lax marriage laws, loose moral principles, and bad household management, with the ignorance, poverty and wretchedness following in the wake of imprudence and lust, being on the increase, notwithstanding the advance of civilization and the protests of moralists.

V.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE BIBLE.

THERE can be no doubt that a gradual movement is in progress within the lines of Christian orthodoxy toward a better understanding of the Bible. Dr. Ladd, in this treatise,* holds steadfastly to the doctrine of Biblical authority and inspiration, but not in the old orthodox way. His work here avowedly covers about the same ground as his larger treatise on "The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture," but is designed for readers of less erudition and leisure. It is a very able and exhaustive book, and probably represents the views of modern Christian apologists, and will be accepted by many in the Church as on the whole an exposition and vindication of the faith. And yet the book is in itself a concession to the spirit of fearless inquiry and criticism to which the Scriptures have always been subjected. Dr. Ladd abandons some of the old positions as untenable. He has no sympathy with those who utter a cry of horror over every imputation of historical or scientific inaccuracy. He waives aside the theory of verbal inspiration as utterly indefensible. He admits that some of the books of the Bible are credited to men who did not write them, that some of the miracles recorded in the Bible may be very gravely doubted, and that not a few statements as to matters of fact—the traditions of Samson, for instance—may have been exaggerated by a species of poetic license. He concedes that "in the matter of genealogies, numbers, dates and sequence of time" it is "impossible to maintain the perfect accuracy of the writings of the Old and New Testaments" (page 223). He finds it needful to apologize for "the inferior moral and religous tone" of some parts of the Bible; and he, so to speak, "caps the climax" by asserting in plain words that inspiration as applied to human minds does not involve or guarantee infallibility of any kind, whether historical, linguistic, geographical, or ethical.

With all these admissions before us we may naturally be tempted to ask what there is left to mankind of the old-fashioned Bible; whether there be such a thing as infallible Scripture; and, if so, on what basis that doctrine can be said to rest? Dr. Ladd's view seems to us to be that the Bible—meaning the circuit of the canonical writings from Genesis to Revelation—cannot be looked upon as *being* the word of God, but simply as *containing* or embracing, and revealing that word; that this revelation is made to the conscience and to the spiritual faculty in man, and especially to those who, placing themselves in a proper spiritual and receptive attitude, are aided and influenced by the same spirit to receive and appropriate it. This, of course, is a prodigious claim to make in behalf of any book

* "What is the Bible?" An inquiry into the origin and nature of the Old and New Testaments in the light of modern Biblical study. By George T. Ladd, D. D., Professor of Divinity in the Yale University. Charles Scribner's Sons.

or collection of books, conceded to be otherwise so full of errors; and many rationalistic minds will put it on one side as entirely presumptuous in the face of that admission. But it is quite possible to conceive of divine truth being conveyed to man through very imperfect media. It no doubt sorely tries the confidence of many in the Bible to find even the scholarship of the church rejecting it as an infallible authority on every subject on which it treats but one; but if we *must* prune away old beliefs it does not follow that we must cut down to the roots, and even tear up and destroy that which is *essential* and *vital* to belief.

This is evidently our author's view, and he seriously and skillfully sets himself the task of distinguishing between the essential purpose and authority of Scripture and the perverted ideas of men and theologians in regard thereto.

VI.

A HALF CENTURY OF SONG.*

WE have spent a delightful hour wandering discursively through the four attractive volumes of poetical selections which Mr. Henry F. Randolph has, with much industry and excellent taste, contributed to the literature of the current season. Mr. Randolph has made a very careful survey of the field, and few, if any, exceptions can be taken to either the names, the selections or the mode of classification. None but English poets are represented, and those only who have during the reign of Queen Victoria produced work worthy of their reputation, or have been poet laureates. The selections are sufficiently ample to convey a very fair idea of the peculiarities of each poet.

One cannot fail to be struck with the extent and variety of poetic talent under review. Rich, indeed, has the Victorian era been in works of genius. If no one name stands out with the pre-eminence of a Shakespeare or a Milton, there are scores of gifted men and women whose writings possess a wondrous charm, and the thought of grouping men together according to their poetic affinities and culling from each the choicest specimens of their life work is a peculiarly happy one.

A few names we miss which might perhaps be naturally expected to be found. George Eliot one would think entitled to a niche, and also the two Montgomerys. Certainly the author of the hymn beginning:

> Prayer is the soul's sincere desire,

ought not to be passed over in any enumeration of modern hymn-writers or distinctively religious poets of the past fifty years

A capital feature of this work is the care bestowed upon the text, the selections being from the standard editions, and great attention having been given to the preservation of the original punctuation and orthography. Brief notes, biographical and bibliographical, precede the text in each volume, and at the end of each are full indexes, a list of the authors, and some useful and interesting explanatory notes.

VII.

A STORY WITH TWO AUTHORS.

THE plot of "The Second Son"† turns upon the weakness of an English squire, who petulantly disinherits the oldest of his three sons on the ground of a romantic love affair, and entails his landed estates upon his youngest son, because

* "Fifty Years of English Song." Selections from the Poets of the Reign of Victoria. Edited and arranged by Henry F. Randolph. A. D. F. Randolph & Co.

† "The Second Son." A novel. By M. O. W. Oliphant and T. B. Aldrich. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

the second refuses to profit by the misfortunes of his elder brother. The peculiarities of the laws of primogeniture and entailment are brought out, although in this case they are not answerable for the mischief occasioned by a rash procedure on the part of the parent. The story has many strong points about it, especially if viewed as a satire upon the manners and customs of the English upper classes, or, indeed, the rich and luxurious classes everywhere. The authors seem to have agreed upon a pessimistic standpoint. There is not a hero or heroine in the whole novel worthy of the name. Even the villain of the story is a blundering guardsman who is as much fool as knave. As a picture of English life it is one-sided. The men and women are below the average in intellect as in manners. When father and sons meet there are always pitiful exhibitions of folly and rancour, with the thinnest gauze of good breeding to prevent actual breaches of the peace. There is something approaching imbecility in the amiable efforts of the injured brother to ward off the troubles continually brewing in the family. The ideal woman of the piece is a mere sketch and hardly awakens sympathy. There is a promise of character about Lily Ford, but at the critical moment she vanishes from sight, and when she again appears is evidently but a very commonplace personage after all. To us the work bears evidence of an overstraining at effect, and a consciousness of difficulty in the treatment. Either author would probably have written a better story if unencumbered by the assistance of the other.

VIII.

CARE AND CULTURE OF CHILDREN.

THE Woman's Temperance Association of Chicago publish a volume on the care and culture of childhood,* by Mary Allen West. The author claims that the book "has grown naturally out of the rich soil of a thousand homes," which being interpreted means that the author writes from experience and observation and not from mere theory. The contents are varied, including chapters on the child's body, babyhood, childhood, boyhood and girlhood, children's rights, work and play, amusements, behavior, domestic economy, family government, practical health hints, and other topics. There are also a number of illustrations, and, interspersed among the reading matter, are songs set to music, suitable for the nursery and the home. The book makes a large and handsome octavo of 722 pages, including a copious index. It is pervaded by strong Christian and temperance sentiment, the author holding that the growth in a child of a true and healthy religious and physical life is greatly to be desired and sought after, not only for its own sake, but for the general well being of society. On the various practical questions coming under treatment the views set forth are sound and sensible. The variety and range of topics almost invite the remark that some at least must suffer from superficial or hackneyed treatment, but the author appears to have labored conscientiously and carefully over each section, and to have brought together many wise thoughts and counsels for the benefit of those who really desire guidance and help in the care and nurture of children. The subject is one of vast moment and deserves the exhaustive treatment it has here received.

IX.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls have added an interesting contribution to Shakespearian literature† in the form of a *fac-simile* of the original 1622 (sometimes

* "Childhood, its Care and Culture." By Mary Allen West. Woman's Temperance Publication Society.

† "The Works of William Shakespeare," in reduced *fac-simile*, from the famous first folio edition of 1623. Funks & Wagnalls.

called 1623) folio edition, the only difference being that the size of the volume is reduced to a crown octavo. By the "new process," as it is called, photography lends its aid to the publisher and enables him practically to give to the million what has heretofore been the exclusive possession of the fortunate and wealthy few. Mr. Donnelly's theory that Lord Bacon was the real author of Shakespeare's works is founded largely upon a certain complex cipher which he thinks runs through this celebrated edition. Apart from this interesting speculation the folio edition has many attractions, being full, as the publishers state, of the most peculiar punctuation, bracketing, odd spelling, and the like. Taking *Hamlet's* soliloquy, we have

> The Oppressor's wrong, the *poore* man's contumely
> The pangs of *disprized* love—

and so in many other instances where in the modern editions the point of many a sentence or phrase is twisted. The typographical characters of this *fac-simile* are small, but with good eyes, or by the aid of a glass, the details of the famous folio edition are now at every one's disposal at a merely nominal price.

The anonymous author of "Miss Varian"* has studied fashionable life to some purpose, and has written a novel which deals with the vices and follies of a certain class of rich men with perfect candor and fidelity. "Society," as represented here, is a very disreputable affair, and perhaps it is well that the mirror should be held up to it, so that well meaning people who are hungering after its dissipations, ignorant of the dangers lurking within its borders, may be on their guard. The plot of this story hovers around the courtship and early matrimonial experiences of an innocent and beautiful girl, who weds an unprincipled man of pleasure, deeming him to be truth and virtue personified. The man is not wholly bad, however, and having come very near to being the indirect murderer of his wife, has the grace to repent of his sins and become all that a husband should be. Some very questionable characters are introduced to the reader in the course of the narrative, and a kind of lurid light is thrown upon some of the gayeties of our luxurious metropolis. There is a pretty fair representation of average society men and women, some good, some bad, and some neither one nor the other, making a picture not particularly elevating, but sure to attract attention.

Messrs. Lee and Shepard, of Boston, publish some beautiful volumes for the drawing-room table. Sir Walter Scott's "Bridal of Trierman," with fourteen full-plate illustrations, by Percy Macquoid, and sumptuously bound in cloth of gold, is one of the best of these. Similarly bound, but of quite a different character, is the charming collection of verses and wood engravings entitled "A Bunch of Violets," the verses collected by Irene E. Jerome, who has certainly shown rare diligence and judgment in her choice of subjects. The engravings are by George T. Andrew. This publishing house also sends us specimens of "Easter Hymns and Songs," delightfully illustrated and daintily enclosed in embossed covers with ribbon fastenings. The subject are "The Message of the Bluebird," illustrated by Irene E. Jerome; "Arise my soul, arise," by the author of "Nearer my God to Thee;" Charles Kingsley's sonnet "See the Land her Easter Keeping," and a pretty collection from the poets entitled "Gladness of Easter."

* "Miss Varian of New York." A Newport and New York society novel. By (?). W. Dillingham.

That Sterne was not to be the only sentimental traveler who was to make notes of his experiences, is proved by the appearance of this readable and modestly written book,* which records the actual adventures of a courageous couple on a tricycle tour. The mode of conveyance, the limited quantity of baggage "allowed," the exposure to all sorts of weather and to many inconveniences among strange people, and the numerous delays and obstacles incidental to this kind of a trip, combine to furnish materials for a good deal of delightful story telling. The lady appears to have been the Xenophon of the party, while the main conduct of the expedition was in charge of her sturdier half. We can promise the reader a great deal of entertainment. The book is profusely embellished with sketches, besides having a skeleton map showing the lines of travel.

The reader will naturally expect much when a new book for children† is announced from the pen of the author of "Little Lord Fauntleroy." *Sara Crewe* has been introduced to the circle of St. Nicholas readers during the past months, and juvenile critics have long ago pronounced her adventures almost as entertaining as those of the little lord. The story is briefer, and bears some marks of hasty composition; but there is the same delicacy and fascination in the chief character and the same beautiful child-likeness which constituted the charm of the companion volume, for the two will always be thought of in company. Sara is a brighter and more decided character than her noble brother, and her brave cheerfulness in the midst of very real trials as the drudge of Miss Minchin's boarding-school will win the heart of every reader who has a heart to be won.

That the child nature still has a healthy longing for purely imaginative tales is proved by the popularity of "Dreamland,"‡ a collection of modern fairy stories whose fourth edition has just been published. The author's fancy finds subjects in crocodiles and mermaids and in the smaller denizens of the deep, in magicians' caves and Oriental palaces, for these attractive sketches, which were first woven together to please a little invalid daughter, and which are just short enough and just bright enough to interest a child. The illustrations by Alfred Thompson are very numerous and are usually good.

The handsome volume containing the Second Series of W. Cushing's elaborate work on "Initials and Pseudonyms"§ bears the same marks of conscientious diligence as its predecessor. As many as 4,800 real names are referred to, the initials and pseudonyms being no less than 6,500. The work is in two parts, the second part giving an alphabetical list of authors with their *noms des plumes*, and in some instances, biographical notes.

The American Art Journal for April 14 is a special number, commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of that periodical. It contains a fine portrait of Henry C. Watson, its founder, and is otherwise beautifully illustrated.

*"Our Sentimental Journey through France and Italy." By Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

†"Sara Crewe, or What Happened at Miss Minchin's." By Mrs. Frances Hodgson Burnett. Charles Scribner's Sons.

‡"Dreamland; a Book of Modern Fairy Tales." By Charles Alfred Byrne. Illustrated by Alfred Thompson. Mook Bros. & Co.

§"Initials and Pseudonyms." A dictionary of literary diagnosis. By William Cushing, B. A. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Chas. Scribner's Sons.

What is the Bible? An Inquiry into the Origin and Nature of the Old and New Testaments in the Light of Modern Biblical study. George T. Ladd, D.D.

Early Days of Mormonism. J. H. Kennedy.

The Century Co.

The Dusantes. Frank R. Stockton.

D. Appleton & Co.

The Case of Mohammed Benani. A Story of To-Day.

International Law. With Materials for a Code. Leone Levi, F.S.A., etc.

Cuppels and Hurd.

Life's Problems. Here and Hereafter. An Autobiography.

Cassell & Company.

William of Germany. A Succinct Biography of William I., German Emperor and King of Prussia. Archibald Forbes.

John Anderson & Co.

Plea for an American Language. Elias Molee, Ph.B.

Lee and Shepard.

Chips from a Teacher's Workshop. L. R. Klemm, Ph.D.

First Steps with American and British Authors. Albert F. Blaisdell, M.A.

The Seven Little Sisters who Live on the Round Ball that Floats in the Air. Jane Andrews.

The Flower People. Mrs. Horace Mann.

Britons and Muscovites; or Traits of Two Empires. Curtis Guild.

Charles L. Webster & Co.

A Biography of Henry Ward Beecher. By Wm. C. Beecher and Rev. S. Scoville, assisted by Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher.

Tenting on the Plains; or General Custer in Kansas and Texas. By Elizabeth B. Custer, Author of "Boots and Saddles."

A. R. Hart.

The Great Conspiracy: Its Origin and History. John A. Logan.

Armand Colin et Cie, Rue de Mézières, Paris.

Histoire de la Civilisation en France. Par Alfred Ramband.

The Writers' Publishing Company.

The Three Kingdoms: A Handbook of the Agassiz Association. Harlan H. Ballard, President A. A.

Silver, Rogers & Co.

Principles and Practice of Morality; or, Ethical Principles Discussed and Applied. E. G. Brown, D.D., LL.D., President of Brown University.

Longmans, Green & Co.

Our Sentimental Journey through France and Italy. Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The Second Son. M. O. W. Oliphant and T. B. Aldrich.

Dodd, Mead & Co.

The Earth Trembled. Edward P. Roe.

D. Lothrop Company.

The Deathless Book. David O. Mears, D.D.

The Doctor of Deane. Mary T. Palmer.

Gorham Manufacturing Company.

Old Plate, Ecclesiastical, Decorative and Domestic: Its Makers and Marks. J. R. Buck.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, DORCHESTER BRANCH.

ORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCLXXIX.

JUNE, 1888.

)L. INGERSOLL TO MR. GLADSTONE.*

RIGHT HONORABLE W. E. GLADSTONE, M. P.:
Y DEAR SIR:

threshold of this Reply, it gives me pleasure to say that ellect and character I have the greatest respect; and urther, that I shall consider your arguments, asser- nferences entirely apart from your personality—apart alted position that you occupy in the estimation of l world. I gladly acknowledge the inestimable ser- ou have rendered, not only to England, but to man- men are chilled and narrowed by the snows of age; ts are darkened by the approach of night. But you, rs, have hastened toward the light, and your mind n autumn that grew the more by reaping."

circumstances could I feel justified in taking advan- dmissions that you have made as to the "errors," the e," the "infirmities and the perversity" of the Chris-

ectly apparent that churches, being only aggregations ontain the prejudice, the ignorance, the vices and the rdinary human beings. The perfect cannot be made mperfect.

n is not necessarily a great mathematician because he he correctness of the multiplication table. The best creed

article is copyrighted, and all rights are reserved.

may be believed by the worst of the human race. Neither the crimes nor the virtues of the church tend to prove or disprove the supernatural origin of religion. The massacre of St. Bartholomew tends no more to establish the inspiration of the scriptures than the bombardment of Alexandria.

But there is one thing that cannot be admitted, and that is your statement that the constitution of man is in a "warped, impaired, and dislocated condition," and that "these deformities indispose men to belief." Let us examine this.

We say that a thing is "warped" that was once nearer true, flat, or straight; that it is "impaired" when it was once nearer perfect, and that it is "dislocated" when once it was right. Consequently, you have said that at some time the human constitution was unwarped, unimpaired, and with each part working in harmony with all. You seem to believe in the degeneracy of man, and that our unfortunate race, starting at perfection, has traveled downward through all the wasted years.

It is hardly possible that our ancestors were perfect. If history proves anything, it establishes the fact that civilization was not first, and savagery afterwards. Certainly the tendency of man is not now toward barbarism. There must have been a time when language was unknown, when lips had never formed a word. Every thing which man knows, man must have learned. The victories of the race have been slowly and painfully won. It is a long way indeed from the gibberish of the savage to the sonnets of Shakespeare. The long and weary road from the pipe of Pan to the great organ, has echoed with every tone from the glad warble of a mating bird to the hoarse thunder of the sea. The road is long that lies between the discordant cries uttered by the barbarian over the gash in the throat of his foe and the marvelous music of Wagner and Beethoven. It is hardly possible to conceive of the years that lie between the caves in which crouched our naked ancestors crunching the bones of wild beasts, and the home of a civilized man with all its comforts, its articles of luxury and use,—with its works of art, its enriched and illuminated walls. Think of the billowed centuries that must have rolled between these shores. Think of the vast distance that man has slowly groped from the dark dens and lairs of ignorance and fear to the intellectual conquests of our day.

Is it true that these deformities, these "warped, impaired, dislocated constitutions indispose men to belief"? Can we

way account for the doubts entertained by the intellectual leaders of mankind ?

It will not do, in this age and time, to account for unbelief in this deformed and dislocated way. The exact opposite must be true. Ignorance and credulity sustain the relation of cause and effect. Ignorance is satisfied with assertion, with appearance. As man rises in the scale of intelligence he demands evidence. He begins to look back of appearance. He asks the priest for reasons. The most ignorant part of Christendom is the most orthodox.

You have simply repeated a favorite assertion of the clergy, to the effect that man rejects the gospel because he is naturally depraved and hard of heart—because, owing to the sin of Adam and Eve, he has fallen from the perfection and purity of paradise to that "impaired" condition in which he is satisfied with the filthy rags of reason, observation and experience.

The truth is, that what you call unbelief is only a higher and holier faith. Millions of men reject Christianity because of its cruelty. The Bible was never rejected by the cruel. It has been upheld by countless tyrants—by the dealers in human flesh—by the destroyers of nations—by the enemies of intelligence—by the stealers of babes and the whippers of women.

It is also true that it has been held as sacred by the good, the self-denying, the virtuous and the loving, who clung to the sacred volume on account of the good it contains and in spite of all its cruelties and crimes.

You are mistaken when you say that all "the faults of all the Christian bodies and subdivisions of bodies have been carefully raked together," in my Reply to Dr. Field, "and made part and parcel of the indictment against the divine scheme of salvation."

No thoughtful man pretends that any fault of any Christian body can be used as an argument against what you call the "divine scheme of redemption."

I find in your Remarks the frequent charge that I am guilty of making assertions and leaving them to stand without the assistance of argument or fact, and it may be proper, at this particular point, to inquire how you know that there is "a divine scheme of redemption."

My objections to this "divine scheme of redemption" are: *first*, that there is not the slightest evidence that it is divine; *sec-*

ond, that it is not in any sense a "scheme," human or divine; and *third*, that it cannot, by any possibility, result in the redemption of a human being.

It cannot be divine, because it has no foundation in the nature of things, and is not in accordance with reason. It is based on the idea that right and wrong are the expression of an arbitrary will, and not words applied to and descriptive of acts in the light of consequences. It rests upon the absurdity called "pardon," upon the assumption that when a crime has been committed justice will be satisfied with the punishment of the innocent. One person may suffer, or reap a benefit, in consequence of the act of another, but no man can be justly punished for the crime, or justly rewarded for the virtues, of another. A "scheme" that punishes an innocent man for the vices of another can hardly be called divine. Can a murderer find justification in the agonies of his victim? There is no vicarious vice; there is no vicarious virtue. For me it is hard to understand how a just and loving being can charge one of his children with the vices, or credit him with the virtues, of another.

And why should we call anything a "divine scheme" that has been a failure from the "fall of man" until the present moment? What race, what nation, has been redeemed through the instrumentality of this "divine scheme"? Have not the subjects of redemption been for the most part the enemies of civilization? Has not almost every valuable book since the invention of printing been denounced by the believers in the "divine scheme"? Intelligence, the development of the mind, the discoveries of science, the inventions of genius, the cultivation of the imagination through art and music, and the practice of virtue will redeem the human race. These are the saviors of mankind.

You admit that the "Christian churches have by their exaggerations and shortcomings, and by their faults of conduct, contributed to bring about a condition of hostility to religious faith."

If one wishes to know the worst that man has done, all that power guided by cruelty can do, all the excuses that can be framed for the commission of every crime, the infinite difference that can exist between that which is professed and that which is practiced, the marvelous malignity of meekness, the arrogance of humility and the savagery of what is known as "universal love," let him read the history of the Christian church.

Yet, I not only admit that millions of Christians have been honest in the expression of their opinions, but that they have been among the best and noblest of our race.

And it is further admitted that a creed should be examined apart from the conduct of those who have assented to its truth. The church should be judged as a whole, and its faults should be accounted for either by the weakness of human nature, or by reason of some defect or vice in the religion taught,—or by both.

Is there anything in the Christian religion—anything in what you are pleased to call the "Sacred Scriptures," tending to cause the crimes and atrocities that have been committed by the Church?

It seems to be natural for man to defend himself and the ones he loves. The father slays the man who would kill his child —he defends the body. The Christian father burns the heretic —he defends the soul.

If "orthodox Christianity" be true, an infidel has not the right to live. Every book in which the bible is attacked should be burned with its author. Why hesitate to burn a man whose constitution is "warped, impaired and dislocated," for a few moments, when hundreds of others will be saved from eternal flames?

In Christianity you will find the cause of persecution. The idea that belief is essential to salvation—this ignorant and merciless dogma—accounts for the atrocities of the church. This absurd declaration built the dungeons, used the instruments of torture, erected the scaffolds and lighted the fagots of a thousand years.

What, I pray you, is the "heavenly treasure" in the keeping of your church? Is it a belief in an infinite God? That was believed thousands of years before the serpent tempted Eve. Is it the belief in the immortality of the soul? That is far older. Is it that man should treat his neighbor as himself? That is more ancient. What is the treasure in the keeping of the church? Let me tell you. It is this: That there is but one true religion —Christianity,—and that all others are false; that the prophets, and Christs, and priests of all others have been and are impostors, or the victims of insanity; that the bible is the one inspired book —the one authentic record of the words of God; that all men are naturally depraved and deserve to be punished with unspeakable

torments forever; that there is only one path that leads to heaven, while countless highways lead to hell; that there is only one name under heaven by which a human being can be saved; that we must believe in the Lord Jesus Christ; that this life, with its few and fleeting years, fixes the fate of man; that the few will be saved and the many forever lost. This is "the heavenly treasure" within the keeping of your church.

And this "treasure" has been guarded by the cherubim of persecution, whose flaming swords were wet for many centuries with the best and bravest blood. It has been guarded by cunning, by hypocrisy, by mendacity, by honesty, by calumniating the generous, by maligning the good, by thumbscrews and racks, by charity and love, by robbery and assassination, by poison and fire, by the virtues of the ignorant and the vices of the learned, by the violence of mobs and the whirlwinds of war, by every hope and every fear, by every cruelty and every crime, and by all there is of the wild beast in the heart of man.

With great propriety it may be asked: In the keeping of which church is this "heavenly treasure"? Did the Catholics have it, and was it taken by Luther? Did Henry the VIII. seize it, and is it now in the keeping of the Church of England? Which of the warring sects in America has this treasure; or have we, in this country, only the "rust and canker"? Is it in an Episcopal Church, that refuses to associate with a colored man for whom Christ died, and who is good enough for the society of the angelic host?

But wherever this "heavenly treasure" has been, about it have always hovered the Stymphalian birds of superstition, thrusting their brazen beaks and claws deep into the flesh of honest men.

You were pleased to point out as the particular line justifying your assertion "that denunciation, sarcasm, and invective constitute the staple of my work," that line in which I speak of those who expect to receive as alms an eternity of joy, and add: "I take this as a specimen of the mode of statement which permeates the whole."

Dr. Field commenced his Open Letter by saying: "I am glad that I know you, *even though some of my brethren look upon you as a monster, because of your unbelief.*"

In reply I simply said: "The statement in your Letter that

some of your brethren look upon me as a monster on account of my unbelief tends to show that those who love God are not always the friends of their fellow men. Is it not strange that people who admit that they ought to be eternally damned—that they are by nature depraved—that there is no soundness or health in them, can be so arrogantly egotistic as to look upon others as monsters? And yet some of your brethren, who regard unbelievers as infamous, rely for salvation entirely on the goodness of another, and expect to receive as alms an eternity of joy." Is there any denunciation, sarcasm, or invective in this?

Why should one who admits that he himself is totally depraved call any other man, by way of reproach, a monster? Possibly, he might be justified in addressing him as a fellow-monster.

I am not satisfied with your statement that "the Christian receives as alms all whatsoever he receives at all." Is it true that man deserves only punishment? Does the man who makes the world better, who works and battles for the right, and dies for the good of his fellow men, deserve nothing but pain and anguish? Is happiness a gift or a consequence? Is heaven only a well-conducted poorhouse? Are the angels in their highest estate nothing but happy paupers? Must all the redeemed feel that they are in heaven simply because there was a miscarriage of justice? Will the lost be the only ones who will know that the right thing has been done, and will they alone appreciate the "ethical elements of religion"? Will they repeat the words that you have quoted: "Mercy and judgment are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other"? or will those words be spoken by the redeemed as they joyously contemplate the writhings of the lost?

No one will dispute "that in the discussion of important questions calmness and sobriety are essential." But solemnity need not be carried to the verge of mental paralysis. In the search for truth,—that everything in nature seems to hide,—man needs the assistance of all his faculties. All the senses should be awake. Humor should carry a torch, Wit should give its sudden light, Candor should hold the scales, Reason, the final arbiter, should put his royal stamp on every fact, and Memory, with a miser's care, should keep and guard the mental gold.

The church has always despised the man of humor, hated laughter, and encouraged the lethargy of solemnity. It is not

willing that the mind should subject its creed to every test of truth. It wishes to overawe. It does not say, "He that hath a mind to think let him think"; but, "He that hath ears to hear let him hear." The church has always abhorred wit,—that is to say, it does not enjoy being struck by the lightning of the soul. The foundation of wit is logic, and it has always been the enemy of the supernatural, the solemn and absurd.

You express great regret that no one at the present day is able to write like Pascal. You admire his wit and tenderness, and the unique, brilliant, and fascinating manner in which he treated the profoundest and most complex themes. Sharing in your admiration and regret, I call your attention to what might be called one of his religious generalizations: "Disease is the natural state of a Christian." Certainly it cannot be said that I have ever mingled the profound and complex in a more fascinating manner.

Another instance is given of the "tumultuous method in which I conduct, not, indeed, my argument, but my case."

Dr. Field had drawn a distinction between superstition and religion, to which I replied: "You are shocked at the Hindoo mother when she gives her child to death at the supposed command of her God. What do you think of Abraham, of Jephthah? What is your opinion of Jehovah himself?"

These simple questions seem to have excited you to an unusual degree, and you ask in words of some severity: "Whether this is the tone in which controversies ought be carried on?" And you say that—"not only is the name of Jehovah encircled in the heart of every believer with the profoundest reverence and love, but that the Christian religion teaches, through the incarnation, a personal relation with God so lofty that it can only be approached in a deep, reverential calm." You admit that "a person who deems a given religion to be wicked, may be led onward by logical consistency to impugn in strong terms the character of the author and object of that religion," but you insist that such person is "bound by the laws of social morality and decency to consider well the terms and meaning of his indictment."

Was there any lack of "reverential calm" in my question? I gave no opinion, drew no indictment, but simply asked for the opinion of another. Was that a violation of the "laws of social morality and decency"?

It is not necessary for me to discuss this question with you.

It has been settled by Jehovah himself. You probably remember the account given in the eighteenth chapter of I. Kings, of a contest between the prophets of Baal and the prophets of Jehovah. There were four hundred and fifty prophets of the false God who endeavored to induce their deity to consume with fire from heaven the sacrifice upon his altar. According to the account, they were greatly in earnest. They certainly appeared to have some hope of success, but the fire did not descend.

'And it came to pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them and said 'Cry aloud, for he is a god; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked.'"

Do you consider that the proper way to attack the God of another? Did not Elijah know that the name of Baal "was encircled in the heart of every believer with the profoundest reverence and love"? Did he "violate the laws of social morality and decency"?

But Jehovah and Elijah did not stop at this point. They were not satisfied with mocking the prophets of Baal, but they brought them down to the brook Kishon—four hundred and fifty of them—and there they murdered every one.

Does it appear to you that on that occasion, on the banks of the brook Kishon—"Mercy and judgment met together, and that righteousness and peace kissed each other"?

The question arises: Has every one who reads the Old Testament the right to express his thought as to the character of Jehovah? You will admit that as he reads his mind will receive some impression, and that when he finishes the "inspired volume" he will have some opinion as to the character of Jehovah. Has he the right to express that opinion? Is the bible a revelation from God to man? Is it a revelation to the man who reads it, or to the man who does not read it? If to the man who reads it, has he the right to give to others the revelation that God has given to him? If he comes to the conclusion at which you have arrived,—that Jehovah is God,—has he the right to express that opinion?

If he concludes, as I have done, that Jehovah is a myth, must he refrain from giving his honest thought? Christians do not hesitate to give their opinion of heretics, philosophers and infidels. They are not restrained by the "laws of social morality and decency." They have persecuted to the extent of their

power, and their Jehovah pronounced upon unbelievers every curse capable of being expressed in the Hebrew dialect. At this moment, thousands of missionaries are attacking the gods of the heathen world, and heaping contempt on the religion of others.

But as you have seen proper to defend Jehovah, let us for a moment examine this deity of the ancient Jews.

There are several tests of character. It may be that all the virtues can be expressed in the word "kindness," and that nearly all the vices are gathered together in the word "cruelty."

Laughter is a test of character. When we know what a man laughs at, we know what he really is. Does he laugh at misfortune, at poverty, at honesty in rags, at industry without food, at the agonies of his fellow men? Does he laugh when he sees the convict clothed in the garments of shame—at the criminal on the scaffold? Does he rub his hands with glee over the embers of an enemy's home? Think of a man capable of laughing while looking at Marguerite in the prison cell with her dead babe by her side. What must be the real character of a God who laughs at the calamities of his children, mocks at their fears, their desolation, their distress and anguish? Would an infinitely loving God hold his ignorant children in derision? Would he pity, or mock? Save, or destroy? Educate, or exterminate? Would he lead them with gentle hands toward the light, or lie in wait for them like a wild beast? Think of the echoes of Jehovah's laughter in the rayless caverns of the eternal prison. Can a good man mock at the children of deformity? Will he deride the misshapen? Your Jehovah deformed some of his own children, and then held them up to scorn and hatred. These divine mistakes—these blunders of the infinite—were not allowed to enter the temple erected in honor of him who had dishonored them. Does a kind father mock his deformed child? What would you think of a mother who would deride and taunt her misshapen babe?

There is another test. How does a man use power? Is he gentle, or cruel? Does he defend the weak, succor the oppressed, or trample on the fallen?

If you will read again the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, you will find how Jehovah, the compassionate, whose name is enshrined in so many hearts, threatened to use his power.

"The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with

blasting and mildew. And thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron. The Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust." . . . . "And thy carcass shall be meat unto all fowls of the air and unto the beasts of the earth." . . . . "The Lord shall smite thee with madness and blindness. And thou shalt eat of the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters. The tender and delicate woman among you, . . her eye shall be evil . . . toward her young one and toward her children which she shall bear ; for she shall eat them."

Should it be found that these curses were in fact uttered by the God of hell, and that the translators had made a mistake in attributing them to Jehovah, could you say that the sentiments expressed are inconsistent with the supposed character of the Infinite Fiend ?

A nation is judged by its laws—by the punishment it inflicts. The nation that punishes ordinary offences with death is regarded as barbarous, and the nation that tortures before it kills is denounced as savage.

What can you say of the government of Jehovah, in which death was the penalty for hundreds of offences ?—death for the expression of an honest thought—death for touching with a good intention a sacred ark—death for making hair oil—for eating shew bread—for imitating incense and perfumery ?

In the history of the world a more cruel code cannot be found. Crimes seem to have been invented to gratify a fiendish desire to shed the blood of men.

There is another test : How does a man treat the animals in his power—his faithful horse—his patient ox—his loving dog ?

How did Jehovah treat the animals in Egypt ? Would a loving God, with fierce hail from heaven, bruise and kill the innocent cattle for the crimes of their owners ? Would he torment, torture and destroy them for the sins of men ?

Jehovah was a God of blood. His altar was adorned with the horns of a beast. He established a religion in which every temple was a slaughter house, and every priest a butcher—a religion that demanded the death of the first-born, and delighted in the destruction of life.

There is still another test : The civilized man gives to others the rights that he claims for himself. He believes in the liberty of thought and expression, and abhors persecution for conscience sake.

Did Jehovah believe in the innocence of thought and the

liberty of expression? Kindness is found with true greatness. Tyranny lodges only in the breast of the small, the narrow, the shriveled and the selfish. Did Jehovah teach and practice generosity? Was he a believer in religious liberty? If he was and is, in fact, God, he must have known, even four thousand years ago, that worship must be free, and that he who is forced upon his knees cannot, by any possibility, have the spirit of prayer.

Let me call your attention to a few passages in the thirteenth chapter of Deuteronomy:

"If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend, which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, . . . thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him; neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal him: but thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterwards the hand of all the people. And thou shalt stone him with stones, that he die."

Is it possible for you to find in the literature of this world more awful passages than these? Did ever savagery, with strange and uncouth marks, with awkward forms of beast and bird, pollute the dripping walls of caves with such commands? Are these the words of infinite mercy? When they were uttered, did "righteousness and peace kiss each other"? How can any loving man or woman "encircle the name of Jehovah"—author of these words—"with profoundest reverence and love"? Do I rebel because my "constitution is warped, impaired and dislocated"? Is it because of "total depravity" that I denounce the brutality of Jehovah? If my heart were only good—if I loved my neighbor as myself—would I then see infinite mercy in these hideous words? Do I lack "reverential calm"?

These frightful passages, like coiled adders, were in the hearts of Jehovah's chosen people when they crucified "the Sinless Man."

Jehovah did not tell the husband to reason with his wife. She was to be answered only with death. She was to be bruised and mangled to a bleeding, shapeless mass of quivering flesh, for having breathed an honest thought.

If there is anything of importance in this world, it is the family, the home, the marriage of true souls, the equality of husband and wife—the true republicanism of the heart—the real democracy of the fireside.

Let us read the sixteenth verse of the third chapter of Genesis:

"Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee."

Never will I worship any being who added to the sorrows and agonies of maternity. Never will I bow to any God who introduced slavery into every home—who made the wife a slave and the husband a tyrant.

The Old Testament shows that Jehovah, like his creators, held women in contempt. They were regarded as property: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife,—nor his ox."

Why should a pure woman worship a God who upheld polygamy? Let us finish this subject: The institution of slavery involves all crimes. Jehovah was a believer in slavery. This is enough. Why should any civilized man worship him? Why should his name "be encircled with love and tenderness in any human heart"?

He believed that man could become the property of man—that it was right for his chosen people to deal in human flesh—to buy and sell mothers and babes. He taught that the captives were the property of the captors and directed his chosen people to kill, to enslave, or to pollute.

In the presence of these commandments, what becomes of the fine saying, "Love thy neighbor as thyself"? What shall we say of a God who established slavery, and then had the effrontery to say, "Thou shalt not steal"?

It may be insisted that Jehovah is the Father of all—and that he has "made of one blood all the nations of the earth." How then can we account for the wars of extermination? Does not the commandment "Love thy neighbor as thyself," apply to nations precisely the same as to individuals? Nations, like individuals, become great by the practice of virtue. How did Jehovah command his people to treat their neighbors?

He commanded his generals to destroy all, men, women and babes: "Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth."

"I will make mine arrows drunk with blood, and my sword shall devour flesh."

"That thy foot may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies, and the tongue of thy dogs in the same."

". . . I will also send the teeth of beasts upon them, with the poison of serpents of the dust. . . ."

"The sword without and terror within shall destroy both the young man and the virgin, the suckling also, with the man of gray hairs."

Is it possible that these words fell from the lips of the Most Merciful?

You may reply that the inhabitants of Canaan were unfit to live—that they were ignorant and cruel. Why did not Jehovah, the "Father of all," give them the Ten Commandments? Why did he leave them without a bible, without prophets and priests? Why did he shower all the blessings of revelation on one poor and wretched tribe, and leave the great world in ignorance and crime—and why did he order his favorite children to murder those whom he had neglected?

By the question I asked of Dr. Field, the intention was to show that Jephthah, when he sacrificed his daughter to Jehovah, was as much the slave of superstition as is the Hindoo mother when she throws her babe into the yellow waves of the Ganges.

It seems that this savage Jephthah was in direct communication with Jehovah at Mizpeh, and that he made a vow unto the Lord and said:

"If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into mine hands, then it shall be that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up as a burnt offering."

In the first place, it is perfectly clear that the sacrifice intended was a human sacrifice, from the words: "that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me." Some human being—wife, daughter, friend, was expected to come. According to the account, his daughter—his only daughter—his only child—came first.

If Jephthah was in communication with God, why did God allow this man to make this vow; and why did he allow the daughter that he loved to be first, and why did he keep silent and allow the vow to be kept, while flames devoured the daughter's flesh?

St. Paul is not authority. He praises Samuel, the man who hewed Agag in pieces; David, who compelled hundreds to pass under the saws and harrows of death, and many others who shed the blood of the innocent and helpless. Paul is an unsafe guide.

He who commends the brutalities of the past, sows the seeds of future crimes.

If "believers are not obliged to approve of the conduct of Jephthah" are they free to condemn the conduct of Jehovah? If you will read the account you will see that the "spirit of the Lord was upon Jephthah" when he made the cruel vow. If Paul did not commend Jephthah for keeping this vow, what was the act that excited his admiration? Was it because Jephthah slew on the banks of the Jordan "forty and two thousand" of the sons of Ephraim?

In regard to Abraham, the argument is precisely the same, except that Jehovah is said to have interfered, and allowed an animal to be slain instead.

One of the answers given by you is that "it may be allowed that the narrative is not within our comprehension"; and for that reason you say that "it behooves us to tread cautiously in approaching it." Why cautiously?

These stories of Abraham and Jephthah have cost many an innocent life. Only a few years ago, here in my country, a man by the name of Freeman, believing that God demanded at least the show of obedience—believing what he had read in the Old Testament that "without the shedding of blood there is no remission," and so believing, touched with insanity, sacrificed his little girl—plunged into her innocent breast the dagger, believing it to be God's will, and thinking that if it were not God's will his hand would be stayed.

I know of nothing more pathetic than the story of this crime told by this man.

Nothing can be more monstrous than the conception of a God who demands sacrifice—of a God who would ask of a father that he murder his son—of a father that he would burn his daughter. It is far beyond my comprehension how any man ever could have believed such an infinite, such a cruel absurdity.

At the command of the real God—if there be one—I would not sacrifice my child, I would not murder my wife. But as long as there are people in the world whose minds are so that they can believe the stories of Abraham and Jephthah, just so long there will be men who will take the lives of the ones they love best.

You have taken the position that the conditions are different; and you say that: "According to the book of Genesis, Adam and

Eve were placed under a law, not of consciously perceived right and wrong, but of simple obedience. The tree of which alone they were forbidden to eat was the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; duty lay for them in following the command of the Most High, before and until they became capable of appreciating it by an ethical standard. Their knowledge was but that of an infant who has just reached the stage at which he can comprehend that he is ordered to do this or that, but not the nature of the things so ordered."

If Adam and Eve could not "consciously perceive right and wrong," how is it possible for you to say that "duty lay for them in following the command of the Most High"? How can a person "incapable of perceiving right and wrong" have an idea of duty? You are driven to say that Adam and Eve had no moral sense. How under such circumstances could they have the sense of guilt, or of obligation? And why should such persons be punished? And why should the whole human race become tainted by the offence of those who had no moral sense?

Do you intend to be understood as saying that Jehovah allowed his children to enslave each other because "duty lay for them in following the command of the Most High"? Was it for this reason that he caused them to exterminate each other? Do you account for the severity of his punishments by the fact that the poor creatures punished were not aware of the enormity of the offences they had committed? What shall we say of a God who has one of his children stoned to death for picking up sticks on Sunday, and allows another to enslave his fellow man? Have you discovered any theory that will account for both of these facts?

Another word as to Abraham:—You defend his willingness to kill his son because "the estimate of human life at the time was different"—because "the position of the father in the family was different; its members were regarded as in some sense his property;" and because "there is every reason to suppose that around Abraham in the 'land of Moriah' the practice of human sacrifice as an act of religion was in full vigor."

Let us examine these three excuses: Was Jehovah justified in putting a low estimate on human life? Was he in earnest when he said "that whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed"? Did he pander to the barbarian view of the

worthlessness of life? If the estimate of human life was low, what was the sacrifice worth?

Was the son the property of the father? Did Jehovah uphold this savage view? Had the father the right to sell or kill his child?

Do you defend Jehovah and Abraham because the ignorant wretches in the "land of Moriah," knowing nothing of the true God, cut the throats of their babes "as an act of religion"?

Was Jehovah led away by the example of the Gods of Moriah? Do you not see that your excuses are simply the suggestions of other crimes?

You see clearly that the Hindoo mother, when she throws her babe into the Ganges at the command of her God, "sins against first principles"; but you excuse Abraham because he lived in the childhood of the race. Can Jehovah be excused because of his youth? Not satisfied with your explanation, your defences and excuses, you take the ground that when Abraham said: "My son, God will provide a lamb for a burnt offering," he may have "believed implicitly that a way of rescue would be found for his son." In other words, that Abraham did not believe that he would be required to shed the blood of Isaac. So that, after all, the faith of Abraham consisted in "believing implicitly" that Jehovah was not in earnest.

You have discovered a way by which, as you think, the neck of orthodoxy can escape the noose of Darwin, and in that connection you use this remarkable language:

"I should reply that the moral history of man, in its principal stream, has been distinctly an evolution from the first until now."

It is hard to see how this statement agrees with the one in the beginning of your Remarks, in which you speak of the human constitution in its "warped, impaired and dislocated" condition. When you wrote that line you were certainly a theologian—a believer in the Episcopal creed—and your mind, by mere force of habit, was at that moment contemplating man as he is supposed to have been created—perfect in every part. At that time you were endeavoring to account for the unbelief now in the world, and you did this by stating that the human constitution is "warped, impaired and dislocated"; but the moment you are brought face to face with the great truths uttered by Darwin, you

admit "that the moral history of man has been distinctly an evolution from the first until now." Is not this a fountain that brings forth sweet and bitter waters?

I insist, that the discoveries of Darwin do away absolutely with the inspiration of the Scriptures—with the account of creation in Genesis, and demonstrate not simply the falsity, not simply the wickedness, but the foolishness of the "sacred volume."

There is nothing in Darwin to show that all has been evolved from "primal night and from chaos." There is no evidence of "primal night." There is no proof of universal chaos. Did your Jehovah spend an eternity in "primal night," with no companion but chaos?

It makes no difference how long a lower form may require to reach a higher. It makes no difference whether forms can be simply modified, or absolutely changed. These facts have not the slightest tendency to throw the slightest light on the beginning or on the destiny of things.

I most cheerfully admit that gods have the right to create swiftly or slowly. The reptile may become a bird in one day, or in a thousand billion years—this fact has nothing to do with the existence or non-existence of a first cause, but it has something to do with the truth of the bible, and with the existence of a personal God of infinite power and wisdom.

Does not a gradual improvement in the thing created show a corresponding improvement in the creator? The church demonstrated the falsity and folly of Darwin's theories by showing that they contradicted the Mosaic account of creation, and now the theories of Darwin having been fairly established, the church says that the Mosaic account is true, because it is in harmony with Darwin. Now, if it should turn out that Darwin was mistaken, what then?

To me it is somewhat difficult to understand the mental processes of one who really feels that "the gap between man and the inferior animals or their relationship was stated, perhaps, even more emphatically by Bishop Butler than by Darwin."

Butler answered deists, who objected to the cruelties of the bible, and yet lauded the God of Nature by showing that the God of Nature is as cruel as the God of the bible. That is to say, he succeeded in showing that both Gods are bad. He had no possible

conception of the splendid generalizations of Darwin—the great truths that have revolutionized the thought of the world.

But there was one question asked by Bishop Butler that throws a flame of light upon the probable origin of most, if not all, religions: "Why might not whole communities and public bodies be seized with fits of insanity as well as individuals?"

If you are convinced that Moses and Darwin are in exact accord, will you be good enough to tell who, in your judgment, were the parents of Adam and Eve? Do you find in Darwin any theory that satisfactorily accounts for the "inspired fact" that a Rib, commencing with Monogonic Propagation—falling into halves by a contraction in the middle—reaching, after many ages of Evolution, the Amphigonic stage, and then, by the Survival of the Fittest, assisted by Natural Selection, moulded and modified by Environment, became at last, the mother of the human race?

Here is a world in which there are countless varieties of life—these varieties in all probability related to each other—all living upon each other—everything devouring something, and in its turn devoured by something else—everywhere claw and beak, hoof and tooth,—everything seeking the life of something else—every drop of water a battle field, every atom being for some wild beast a jungle—every place a golgotha—and such a world is declared to be the work of the infinitely wise and compassionate.

According to your idea, Jehovah prepared a home for his children—first a garden in which they should be tempted and from which they should be driven; then a world filled with briers and thorns and wild and poisonous beasts—a world in which the air should be filled with the enemies of human life—a world in which disease should be contagious, and in which it was impossible to tell, except by actual experiment, the poisonous from the nutritious. And these children were allowed to live in dens and holes and fight their way against monstrous serpents and crouching beasts—were allowed to live in ignorance and fear—to have false ideas of this good and loving God—ideas so false that they made of him a fiend—ideas so false, that they sacrificed their wives and babes to appease the imaginary wrath of this monster. And this God gave to different nations different ideas of himself, knowing that in consequence of that these nations would meet upon countless fields of death and drain each other's veins.

Would it not have been better had the world been so that par-

ents would transmit only their virtues—only their perfections, physical and mental,—allowing their diseases and their vices to perish with them ?

In my reply to Dr. Field I had asked : Why should God demand a sacrifice from man ? Why should the infinite ask anything from the finite ? Should the sun beg from the glow-worm, and should the momentary spark excite the envy of the source of light ?

Upon which you remark, " that if the infinite is to make no demands upon the finite, by parity of reasoning, the great and strong should scarcely make them on the weak and small."

Can this be called reasoning ? Why should the infinite demand a sacrifice from man ? In the first place, the infinite is conditionless—the infinite cannot want—the infinite has. A conditioned being may want ; but the gratification of a want involves a change of condition. If God be conditionless, he can have no wants—consequently, no human being can gratify the infinite.

But you insist that " if the infinite is to make no demands upon the finite, by parity of reasoning the great and strong should scarcely make them on the weak and small."

The great have wants. The strong are often in need, in peril, and the great and strong often need the services of the small and weak. It was the mouse that freed the lion. England is a great and powerful nation—yet she may need the assistance of the weakest of her citizens. The world is filled with illustrations.

The lack of logic is in this : The infinite cannot want anything; the strong and the great may, and as a fact always do. The great and the strong cannot help the infinite—they can help the small and the weak, and the small and the weak can often help the great and strong.

You ask : " Why then should the father make demands of love, obedience, and sacrifice from his young child ?"

No sensible father ever demanded love from his child. Every civilized father knows that love rises like the perfume from a flower. You cannot command it by simple authority. It cannot obey. A father demands obedience from a child for the good of the child and for the good of himself. But suppose the father to be infinite—why should the child sacrifice anything for him ?

But it may be that you answer all these questions, all these dif-

ficulties, by admitting, as you have in your Remarks, "that these problems are insoluble by our understanding."

Why, then, do you accept them? Why do you defend that which you cannot understand? Why does your reason volunteer as a soldier under the flag of the incomprehensible?

I asked of Dr. Field, and I ask again, this question: Why should an infinitely wise and powerful God destroy the good and preserve the vile?

What do I mean by this question? Simply this: The earthquake, the lightning, the pestilence, are no respecters of persons. The vile are not always destroyed, the good are not always saved. I asked: Why should God treat all alike in this world, and in another make an infinite difference? This I suppose, is "insoluble to our understanding."

Why should Jehovah allow his worshipers, his adorers, to be destroyed by his enemies? Can you by any possibility answer this question?

You may account for all these inconsistencies, these cruel contradictions, as John Wesley accounted for earthquakes when he insisted that they were produced by the wickedness of men, and that the only way to prevent them was for everybody to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. And you may have some way of showing that Mr. Wesley's idea is entirely consistent with the theories of Mr. Darwin.

You seem to think that as long as there is more goodness than evil in the world—as long as there is more joy than sadness—we are compelled to infer that the author of the world is infinitely good, powerful, and wise, and that as long as a majority are out of gutters and prisons, the "divine scheme" is a success.

According to this system of logic, if there were a few more unfortunates—if there was just a little more evil than good—then we would be driven to acknowledge that the world was created by an infinitely malevolent being.

As a matter of fact, the history of the world has been such that not only your theologians but your apostles, and not only your apostles but your prophets, and not only your prophets but your Jehovah, have all been forced to account for the evil, the injustice and the suffering, by the wickedness of man, the natural depravity of the human heart and the wiles and machinations of a malevolent being second only in power to Jehovah himself.

Again and again you have called me to account for "mere suggestions and assertions without proof"; and yet your remarks are filled with assertions and mere suggestions without proof.

You admit that "great believers are not able to explain the inequalities of adjustment between human beings and the conditions in which they have been set down to work out their destiny."

How do you know "that they have been set down to work out their destiny"? If that was, and is, the purpose, then the being who settled the "destiny," and the means by which it was to be "worked out," is responsible for all that happens.

And is this the end of your argument, "That you are not able to explain the inequalities of adjustment between human beings"? Is the solution of this problem beyond your power? Does the bible shed no light? Is the Christian in the presence of this question as dumb as the agnostic? When the injustice of this world is so flagrant that you cannot harmonize that awful fact with the wisdom and goodness of an infinite God, do you not see that you have surrendered, or at least that you have raised a flag of truce beneath which your adversary accepts as final your statement that you do not know and that your imagination is not sufficient to frame an excuse for God?

It gave me great pleasure to find that at last even you have been driven to say that: "it is a duty incumbent upon us respectively according to our means and opportunities, to decide by the use of the faculty of reason given us, the great questions of natural and revealed religion."

You admit "that I am to decide for myself, by the use of my reason," whether the Bible is the word of God or not—whether there is any revealed religion—and whether there be or be not an infinite being who created and who governs this world.

You also admit that we are to decide these questions according to the balance of the evidence.

Is this in accordance with the doctrine of Jehovah? Did Jehovah say to the husband that if his wife became convinced, according to her means and her opportunities, and decided according to her reason, that it was better to worship some other God than Jehovah, then that he was to say to her: "You are entitled to decide according to the balance of the evidence as it seems to you"?

Have you abandoned Jehovah? Is man more just than he? Have you appealed from him to the standard of reason? Is it possible that the leader of the English Liberals is nearer civilized than Jehovah?

Do you know that in this sentence you demonstrate the existence of a dawn in your mind? This sentence makes it certain that in the East of the midnight of Episcopal superstition there is the herald of the coming day. And if this sentence shows a dawn, what shall I say of the next:

"We are not entitled, either for or against belief, to set up in this province any rule of investigation except such as common sense teaches us to use in the ordinary conduct of life"?

This certainly is a morning star. Let me take this statement, let me hold it as a torch, and by its light I beg of you to read the bible once again.

Is it in accordance with reason that an infinitely good and loving God would drown a world that he had taken no means to civilize—to whom he had given no bible, no gospel,—taught no scientific fact and in which the seeds of art had not been sown; that he would create a world that ought to be drowned? That a being of infinite wisdom would create a rival, knowing that the rival would fill perdition with countless souls destined to suffer eternal pain? Is it according to common sense that an infinitely good God would order some of his children to kill others? That he would command soldiers to rip open with the sword of war the bodies of women—wreaking vengeance on babes unborn? Is it according to reason that a good, loving, compassionate, and just God would establish slavery among men, and that a pure God would uphold polygamy? Is it according to common sense that he who wished to make men merciful and loving would demand the sacrifice of animals, so that his altars would be wet with the blood of oxen, sheep, and doves? Is it according to reason that a good God would inflict tortures upon his ignorant children—that he would torture animals to death—and is it in accordance with common sense and reason that this God would create countless billions of people knowing that they would be eternally damned?

What is common sense? Is it the result of observation, reason and experience, or is it the child of credulity?

There is this curious fact: The far past and the far future seem to belong to the miraculous and the monstrous. The pres-

ent, as a rule, is the realm of common sense. If you say to a man: "Eighteen hundred years ago the dead were raised," he will reply: "Yes, I know that." And if you say: "A hundred thousand years from now all the dead will be raised," he will probably reply: "I presume so." But if you tell him: "I saw a dead man raised to-day," he will ask, "From what madhouse have you escaped?"

The moment we decide "according to reason," "according to the balance of evidence," we are charged with "having violated the laws of social morality and decency," and the defender of the miraculous and the incomprehensible takes another position.

The theologian has a city of refuge to which he flies—an old breastwork behind which he kneels—a rifle-pit into which he crawls. You have described this city, this breastwork, this rifle-pit and also the leaf under which the ostrich of theology thrusts its head. Let me quote:

"Our demands for evidence must be limited by the general reason of the case. Does that general reason of the case make it probable that a finite being, with a finite place in a comprehensive scheme devised and administered by a being who is infinite, would be able even to embrace within his view, or rightly to appreciate all the motives or aims that there may have been in the mind of the divine disposer?"

And this is what you call "deciding by the use of the faculty of reason," "according to the evidence," or at least "according to the balance of evidence." This is a conclusion reached by a "rule of investigation such as common sense teaches us to use in the ordinary conduct of life." Will you have the kindness to explain what it is to act contrary to evidence, or contrary to common sense? Can you imagine a superstition so gross that it cannot be defended by that argument?

Nothing, it seems to me, could have been easier than for Jehovah to have reasonably explained his scheme. You may answer that the human intellect is not sufficient to understand the explanation. Why then do not theologians stop explaining? Why do they feel it incumbent upon them to explain that which they admit God would have explained had the human mind been capable of understanding it?

How much better would it have been if Jehovah had said a few things on these subjects. It always seemed wonderful to me that

he spent several days and night on Mount Sinai explaining to Moses how he could detect the presence of leprosy, without once thinking to give him a prescription for its cure.

There were thousands and thousands of opportunities for this God to withdraw from these questions the shadow and the cloud. When Jehovah out of the whirlwind asked questions of Job, how much better it would have been if Job had asked and Jehovah had answered.

You say that we should be governed by evidence and by common sense. Then you tell us that the questions are beyond the reach of reason, and with which common sense has nothing to do. If we then ask for an explanation, you reply in the scornful challenge of Dante.

You seem to imagine that every man who gives an opinion, takes his solemn oath that the opinion is the absolute end of all investigation on that subject.

In my opinion, Shakespeare was, intellectually, the greatest of the human race, and my intention was simply to express that view. It never occurred to me that any one would suppose that I thought Shakespeare a greater actor than Garrick, a more wonderful composer than Wagner, a better violinist than Remenyi, or a heavier man than Daniel Lambert. It is to be regretted that you were misled by my words and really supposed that I intended to say that Shakespeare was a greater general than Cæsar. But, after all, your criticism has no possible bearing on the point at issue. Is it an effort to avoid that which cannot be met? The real question is this: If we cannot account for Christ without a miracle, how can we account for Shakespeare? Dr. Field took the ground that Christ himself was a miracle; that it was impossible to account for such a being in any natural way; and, guided by common sense, guided by the rule of investigation such as common sense teaches, I called attention to Buddha, Mohammed, Confucius, and Shakespeare.

In another place in your Remarks, when my statement about Shakespeare was not in your mind, you say: "All is done by steps—nothing by strides, leaps or bounds—all from protoplasm up to Shakespeare." Why did you end the series with Shakespeare? Did you intend to say Dante, or Bishop Butler?

It is curious to see how much ingenuity a great man exercises when guided by what he calls "the rule of investigation as sug-

gested by common sense." I pointed out some things that Christ did not teach—among others, that he said nothing with regard to the family relation, nothing against slavery, nothing about education, nothing as to the rights and duties of nations, nothing as to any scientific truth. And this is answered by saying that "I am quite able to point out the way in which the Saviour of the world might have been much greater as a teacher than he actually was."

Is this an answer, or is it simply taking refuge behind a name? Would it not have been better if Christ had told his disciples that they must not persecute; that they had no right to destroy their fellow men; that they must not put heretics in dungeons, or destroy them with flames; that they must not invent and use instruments of torture; that they must not appeal to brutality, nor endeavor to sow with bloody hands the seeds of peace? Would it not have been far better had he said: "I come not to bring a sword, but peace"? Would not this have saved countless cruelties and countless lives?

You seem to think that you have fully answered my objection when you say that Christ taught the absolute indissolubility of marriage.

Why should a husband and wife be compelled to live with each other after love is dead? Why should the wife still be bound in indissoluble chains to a husband who is cruel, infamous, and false? Why should her life be destroyed because of his? Why should she be chained to a criminal and an outcast? Nothing can be more unphilosophic than this. Why fill the world with the children of indifference and hatred?

The marriage contract is the most important, the most sacred, that human beings can make. It will be sacredly kept by good men and by good women. But if a loving woman—tender, noble, and true—makes this contract with a man whom she believed to be worthy of all respect and love, and who is found to be a cruel, worthless wretch, why should her life be lost?

Do you not know that the indissolubility of the marriage contract leads to its violation, forms an excuse for immorality, eats out the very heart of truth, and gives to vice that which alone belongs to love?

But in order that you may know why the objection was raised, I call your attention to the fact that Christ offered a reward, not

only in this world but in another, to any husband who would desert his wife. And do you know that this hideous offer caused millions to desert their wives and children ?

Theologians have the habit of using names instead of arguments—of appealing to some man, great in some direction, to establish their creed ; but we all know that no man is great enough to be an authority, except in that particular domain in which he won his eminence ; and we all know that great men are not great in all directions. Bacon died a believer in the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. Tycho Brahe kept an imbecile in his service, putting down with great care the words that fell from the hanging lip of idiocy, and then endeavored to put them together in a way to form prophesies. Sir Matthew Hale believed in witchcraft not only, but in its lowest and most vulgar forms ; and some of the greatest men of antiquity examined the entrails of birds to find the secrets of the future.

It has always seemed to me that reasons are better than names.

After taking the ground that Christ could not have been a greater teacher than he actually was, you ask: "Where would have been the wisdom of delivering to an uninstructed population of a particular age a codified religion which was to serve for all nations, all ages, all states of civilization ?"

Does not this question admit that the teachings of Christ will not serve for all nations, all ages and all states of civilization ?

But let me ask: If it was necessary for Christ "to deliver to an uninstructed population of a particular age a certain religion suited only for that particular age," why should a civilized and scientific age eighteen hundred years afterwards be absolutely bound by that religion ? Do you not see that your position cannot be defended, and that you have provided no way for retreat ? If the religion of Christ was for that age, is it for this ? Are you willing to admit that the Ten Commandments are not for all time ? If, then, four thousand years before Christ, commandments were given not simply for "an uninstructed population of a particular age, but for all time," can you give a reason why the religion of Christ should not have been of the same character ?

In the first place you say that God has revealed himself to the world—that he has revealed a religion ; and in the next place, that "he has not revealed a perfect religion, for the reason that no room would be left for the career of human thought."

Why did not God reveal this imperfect religion to all people instead of to a small and insignificant tribe, a tribe without commerce and without influence among the nations of the world? Why did he hide this imperfect light under a bushel? If the light was necessary for one, was it not necessary for all? And why did he drown a world to whom he had not even given that light?

According to your reasoning, would there not have been left greater room for the career of human thought, had no revelation been made?

You say that "you have known a person who after studying the old classical or Olympian religion for a third part of a century, at length began to hope that he had some partial comprehension of it—some inkling of what is meant." You say this for the purpose of showing how impossible it is to understand the bible. If it is so difficult, why do you call it a revelation? And yet, according to your creed, the man who does not understand the revelation and believe it, or who does not believe it, whether he understands it or not, is to reap the harvest of everlasting pain. Ought not the revelation to be revealed?

In order to escape from the fact that Christ denounced the chosen people of God as "a generation of vipers" and as "whited sepulchres," you take the ground that the scribes and pharisees were not the chosen people. Of what blood were they? It will not do to say that they were not the people. Can you deny that Christ addressed the chosen people when he said: "Jerusalem, which killest the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee"?

You have called me to an account for what I said in regard to Ananias and Sapphira. *First*, I am charged with having said that the apostles conceived the idea of having all things in common, and you denounce this as an interpolation; *second*, "that motives of prudence are stated as a matter of fact to have influenced the offending couple"—and this is charged as an interpolation; and, *third*, that I stated that the apostles sent for the wife of Ananias—and this is characterized as a pure invention.

To me it seems reasonable to suppose that the idea of having all things in common was conceived by those who had nothing, or had the least, and not by those who had plenty. In the last verses of the fourth chapter of the Acts, you will find this:

"Neither was there any among them that lacked, for as many as were possessed of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need. And Joses, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas (which is, being interpreted, the son of consolation), a Levite and of the country of Cyprus, having land, sold it, and brought the money, and laid it at the apostles' feet."

Now it occurred to me that the idea was in all probability suggested by the men at whose feet the property was laid. It never entered my mind that the idea originated with those who had land for sale. There may be a different standard by which human nature is measured in your country, than in mine; but if the thing had happened in the United States, I feel absolutely positive that it would have been at the suggestion of the apostles.

"Ananias, with Sapphira, his wife, sold a possession and kept back part of the price, his wife also being privy to it, and brought a certain part and laid it at the apostles' feet."

In my Letter to Dr. Field I stated—not at the time pretending to quote from the New Testament—that Ananias and Sapphira, after talking the matter over, not being entirely satisfied with the collaterals, probably concluded to keep a little—just enough to keep them from starvation if the good and pious bankers should abscond. It never occurred to me that any man would imagine that this was a quotation, and I feel like asking your pardon for having led you into this error. We are informed in the bible that "they kept back a part of the price." It occurred to me, "judging by the rule of investigation according to common sense," that there was a reason for this, and I could think of no reason except that they did not care to trust the apostles with all, and that they kept back just a little, thinking it might be useful if the rest should be lost.

According to the account, after Peter had made a few remarks to Ananias,

"Ananias fell down and gave up the ghost; . . . . and the young men arose, wound him up, and carried him out, and buried him. And it was about the space of three hours after, when his wife, not knowing what was done, came in."

Whereupon Peter said:

"'Tell me whether ye sold the land for so much?' And she said, 'Yea, for so much.' Then Peter said unto her, 'How is it that ye have agreed together to

tempt the spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of them which have buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out.' Then fell she down straightway at his feet, and yielded up the ghost; and the young men came in, and found her dead, and, carrying her forth, buried her by her husband."

The only objection found to this is, that I inferred that the apostles had sent for her. Sending for her was not the offence. The failure to tell her what had happened to her husband was the offence—keeping his fate a secret from her in order that she might be caught in the same net that had been set for her husband by Jehovah. This was the offence. This was the mean and cruel thing to which I objected. Have you answered that?

Of course, I feel sure that the thing never occurred—the probability being that Ananias and Sapphira never lived and never died. It is probably a story invented by the early church to make the collection of subscriptions somewhat easier.

And yet, we find a man in the Nineteenth century, foremost of his fellow-citizens in the affairs of a great nation, upholding this barbaric view of God.

Let me beg of you to use your reason "according to the rule suggested by common sense." Let us do what little we can to rescue the reputation, even of a Jewish myth, from the calumnies of Ignorance and Fear.

So, again, I am charged with having given certain words as a quotation from the bible in which two passages are combined—"They who believe and are baptized shall be saved, and they who believe not shall be damned. And these shall go away into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels."

They were given as two passages. No one for a moment supposed that they would be read together as one, and no one imagined that any one in answering the argument would be led to believe that they were intended as one. Neither was there in this the slightest negligence, as I was answering a man who is perfectly familiar with the bible. The objection was too small to make. It is hardly large enough to answer—and had it not been made by you it would not have been answered.

You are not satisfied with what I have said upon the subject of immortality. What I said was this: The idea of immortality, that like a sea has ebbed and flowed in the human heart, with its countless waves of hope and fear beating against the shores and rocks of time and fate, was not born of any book, nor of any

creed, nor of any religion. It was born of human affection, and it will continue to ebb and flow beneath the mists and clouds of doubt and darkness as long as love kisses the lips of death.

You answer this by saying that "the Egyptians were believers in immortality, but were not a people of high intellectual development."

How such a statement tends to answer what I have said, is beyond my powers of discernment. Is there the slightest connection between my statement and your objection?

You make still another answer, and say that "the ancient Greeks were a race of perhaps unparalleled intellectual capacity, and that notwithstanding that, the most powerful mind of the Greek philosophy, that of Aristotle, had no clear conception of a personal existence in a future state?" May I be allowed to ask this simple question: Who has?

Are you urging an objection to the dogma of immortality, when you say that a race of unparalleled intellectual capacity had no confidence in it? Is that a doctrine believed only by people who lack intellectual capacity? I stated that the idea of immortality was born of love. You reply, "The Egyptians believed it, but they were not intellectual." Is not this a *non sequitur?* The question is: Were they a loving people?

Does history show that there is a moral governor of the world? What witnesses shall we call? The billions of slaves who were paid with blows?—the countless mothers whose babes were sold? Have we time to examine the Waldenses, the Covenanters of Scotland, the Catholics of Ireland, the victims of St. Bartholomew, of the Spanish Inquisition, all those who have died in flames? Shall we hear the story of Bruno? Shall we ask Servetus? Shall we ask the millions slaughtered by Christian swords in America—all the victims of ambition, of perjury, of ignorance, of superstition and revenge, of storm and earthquake, of famine, flood, and fire?

Can all the agonies and crimes, can all the inequalities of the world be answered by reading the "noble Psalm" in which are found the words: "Call upon me in the day of trouble, so I will hear thee, and thou shalt praise me?" Do you prove the truth of these fine words, this honey of Trebizond, by the victims of religious persecution? Shall we hear the sighs and sobs of Siberia?

Another thing. Why should you, from the page of Greek

history, with the sponge of your judgment, wipe out all names but one, and tell us that the most powerful mind of the Greek philosophy was that of Aristotle? How did you ascertain this fact? Is it not fair to suppose that you merely intended to say that, according to your view, Aristotle had the most powerful mind among all the philosophers of Greece? I should not call attention to this, except for your criticism on a like remark of mine as to the intellectual superiority of Shakespeare. But if you knew the trouble I have had in finding out your meaning, from your words, you would pardon me for calling attention to a single line from Aristotle: "Clearness is the virtue of style."

To me Epicurus seems far greater than Aristotle. He had clearer vision. His cheek was closer to the breast of nature, and he planted his philosophy nearer to the bed-rock of fact. He was practical enough to know that virtue is the means and happiness the end; that the highest philosophy is the art of living. He was wise enough to say that nothing is of the slightest value to man that does not increase or preserve his well-being, and he was great enough to know and courageous enough to declare that all the gods and ghosts were monstrous phantoms born of ignorance and fear.

I still insist that human affection is the foundation of the idea of immortality; that love was the first to speak that word, no matter whether they who spoke it were savage or civilized, Egyptian or Greek. But if we are immortal—if there be another world—why was it not clearly set forth in the Old Testament? Certainly, the authors of that book had an opportunity to learn it from the Egyptians. Why was it not revealed by Jehovah? Why did he waste his time in giving orders for the consecration of priests—in saying that they must have sheep's blood put on their right ears and on their right thumbs and on their right big toes? Could a God with any sense of humor give such directions, or watch without huge laughter the performance of such a ceremony? In order to see the beauty, the depth and tenderness of such a consecration, is it essential to be in a state of "reverential calm?"

Is it not strange that Christ did not tell of another world distinctly, clearly, without parable, and without the mist of metaphor?

The fact is that the Hindoos, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans taught the immortality of the soul, not as a glittering

guess—a possible perhaps—but as a clear and demonstrated truth for many centuries before the birth of Christ.

If the Old Testament proves anything, it is that death ends all. And the New Testament, by basing immortality on the resurrection of the body, but "keeps the word of promise to our ear and breaks it to our hope."

In my Reply to Dr. Field, I said: "The truth is, that no one can justly be held responsible for his thoughts. The brain thinks without asking our consent; we believe, or disbelieve, without an effort of the will. Belief is a result. It is the effect of evidence upon the mind. The scales turn in spite of him who watches. There is no opportunity of being honest or dishonest in the formation of an opinion. The conclusion is entirely independent of desire. We must believe, or we must doubt, in spite of what we wish."

Does the brain think without our consent? Can we control our thought? Can we tell what we are going to think to-morrow?

Can we stop thinking?

Is belief the result of that which to us is evidence, or is it a product of the will? Can the scales in which reason weighs evidence be turned by the will? Why then should evidence be weighed? If it all depends on the will, what is evidence? Is there any opportunity of being dishonest in the formation of an opinion? Must not the man who forms the opinion know what it is? He cannot knowingly cheat himself. He cannot be deceived with dice that he loads. He cannot play unfairly at solitaire without knowing that he has lost the game. He cannot knowingly weigh with false scales and believe in the correctness of the result.

You have not even attempted to answer my arguments upon these points, but you have unconsciously avoided them. You did not attack the citadel. In military parlance, you proceeded to "shell the woods." The noise is precisely the same as though every shot had been directed against the enemy's position, but the result is not. You do not seem willing to implicitly trust the correctness of your aim. You prefer to place the target after the shot.

The question is whether the will knowingly can change evidence, and whether there is any opportunity of being dishonest

in the formation of an opinion. You have changed the issue. You have erased the word formation and interpolated the word expression.

Let us suppose that a man has given an opinion, knowing that it is not based on any fact. Can you say that he has given his opinion? The moment a prejudice is known to be a prejudice, it disappears. Ignorance is the soil in which prejudice must grow. Touched by a ray of light, it dies. The judgment of man may be warped by prejudice and passion, but it cannot be consciously warped. It is impossible for any man to be influenced by a known prejudice, because a known prejudice cannot exist.

I am not contending that all opinions have been honestly expressed. What I contend is that when a dishonest opinion has been expressed it is not the opinion that was formed.

The cases suggested by you are not in point. Fathers are honestly swayed, if really swayed, by love; and queens and judges have pretended to be swayed by the highest motives, by the clearest evidence, in order that they might kill rivals, reap rewards, and gratify revenge. But what has all this to do with the fact that he who watches the scales in which evidence is weighed knows the actual result?

Let us examine your case: If a father is *consciously* swayed by his love for his son, and for that reason says that his son is innocent, then he has not expressed his opinion. If he is unconsciously swayed and says that his son is innocent, then he has expressed his opinion. In both instances his opinion was independent of his will; but in the first instance he did not express his opinion. You will certainly see this distinction between the formation and the expression of an opinion.

The same argument applies to the man who consciously has a desire to condemn. Such a *conscious* desire cannot affect the testimony—cannot affect the opinion. Queen Elizabeth undoubtedly desired the death of Mary Stuart, but this conscious desire could not have been the foundation on which rested Elizabeth's opinion as to the guilt or innocence of her rival. It is barely possible that Elizabeth did not express her real opinion. Do you believe that the English judges in the matter of the Popish Plot gave judgment in accordance with their opinions? Are you satisfied that Napoleon expressed his real opinion when he justified himself for the assassination of the Duc d'Enghien?

If you answer these questions in the affirmative, you admit that I am right. If you answer in the negative, you admit that you are wrong. The moment you admit that the opinion formed cannot be changed by expressing a pretended opinion, your argument is turned against yourself.

It is admitted that prejudice strengthens, weakens and colors evidence ; but prejudice is honest. And when one acts knowingly against the evidence, that is not by reason of prejudice.

According to my views of propriety, it would be unbecoming for me to say that your argument on these questions is "a piece of plausible shallowness." Such language might be regarded as lacking "reverential calm," and I therefore refrain from even characterizing it as plausible.

Is it not perfectly apparent that you have changed the issue, and that instead of showing that opinions are creatures of the will, you have discussed the quality of actions? What have corrupt and cruel judgments pronounced by corrupt and cruel judges to do with their real opinions ? When a judge forms one opinion and renders another he is called corrupt. The corruption does not consist in forming his opinion, but in rendering one that he did not form. Does a dishonest creditor, who incorrectly adds a number of items making the aggregate too large, necessarily change his opinion as to the relations of numbers ? When an error is known, it is not a mistake ; but a conclusion reached by a mistake, or by a prejudice, or by both, is a necessary conclusion. He who pretends to come to a conclusion by a mistake which he knows is not a mistake, knows that he has not expressed his real opinion.

Can any thing be more illogical than the assertion that because a boy reaches, through negligence in adding figures, a wrong result, that he is accountable for his opinion of the result ? If he knew he was negligent what must his opinion of the result have been ?

So with the man who boldly announces that he has discovered the numerical expression of the relation sustained by the diameter to the circumference of a circle. If he is honest in the announcement, then the announcement was caused not by his will but by his ignorance. His will cannot make the announcement true, and he could not by any possibility have supposed that his will could affect the correctness of his announcement. The will of one who thinks that he has invented or discovered what is called

perpetual motion, is not at fault. The man, if honest, has been misled; if not honest, he endeavors to mislead others. There is prejudice, and prejudice does raise a clamor, and the intellect is affected and the judgment is darkened and the opinion is deformed; but the prejudice is real and the clamor is sincere and the judgment is upright and the opinion is honest.

The intellect is not always supreme. It is surrounded by clouds. It sometimes sits in darkness. It is often misled—sometimes, in superstitious fear, it abdicates. It is not always a white light. The passions and prejudices are prismatic—they color thoughts. Desires betray the judgment and cunningly mislead the will.

You seem to think that the fact of responsibility is in danger unless it rests upon the will, and this will you regard as something without a cause, springing into being in some mysterious way without father or mother, without seed or soil, or rain or light. You must admit that man is a conditioned being—that he has wants, objects, ends, and aims, and that these are gratified and attained only by the use of means. Do not these wants and these objects have something to do with the will, and does not the intellect have something to do with the means? Is not the will a product? Independently of conditions, can it exist? Is it not necessarily produced? Behind every wish and thought, every dream and fancy, every fear and hope, are there not countless causes? Man feels shame. What does this prove? He pities himself. What does this demonstrate?

The dark continent of motive and desire has never been explored. In the brain, that wondrous world with one inhabitant, there are recesses dim and dark, treacherous sands and dangerous shores, where seeming sirens tempt and fade; streams that rise in unknown lands from hidden springs, strange seas with ebb and flow of tides, resistless billows urged by storms of flame, profound and awful depths hidden by mist of dreams, obscure and phantom realms where vague and fearful things are half revealed, jungles where passion's tigers crouch, and skies of cloud and blue where fancies fly with painted wings that dazzle and mislead; and the poor sovereign of this pictured world is led by old desires and ancient hates, and stained by crimes of many vanished years, and pushed by hands that long ago were dust, until he feels like some bewildered slave that Mockery has throned and crowned.

No one pretends that the mind of man is perfect—that it is not affected by desires, colored by hopes, weakened by fears, deformed by ignorance and distorted by superstition. But all this has nothing to do with the innocence of opinion.

It may be that the Thugs were taught that murder is innocent; but did the teachers believe what they taught? Did the pupils believe the teachers? Did not Jehovah teach that the act that we describe as murder was a duty? Were not his teachings practiced by Moses and Joshua and Jephthah and Samuel and David? Were they honest? But what has all this to do with the point at issue?

Society has the right to protect itself, even from honest murderers and conscientious thieves. The belief of the criminal does not disarm society; it protects itself from him as from a poisonous serpent, or from a beast that lives on human flesh. We are under no obligation to stand still and allow ourselves to be murdered by one who honestly thinks that it is his duty to take our lives. And yet according to your argument, we have no right to defend ourselves from honest Thugs. Was Saul of Tarsus a Thug when he persecuted Christians "even unto strange cities"? Is the Thug of India more ferocious than Torquemada, the Thug of Spain?

If belief depends upon the will, can all men have correct opinions who will to have them? Acts are good, or bad, according to their consequences, and not according to the intentions of the actors. Honest opinions may be wrong, and opinions dishonestly expressed may be right.

Do you mean to say that because passion and prejudice, the reckless "pilots 'twixt the dangerous shores of will and judgment," sway the mind, that the opinions which you have expressed in your Remarks to me are not your opinions? Certainly you will admit that in all probability you have prejudices and passions, and if so, can the opinions that you have expressed, according to your argument, be honest? My lack of confidence in your argument gives me perfect confidence in your candor. You may remember the philosopher who retained his reputation for veracity, in spite of the fact that he kept saying: "There is no truth in man."

Are only those opinions honest that are formed without any interference of passion, affection, habit or fancy? What would the opinion of a man without passions, affections, or fancies be worth?

The alchemist gave up his search for an universal solvent upon being asked in what kind of vessel he expected to keep it when found.

It may be admitted that Biel "shows us how the life of Dante co-operated with his extraordinary natural gifts and capabilities to make him what he was," but does this tend to show that Dante changed his opinions by an act of his will, or that he reached honest opinions by knowingly using false weights and measures?

You must admit that the opinions, habits and religions of men depend, at least in some degree, on race, occupation, training and capacity. Is not every thoughtful man compelled to agree with Edgar Fawcett, in whose brain are united the beauty of the poet and the subtlety of the logician,

> "Who sees how vice her venom wreaks
> On the frail babe before it speaks,
> And how heredity enslaves
> With ghostly hands that reach from graves"?

Why do you hold the intellect criminally responsible for opinions, when you admit that it is controlled by the will? And why do you hold the will responsible, when you insist that it is swayed by the passions and affections? But all this has nothing to do with the fact that every opinion has been honestly formed, whether honestly expressed or not.

No one pretends that all governments have been honestly formed and honestly administered. All vices, and some virtues, are represented in most nations. In my opinion a republic is far better than a monarchy. The legally expressed will of the people is the only rightful sovereign. This sovereignty, however, does not embrace the realm of thought or opinion. In that world, each human being is a sovereign,—throned and crowned: One is a majority. The good citizens of that realm give to others all rights that they claim for themselves, and those who appeal to force are the only traitors.

The existence of theological despotisms, of God-anointed kings, does not tend to prove that a known prejudice can determine the weight of evidence. When men were so ignorant as to suppose that God would destroy them unless they burned heretics, they lighted the fagots in self-defence.

Feeling as I do that man is not responsible for his opinions, I characterized persecution for opinion's sake as infamous. So, it is perfectly clear to me, that it would be the infamy of infamies

for an infinite being to create vast numbers of men knowing that they would suffer eternal pain. If an infinite God creates a man on purpose to damn him, or creates him knowing that he will be damned, is not the crime the same? We make mistakes and failures because we are finite; but can you conceive of any excuse for an infinite being who creates failures? If you had the power to change, by a wish, a statue into a human being, and you knew that this being would die without a "change of heart" and suffer endless pain, what would you do?

Can you think of any excuse for an earthly father, who, having wealth, learning and leisure, leaves his own children in ignorance and darkness? Do you believe that a God of infinite wisdom, justice and love, called countless generations of men into being, knowing that they would be used as fuel for the eternal fire?

Many will regret that you did not give your views upon the main questions—the principal issues—involved, instead of calling attention, for the most part, to the unimportant. If men were discussing the causes and results of the Franco-Prussian war, it would hardly be worth while for a third person to interrupt the argument for the purpose of calling attention to a misspelled word in the terms of surrender.

If we admit that man is responsible for his opinions and his thoughts, and that his will is perfectly free, still these admissions do not even tend to prove the inspiration of the bible, or the "divine scheme of redemption."

In my judgment, the days of the supernatural are numbered. The dogma of inspiration must be abandoned. As man advances, —as his intellect enlarges,—as his knowledge increases,—as his ideals become nobler, the bibles and creeds will lose their authority—the miraculous will be classed with the impossible, and the idea of special providence will be discarded. Thousands of religions have perished, innumerable gods have died, and why should the religion of our time be exempt from the common fate?

Creeds cannot remain permanent in a world in which knowledge increases. Science and superstition cannot peaceably occupy the same brain. This is an age of investigation, of discovery and thought. Science destroys the dogmas that mislead the mind and waste the energies of man. It points out the ends that can be accomplished; takes into consideration the limits of our faculties; fixes our attention on the affairs of this world, and

erects beacons of warning on the dangerous shores. It seeks to ascertain the conditions of health, to the end that life may be enriched and lengthened, and it reads with a smile this passage :

"And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul, so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them."

Science is the enemy of fear and credulity. It invites investigation, challenges the reason, stimulates inquiry, and welcomes the unbeliever. It seeks to give food and shelter, and raiment, education and liberty to the human race. It welcomes every fact and every truth. It has furnished a foundation for morals, a philosophy for the guidance of man. From all books it selects the good, and from all theories, the true. It seeks to civilize the human race by the cultivation of the intellect and heart. It refines through art, music and the drama—giving voice and expression to every noble thought. The mysterious does not excite the feeling of worship, but the ambition to understand. It does not pray—it works. It does not answer inquiry with the malicious cry of "blasphemy." Its feelings are not hurt by contradiction, neither does it ask to be protected by law from the laughter of heretics. It has taught man that he cannot walk beyond the horizon—that the questions of origin and destiny cannot be answered—that an infinite personality cannot be comprehended by a finite being, and that the truth of any system of religion based on the supernatural cannot by any possibility be established—such a religion not being within the domain of evidence. And, above all, it teaches that all our duties are here—that all our obligations are to sentient beings ; that intelligence, guided by kindness, is the highest possible wisdom ; and that "man believes not what he would, but what he can."

And after all, it may be that "to ride an unbroken horse with the reins thrown upon his neck"—as you charge me with doing—gives a greater variety of sensations, a keener delight, and a better prospect of winning the race than to sit solemnly astride of a dead one, in "a deep reverential calm," with the bridle firmly in your hand.

Again assuring you of my profound respect, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

THE PERFECTED PHONOGRAPH.

TEN years ago I contributed to the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (May-June, 1878), a paper on the "Phonograph and its Future," in which I sketched the solution of certain problems accomplished by my invention, and predicted some of the uses to which it would be put. Other weighty matters engaged much of my time and attention after that article was published, but the future of which I then spoke has now arrived, and the predictions which I made at that time are now verified. For, when these words appear in print, the demonstration of the phonograph's practical adaptability to the purposes mentioned by me will have been completed, and the perfected instrument itself will be in the hands of the public, to be tested and employed by them at will. Rumors, I understand, have been circulated to the effect that, subsequently to my announcements made ten years ago, I allowed the phonograph to go adrift, leaving its further development to chance and to the tender mercies of such disinterested persons, not connected with me, as might conceive that they were doing me a favor by claiming to have developed my idea. Those who may have been taken in by these rumors would do well to inform themselves concerning the prolonged labor involved in carrying out important inventions. They are also referred to my former statements in this REVIEW, as proof that the signer of those statements at least knew clearly what he was talking about and predicted only that which he has now fulfilled.

Since the time of Lucretius, the movements of atoms have been invested with an intense interest for philosophers and scientific students, and the wave-motions of light, heat and sound have engaged, with a constantly increasing degree of importance, the attention of modern investigators. When we consider the relation of these motions to mathematics and to music, the conception of Pythagoras that number and harmony constituted the

principle of the Universe does not seem to be very far out of the way. In the phonograph we find an illustration of the truth that human speech is governed by the laws of number, harmony and rhythm. And by means of these laws, we are now able to register all sorts of sound and all articulate utterance—even to the lightest shades and variations of the voice—in lines or dots which are an absolute equivalent for the emission of sound by the lips; so that, through this contrivance, we can cause these lines and dots to give forth again the sound of the voice, of music, and all other sounds recorded by them, whether audible or *inaudible*. For it is a very extraordinary fact that, while the deepest tone that our ears are capable of recognizing is one containing 16 vibrations a second, the phonograph will record 10 vibrations or less, and can then raise the pitch until we hear a reproduction from them. Similarly, vibrations above the highest rate audible to the ear can be recorded on the phonograph and then reproduced by lowering the pitch, until we actually hear the record of those inaudible pulsations.

To make the general idea of the recording of sound more clear, let me remark one or two points. We have all been struck by the precision with which even the faintest sea-waves impress upon the surface of a beach the fine, sinuous line which is formed by the rippling edge of their advance. Almost as familiar is the fact that grains of sand sprinkled on a smooth surface of glass or wood, on or near a piano, sift themselves into various lines and curves according to the vibrations of the melody played on the piano-keys. These things indicate how easily the particles of solid matter may receive an imparted motion, or take an impression, from delicate liquid waves, air waves, or waves of sound. Yet, well known though these phenomena are, they apparently never suggested until within a few years that the sound-waves set going by a human voice might be so directed as to trace an impression upon some solid substance, with a nicety equal to that of the tide in recording its flow upon a sand beach.

My own discovery that this could be done came to me almost accidentally while I was busy with experiments having a different object in view. I was engaged upon a machine intended to repeat Morse characters, which were recorded on paper by indentations that transferred their message to another circuit automatically, when passed under a tracing-point connected with a circuit-clos-

ing apparatus. In manipulating this machine I found that when the cylinder carrying the indented paper was turned with great swiftness, it gave off a humming noise from the indentations—a musical, rhythmic sound resembling that of human talk heard indistinctly. This led me to try fitting a diaphragm to the machine, which would receive the vibrations or sound-waves made by my voice when I talked to it, and register these vibrations upon an impressible material placed on the cylinder. The material selected for immediate use was paraffined paper, and the results obtained were excellent. The indentations on the cylinder, when rapidly revolved, caused a repetition of the original vibrations to reach the ear through a recorder, just as if the machine itself were speaking. I saw at once that the problem of registering human speech, so that it could be repeated by mechanical means as often as might be desired, was solved.

The history of the phonograph as it was then devised and manufactured in small quantity, merely for purposes of public exhibition and explanation, need not be repeated here. The idea occurred to me in the spring of 1877, and, according as I could get leisure, I gave my attention to preparing the few exhibition machines which were placed before the public in 1878, and then universally recognized by scientific men and every one else as an absolute novelty. These machines, of course, exemplified only a small part of the capacity of the phonograph. I was hard at work describing and noting down the various parts of the machine as it would appear when perfected, and making drawings of them in various forms.

As it was impossible to drop my work and sit down to tell the public what I was doing every day, I noted briefly in my NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW article of May–June, 1878, some of the things which I proposed to accomplish. The details of the electric light and other inventions afterwards absorbed much of my time and attention. My laboratory was converted into a factory in order to supply the demand for the electric light, and my progress in carrying out my ideas about the phonograph, though continuous, was necessarily retarded. For months past, however, I have had a special factory in operation, producing the component parts of the perfected phonograph, so as to bring the machine within the reach of the public in the form which I originally designed it to take.

It may be of interest, here, to contrast briefly the perfected phonograph with the mere exhibition models shown, all over the world, in 1878. Those models were large, heavy machines which purposely sacrificed distinctness of articulation, in order to secure a loud tone which could be heard in a large room when emitted through a funnel-shaped transmitter. Tin-foil was used as the material on which the indentations were to be made. The cylinders were revolved by hand, or by clock-work; and there were numerous other details of construction which differed from those of the instrument as now completed. At that time I had made various designs for a special kind of electric motor, differing from all others, to run the machine, in place of clock-work; and the phonograph as we now manufacture it is provided with such a motor, which turns the cylinder noiselessly, uniformly and easily. Instead of tin-foil, I now use a cylinder of wax for receiving the record of sound-pulsations, as in the original experiment. One diaphragm (the "recorder") receives these pulsations, which are incised on the wax, in exceedingly fine lines, hardly visible to the naked eye, by means of a small point pressing against the wax. A turning tool attachment, near this recording diaphragm pares off the surface of the wax, removing any record which may previously have been left there, and smoothing the way for whatever you wish to speak into the "recorder." When you have finished speaking, two simple motions bring the reproducing diaphragm into place directly over the wax; and this diaphragm, provided with a very delicate but durable needle, takes up and reproduces the vibrations registered in the fine lines of indentation, bringing them to the ear by means of a tube. Sometimes, indeed, one can hear the recorded words as they are thrown off by the needle from the revolving cylinder, without using a tube at all, and simply by putting the ear close to the wax. The adjustments of these receiving and transmitting diaphragms, known as the "recorder" and the "reproducer," are very exact, but very easily arranged. And a machine, once adjusted after being set up, will run well with very little attention or readjustment, for a long period of time. The battery, also, conveniently placed in a box under the desk which holds the instrument, will last for six weeks or more, according to use, without renewal. A scale and indicator running the whole length of the cylinder, in front, enable you to observe at what point you began talking, so that the reproducer

may be set at that point on the wax as soon as you wish to take off the record. Another very handy attachment supplies a key for suspending the reproduction of sounds when it is going on too rapidly for the copyist who is writing it out. A second key, when pressed down, will run the reproducer back so as to repeat anything which has not been clearly understood, and this may be done any desired number of times.

A single wax cylinder, or blank, may be used for fifteen or twenty successive records before it is worn out. But if the record is to be kept, the wax blank must not be talked upon again, and is simply slipped off from the metal cylinder and filed away for future reference. It may be fitted on to the cylinder again at any time, and will at once utter whatever has been registered on it. One of these wax blanks will repeat its contents thousands of times with undiminished clearness. Further, we are able to multiply to any extent, at slight cost, phonographic copies of the blank, after the talking, or music, or other sounds have been put upon it once.

It is curious to reflect that the Assyrians and Babylonians, 2,500 years ago, chose baked clay cylinders inscribed with cuneiform characters, as their medium for perpetuating records; while this recent result of modern science, the phonograph, uses cylinders of wax for a similar purpose, but with the great and progressive difference that our wax cylinders speak for themselves, and will not have to wait dumbly for centuries to be deciphered, like the famous Kileh-Shergat cylinder, by a Rawlinson or a Layard. With our facilities, a sovereign, a statesman, or a historian, can inscribe his words on a phonograph blank, which will then be multiplied a thousand-fold; each multiple copy will repeat the sounds of his voice thousands of times; and so, by reserving the copies and using them in relays, his utterance can be transmitted to posterity, centuries afterwards, as freshly and forcibly as if those later generations heard his living accents. Instrumental and vocal music—solos, duets, quartets, quintets, etc.—can be recorded on the perfected phonograph with startling completeness and precision. How interesting it will be to future generations to learn from the phonograph exactly how Rubinstein played a composition on the piano; and what a priceless possession it would have been to us, could we have Gen. Grant's memorable words, "Let us have peace," inscribed on the phonograph for perpetual reproduction in

his own intonations! We are in a position to obtain results of this sort, by the present phonograph, from the wave-motions of sound; so that it seems to me we realize here the "poetry of motion" in a new sense, combined with the *science* of motion.

In my article ten years ago, I enumerated among the uses to which the phonograph would be applied: 1. Letter writing and all kinds of dictation without the aid of a stenographer. 2. Phonographic books, which would speak to blind people without effort on their part. 3. The teaching of elocution. 4. Reproduction of music. 5. The "Family Record"—a registry of sayings, reminiscences, etc., by members of a family, in their own voices, and of the last words of dying persons. 6. Music boxes and toys. 7. Clocks that should announce in articulate speech the time for going home, going to meals, etc. 8. The preservation of languages, by exact reproduction of the manner of pronouncing. 9. Educational purposes; such as preserving the explanations made by a teacher, so that the pupil can refer to them at any moment, and spelling or other lessons placed upon the phonograph for convenience in committing to memory. 10. Connection with the telephone, so as to make that invention an auxiliary in the transmission of permanent and invaluable records, instead of being the recipient of momentary and fleeting communications.

Every one of these uses the perfected phonograph is now ready to carry out. I may add that, through the facility with which it stores up and reproduces music of all sorts, or whistling and recitations, it can be employed to furnish constant amusement to invalids, or to social assemblies, at receptions, dinners, etc. Any one sitting in his room alone may order an assorted supply of wax cylinders inscribed with songs, poems, piano or violin music, short stories, anecdotes, or dialect pieces, and, by putting them on his phonograph, he can listen to them as originally sung or recited by authors, vocalists and actors, or elocutionists. The variety of entertainment he thus commands, at trifling expense and without moving from his chair, is practically unlimited. Music by a band, in fact whole operas, can be stored up on the cylinders, and the voice of Patti singing in England can thus be heard again on this side the ocean, or preserved for future generations. On four cylinders eight inches long, with a diameter of five, I can put the whole of "Nicholas Nickleby" in phonogram

form. In teaching the correct pronunciation of English, and especially of foreign languages, the phonograph as it stands seems to be beyond comparison, for no system of phonetic spelling can convey to the pupil the pronunciation of a good English, French, German or Spanish speaker so well as a machine that reproduces his utterance even more exactly than a human imitator could.

The speeches of orators, the discourses of clergymen, can be had "on tap," in every house that owns a phonograph. It would not be very surprising if, a few years hence, phonographic newspaper bulletins should be issued on wax cylinders. Even now, so soon as the phonograph comes into general use, newspaper reporters and correspondents can talk their matter into the phonograph, either in the editorial office or at some distant point, by a telephone wire connected with a phonograph in the composing-room, so that the communication may be set up in type without any preliminary of writing it out in long hand.

The wax cylinders can be sent through the mails in little boxes which I have had prepared for that purpose, and then put upon another phonograph at a distant point, to be listened to by a friend or business correspondent. To obviate the difficulty caused by the friend's not having a phonograph of his own, pay stations will be established, to which any one may take the phonogram that he has received, have it placed on the instrument, and the contents recited to him from the machine, as well as copied out at the same moment by a type-writer. Thus the phonograph will be at the service of every one who can command a few cents for the fee. And which of us would not rather pay something extra, in order to hear a dear friend's or relative's voice speaking to us from the other side of the earth?

Authors can register their fleeting ideas and brief notes on the phonograph at any hour of day or night, without waiting to find pen, ink or paper, and in much less time than it would take to write out even the shortest memoranda. They can also publish their novels or essays exclusively in phonogram form, so as to talk to their readers personally; and in this way they can protect their works from being stolen by means of defective copyright laws. Musical composers, in improvising compositions, will be able to have them recorded instantaneously on the phonograph.

For the present it has been decided to make all the phonographs of uniform size; so that a record put upon the machine

in New York may be placed on another machine of the same pattern in China, and speak exactly as it was spoken to on this continent. Each wax blank will receive from 800 to 1,000 words; and of course several blanks may be used for one document, if needed. This uniform size and pattern make the thing perfectly practicable in offices which have business connections all over the globe. My private secretary to-day speaks all letters into a phonograph, from which they are taken off by a type-writer or ordinary long-hand writer, with an immense saving of time and trouble. Persons having a large correspondence can talk all their letters into the phonograph in a very short time, and leave them to be listened to and copied by an assistant, without the delay involved in stenography or the trouble of going over and correcting the copyist's work, which is almost inevitable under the conditions of dictation now prevailing.

Furthermore, two business men, conferring together, can talk into the recorder by means of a double transmitting tube, with perfect privacy, and yet obtain upon the cylinder an unimpeachable transcript of their conversation in their own voices, with every break and pause, every hesitation or confident affirmation, every partial suggestion or particular explanation, infallibly set down in the wax.

They can then have this conversation written out or typed by a secretary, for future reference; or can, if they prefer, have it multiple-copied by our mechanical process. In this way, many misunderstandings may be avoided. Interesting philosophic or literary discussions and dialogues may be recorded in the same way. In fact, the phonograph will do, and does at this moment accomplish, the same thing in respect of conversation which instantaneous photography does for moving objects; that is, it will present whatever it records with a minute accuracy unattained by any other means.

The most skillful observers, listeners and realistic novelists, or even stenographers, cannot reproduce a conversation exactly as it occurred. The account they give is more or less generalized. But the phonograph receives, and then transmits to our ears again, every least thing that was said—exactly *as* it was said—with the faultless fidelity of an instantaneous photograph. We shall now for the first time know what conversation really is; just as we have learned, only within a few years, through the

instantaneous photograph, what attitudes are taken by the horse in motion.

Letters of introduction may be spoken on to a phonograph blank, without any of the formality of address and phraseology now customary, or the trouble of folding, enveloping and addressing a written communication. In fact all correspondence will be greatly simplified and wisely abbreviated by the use of phonograms. A telephone subscriber can place at his telephone a phonogram which will announce to the exchange, whenever he is called up, that he has left the office and will return at a certain time. Similarly, one man calling at the office of another and not finding him, will talk into the phonograph anything he wishes to say. This saves the trouble of writing a note, and obviates the uncertainty of giving to clerk, office boy or servant an oral message that may be forgotten or incorrectly delivered. Hotels and clubs will, naturally, find this function of the phonograph extremely serviceable; and their guests, or patrons, will avail themselves of phonograms constantly. The accuracy of interviews with newspaper reporters will also be determined, no doubt, by phonographic record. And travelers in vestibule trains will be glad to use phonograph blanks in place of letter paper and telegraph blanks, owing to the difficulty of writing while on a rapidly moving train.

It must be borne in mind that I am not talking now of things which may be made possible in the future. I did my predicting ten years ago; and the functions above mentioned are those which the present perfected phonograph is able to fulfill at this moment. To use the phonograph, a little instruction and practice are needed, but much less than the type-writer requires and hardly more than the training needed for the operation of a sewing-machine.

Various other uses for which the phonograph is now fully ripe might be mentioned; but I do not want to give to these memoranda the character of a catalogue. Enough has been said, I think, to indicate that the phonograph, unlike children, should be "seen" *and* "heard." It is no longer in a state of infancy. It may be still in its childhood; but it is destined to a vigorous maturity. The phonograph, in one sense, knows more than we do ourselves. For it will retain a perfect mechanical memory of many things which we may forget, even though we have said

them. It will become an important factor in education; and it will teach us to be careful what we say—for it imparts to us the gift of hearing ourselves as others hear us—exerting thus a decidedly moral influence by making men brief, businesslike and straightforward, cultivating improved manners, and uniting distant friends and associates by direct vocal communication.

THOMAS A. EDISON.

FETICHISM IN THE CAMPAIGN.

THE alleged election of Grover Cleveland to the Presidency in 1884 was the most astounding phenomenon in American politics, and it is doubtful whether its parallel can be found in the history of any nation. Obscure men, ignorant men, degraded men, have been elevated to power, but it has never before occurred that a man possessing every acknowledged disqualification has been selected because of them, and elevated from the lowest to the highest estate without ever having expressed a recorded opinion upon any public question. It is not known that he ever made a political speech, tried an important cause, was a member of any legislative body, wrote a remembered paragraph, or expressed an intelligent idea, and after three years of administration his political views, if he has any, are a matter of surmise even to his partisans. It remains uncertain to this hour whether his predilections in the war for the Union were with the North or the South, and except that he furnished a substitute when conscripted, whom he subsequently permitted to die in the poor-house, it is certain that he sustained no personal relation, either in sentiment or deed, to the most momentous controversy of modern times. He has no perceptible connection with the category of accidents to which his elevation is due. He had neither personal following, popularity, admiration nor respect, because he had exhibited none of the traits nor attainments that inspire regard. He was not eloquent, nor learned, nor cultivated, nor agreeable, nor entertaining, nor attractive in mind, manner or person. His enjoyments were those which are found in the unrestrained indulgence of the appetites and passions, and his chosen associates were the companions of his orgies.

From this inert and vacant mass the transcendentalists and Pharisees of our politics have made unto themselves a graven image, to which they bow down and worship with ignominious idol-

atry and self abasement. They declare that he possesses the courage of Jackson, though the first threat of public exasperation, like that aroused by the battle-flag order, drives him to retraction, and to the imputation of unpopular acts to the indiscretion of subordinates. His tedious platitudes are described as wisdom, and his dull self-complacency as imperturbable poise and resolution. His wearisome protestations of purity, and of antagonism to the corrupt and malignant influences of his party associates, are announced as evidences of official integrity, which justify his assumptions of superior honesty, and warrant him in perpetually impugning the motives of mankind. He regards as enemies all who are unable to concur with his swollen estimate of his superlative preëminence, and manifests resentment toward all opponents, whether in his own party or elsewhere. Having cheated the "Reformers" and bullied the renegades in the North, he truckles to his masters in the South, acknowledges his hypocrisy, admits his treachery, and, not disconcerted by exposure, demands another term in the face of his plain avowal that he would not ask for a renomination. Devoid alike of imagination and of conscience, he appeals neither to the sentiment nor to the moral sense of the people. Attention will not be diverted, therefore, from the real issues of the campaign by considerations personal to Cleveland. He will be nominated, not as a leader but as a fetich—a thing endowed by superstition and ignorance with fictitious attributes. There will be no hero-worship. It is impossible to excite popular enthusiasm for an executive who confessedly reaches the climax of his great powers in refusing to approve an appropriation for a public building in a country town, and vetoing with ghoulish glee a two-dollar pension bill for a mutilated and disabled Union veteran.

Paradoxical as it may appear, the administration of Cleveland has resulted in inestimable advantage to the people of the United States. It has furnished additional evidence, if such were necessary, of their capacity for self-government. There is no longer occasion to despair of the perpetuity of the Republic.

Politically, it has established beyond controversy, as one of the issues of the campaign, the falsity of the accusations upon which the Republican party was defeated in 1884. So constant had been the assertions of Democratic orators for a generation that Republican administration had been extravagant and dishon-

est, and its civil service corrupt, that many good men felt an uneasy suspicion that the ledgers had been tampered with, and unworthy favorites retained in office to conceal guilty secrets from the public. The fulfillment of the promise to "open the books" and "turn the rascals out" was anticipated with exultation by some and with anxiety by many; but the result has disappointed both. Under the hostile scrutiny of three years no Republican official has been removed for cause, neither error nor defalcation has been detected in the enormous financial transactions of a quarter of a century, and departure from Republican methods of administration, whenever attempted, has resulted only in loss, confusion, and public disapproval. These charges cannot be repeated. They have been disproved and definitely abandoned.

The Democracy were entrusted with power upon a pledge of economy and reform in the administration of the Government. Reform implies that there is something which needs reformation, and the electors have the right to inquire whether this pledge has been kept or violated. It will be one of the most important issues of the campaign, and the evidence is conclusive and overwhelming that since the days of Jackson there has been no such shameless and dissolute prostitution of the public service to personal and partisan uses as that which has occurred under this new dispensation of purity, sweetness and light, which was supposed to usher in the political millenium. The degradation is complete. Even the pretence of virtue has been dropped, and the unhappy victims of the mock-marriage are treated with unfeeling derision and neglect. Every department of the Government has been transformed into a party machine. Efficient and experienced subordinates have been displaced by incompetent and untrained men for political reasons only, in the mail service, in the Indian Bureau, in the Land Department, till the public business has fallen into imbecile and inextricable disorder. The expenses of the Government, meanwhile, have been greatly increased. An appearance of "economy" has been secured by inadequate appropriations, supplemented by deficiency bills, or by the refusal to pay the acknowledged and ascertained obligations of the Treasury. The Courts of the United States in many districts have been closed, and justice denied for want of funds to pay jurors and witnesses. The spirit, and even the letter of the Civil Service act have been violated to secure partisan results, and the

Commission have amended the statute requiring preference to be given to Union soldiers by adding a provision that they shall not be above forty years of age. As the war closed twenty-three years ago, this regulation renders any soldier ineligible who was more than seventeen years old when it ended. And thus excludes the great mass of veterans for whose benefit the law was enacted.

Upon the questions affecting the revenues and the resources of the nation, an issue of still greater consequence and importance will be presented for the decision of the people in November. The Democratic party distinctly promised to reduce and distribute the surplus in the Treasury; to readjust the tariff; to provide against the threatened contraction of the currency through the approaching extinction of the public debt. They have had three years of power, and have not only done nothing, but have proposed nothing. The surplus has reached the highest amount known in our history. The President first exerted an admitted power to use it in the purchase of bonds, and then with suspicious inconsistency refused to exercise it, upon the shallow pretext that his authority was uncertain. He issued an ante-nuptial proclamation to Congress upon silver, which his party in the House of Representatives treated with disdainful indifference. His message upon the tariff was a covert appeal for free trade that was received by every enemy of the United States with unconcealed satisfaction. As a contribution to the literature of the subject, it was respectable only from the antiquity of the débris industriously collected from the rubbish heaps of political economy, and paraded with the conscious pride of the discoverer of a new planet in the realms of space.

One of the most profound and pervading impulses of the American character is an intense pride in citizenship, and in the institutions and the honor of the nation. The democratic party will be called upon to render an account of its stewardship in dealing with foreign powers. It is an unparalleled record of sycophancy and imbecility. No one can read its annals without humiliation, shame and indignation. The fiasco in Mexico, the surrender to England, the disgraceful exhibitions of boorishness and ignorance at other courts, form a chapter of ignominy that fittingly supplements the policy of selecting as diplomatic representatives of the government those who had only signalized themselves by efforts for its destruction.

In the Canadian fisheries dispute the Senate refused to authorize further negotiation; but in defiance of law, and without warrant under the Constitution, the President appointed Commissioners and consented to an arrangement which is heralded by the other powers as a concession by the United States of all the principal matters in controversy, and which impose conditions upon American citizens to which they cannot submit without degradation and dishonor.

The generation of young men, born since the close of the war, will participate this year for the first time in a presidential election. Their votes will determine the result. To them the war of the Rebellion is as much a matter of history as the war of Independence. They must be instructed, and one of the issues of the campaign will be to teach them which of the two great parties is entitled to their confidence as patriotic citizens. The Democracy have been endeavoring insidiously to obliterate their own record and to reverse the verdict of posterity, by claiming that they supported the Union cause in the supreme crisis of the national life, and are therefore worthy of the suffrages of the youth of the United States. It is an insolently false pretence. The great majority of the Democratic party is composed of the men who attempted to destroy the Union and the Constitution, reinforced, now as then, by a Northern contingent of renegades and apostates who are ready to barter their birthright of manhood and freedom for the pottage of place and power.

But the issue that exceeds all others in importance is suffrage in the South. There are 153 votes in the Electoral College assured to the Democratic party without any other effort than that required to write the certificates of election. Forty-eight more in the North will give Cleveland another term, during which the Supreme Court will be reconstructed upon the basis of hostility to the constitutional amendments and the statutes of freedom. Not only among the white politicians, but among the white voters of the South, there is a settled and avowed determination to eliminate the negro as an element in the political problem, and to suppress his vote. In the language of the Senator from Louisiana, the negroes are to be "persuaded" to abstain from voting! There is no longer any disguise or concealment of this purpose. They are citizens entitled to vote, and generally Republican in politics, and in several States are the majority; but

the election machinery being in the hands of the Democracy, they are either excluded from the polls, or their votes are suppressed and destroyed. The election in Louisiana April 17 is an illustration of the methods employed. The State is undoubtedly Republican, and Warmoth was unquestionably the choice of a majority of the electors. The Governor publicly pledged himself to an honest election, admitting that frauds had been committed in the past which should not be repeated. Relying upon these assurances, the Republicans organized, and entered upon the canvass. The Governor, becoming terrified at the prospect of defeat, issued orders to fabricate and manufacture Democratic majorities, and the result was a spurious majority so astounding that the only reply that Senator Eustis could make was, "It is none of your business!" That is to say, by the suppression of majorities, by ballot box stuffing, by forging certificates of election, a President may be chosen, senators and representatives elected, who are to decide every question affecting the tariff, the revenues, the currency, our relations foreign and domestic, the taxes of every citizen, and guide and control the destiny of the nation for the coming century, and it is none of our business! If such methods are to prevail, then constitutional self-government is at an end upon this continent. Dahomey and Zululand are no worse.

The South obtained thirty-eight additional members of Congress by the enfranchisement of the negro. If they wish to deny him the right of suffrage, justice and honor demand that they shall relinquish the increment, so that the equality of suffrage may be restored and the equilibrium between the North and the South maintained.

This then is the paramount issue, surpassing every other; before which tariffs, taxes, currency and surplus shrink and dwindle into nothingness: impartial justice and the equality of all men before the law.

"Of what avail
Are plough and sail,
Or life, or land, if freedom fail?"

JOHN J. INGALLS.

MATTHEW ARNOLD AS A POET.

THE poetry of Matthew Arnold differs from the poetry of all the later English poets in several important particulars, and this differentiation, while it closed against him the doors of contemporary popularity, opened before him the shining portal of permanent fame. When he is at his best, his poetry is so good—not merely in the kind that it illustrates, but in every kind—so luminous, so lovely, so noble, that one cannot but regret there is not more of it. There is nothing that he might not have done, we think, if only he could have devoted his life to poetry, instead of being devoted by it to the *res augusta domi*. If he could have followed his bent, unhindered by the necessities of bread-winning, he might have stood abreast with Tennyson and Browning, instead of behind them, as he did, after gaining his first poetic triumphs.

Arnold did not rush into verse lightly, for he was twenty-six when his first volume, "The Strayed Reveller and Other Poems," was published. Nor boldly, for he concealed his identity under the signature of "A." Precisely what this collection contained, and by what qualities it was characterized, it is not easy to determine, since the chronological order of Arnold's verse has been disturbed by its arrangement under different classes in the later editions; but judging from the leading poem it was distinguished by a classical spirit which had been absent from English poetry since the days of Milton, and which could be thoroughly appreciated only by those who were imbued with classical scholarship in its purest form. This spirit is supposed by most unlettered readers to be dominant in the poetry of Keats, but scholars know better; for "Endymion," though a charming poem of a careless Elizabethan sort, is not Greek, except, perhaps, in the Hymn to Pan. Nor is the art of "Hyperion" Greek, but Gothic, though Gothic of the severest order. The only living poets from whom Arnold could have learned anything classical were Landor and Tennyson, with whose "Hellenica" and "Ænone" he was no doubt

familiar, though there is no trace of any such familiarity in his verse. The inspiration of "The Strayed Reveller" was drawn from no modern source, from no trickling rills in the gardens of English poetry—but from the fresh springs and lucent fountains of old Greek song. The chief excellence of this poem, apart from the classical feeling which was the motive of its composition, is a curious suggestiveness wherein everything is seen as in a mirror, and nothing is reproduced as in a painting, a power of conveying picturesque impressions without description, and of conveying only what is most essential in these, the subtle hints of color and the delicate touches of light and shade which authenticate nature in its translation into art. If we may judge from his practice, "word-painting," that brilliant but meretricious mannerism of so much recent verse, was Arnold's abomination. The visions of antique life which come and go before the dazed eyes of the strayed reveller, drunken with the magic wine of Circe, have no parallel in English poetry, unless it be in the shifting groups on the glorious Grecian Urn, which Keats has celebrated in his deathless Ode. Both are classic, but with the difference that separates sculpture from painting, the chisel of Phidias from the pencil of Apelles. "The Strayed Reveller" is in a pure but not in a high style of Greek, and being at most but a lyrical venture therein. It was an experiment, in that the form into which it was molded suggested rhyme, which was avoided in accordance, of course, with the laws of classical verse, to which Arnold was committed, and which he was determined to maintain here at all hazards. The question of unrhymed measures in English poetry, outside of its crowning glory, blank verse, is too large a one to be entered upon in these pages. But one thing is certain, and that is that no poet, great or small, has ever yet succeeded in so writing them as to make them satisfactory to English ears, and so naturalizing them in the language. Arnold would not admit this fact, then or later, and his violation of it has diminished the charm of some of his most exquisite poems.

Arnold's next volume, "Empedocles on Etna," was wrought under classical influences which necessitated a darker conception and a larger handling than "The Strayed Reveller." The Sicilian Greek whom he chose for his hero belonged to the same class of unhappy mortals as Hamlet, Faust and Manfred, of whom he was the poetic forerunner. A philosopher whose philosophy had

forsaken him, a worshiper of gods concerning whose existence he was skeptical, sick of himself, whom he pitied not, and of mankind, whom he pitied much, discontented, despairing, desperate, oppressed, maddened, overwhelmed with his intolerable burden, the insoluble riddle of the world, the impenetrable mystery of life and death,—such was the hero of this soul's tragedy of Arnold's. Nothing in earlier English poetry with which we are acquainted could have suggested the form of "Empedocles on Etna," which is rather romantic than classical, consisting of a framework of blank verse, interspersed with rhymed passages, and consisting of what may be called a lyrical interlude which Empedocles is supposed to speak in the highest skirts of the woody region of Etna, while he accompanies himself in a solemn manner on his harp. We have here the first specimen of Arnold's blank verse, which is noticeable for precision as well as ease; fluent, yet compact, melodious and harmonious, but without the individuality it was soon to attain. It is tentative, not distinctive. The lyric upon which so much depends, in that it is meant to disclose and declare, to embody and express, the whirl and stress of the spiritual agonies which are sweeping the wretched philosopher to destruction, chasing each other through his darkened mind like the shadows of a rack of thunder clouds,—this long-drawn lyric, which occupies some eighteen or twenty pages, is confused and ineffective. It measured the limitation of Arnold, who was not a lyrical poet, in the sense that Coleridge and Shelley were, and Byron in the Thyrza poems. His ear failed to detect their illusive secrets of melody.

But there are graver defects in this poem than are implied in technical deficiencies or a faulty structure. There is the fatal defect which inheres in the personality of Empedocles himself, and in the situation in which he is placed,—one of those situations in which the suffering finds no vent in action, in which a continuous state of mental distress is prolonged, unrelieved by incident, hope, or resistance, in which there is everthing to be endured, nothing to be done. "In such situations there is inevitably something morbid, in the description of them something monotonous. When they occur in actual life, they are painful, not tragic; the representation of them in poetry is painful also." Speedily condemned by Arnold himself, for the reasons just stated, "Empedocles on Etna" was excluded from his next collection of verse.

Arnold's third volume—the first collected edition of his Poems, as the two volumes published by Tennyson twelve years before were the first collected edition of his Poems—consisted, like the collection of the elder poet, of selections from his earlier productions, ballasted and freighted with what he had since written in the shape of verse. That the scope of his intellectual vision had been enlarged, and his powers matured, was evident on every page. Actuated in the beginning by classical impulses, the spirit in his feet had led him into broader realms of song, the mediæval kingdom of womanly affection which builded the Church of Brow, the legendary empire of tumultuous passion of which Tristram and Iseult were the victims, the world of heroic actions where Sohrah and Rustem engaged in that desperate duel, which, end as it might, would break the heart of the victor. Given as a starting point what is known, or imagined, respecting any particular period, classic, romantic, realistic, and what is known, or imagined, respecting the personages who figured therein, in history or legend, the first business of the poet who purposes to exercise his talents upon the facts or fancies thereof, is critical, not poetical. He must discover the spirit of that period and the individuality of its personages, and these once discovered, and mastered, must be kept constantly before him. Before writing "Tristram and Iseult" Arnold had to settle his conviction with regard to the poetic impression it ought to produce, and settle at the same time the method by which this impression should be created. What qualities distinguished the romances of chivalry of which the story of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table was the most notable example? Tennyson was the first modern poet who sought to solve the Arthurian problem, and in solving it to revive the spirit of chivalrous romance. Beginning with "The Lady of Shallott," continuing with "Morte d'Arthur," and ending with the "Joyes of the King," he has devoted more than half his life to this enchanting subject. That his poetic renderings thereof are beautiful is certain; that they are faithful is not so certain, as the readers of Sir Thomas Malory have long known, and the readers of Arnold and Browning also. He has missed the significance of the old legends which he has summoned from their centuried sleep, and to which he has imparted a life that is not their own, and in missing it he has shown the limitation of his critical and poetical powers. What this significance is is felt

by the readers of Browning's "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came" and Arnold's "Tristram and Iseult," which transport us to another world than our own, remote, unfamiliar, surrounded with alien influences, peopled with visionary shapes, haunted with mysterious shadows, the world of fantasy and dream, glorious with life, and ruinous with death. The difference between Tennyson and Arnold in their treatment of chivalrous subjects is the difference between a well lighted parlor whose walls are hung with choice pictures and the darkened chamber of an old castle whose walls are hung with rude arras.

The critical judgment which directed Arnold in this creation of romantic art directed him in the larger art that created "Sohrab and Rustem." The episode which it embodies is one of the noblest that ever fed the imagination and fixed the soul of a poet. It is one of those great human actions that appeal to the great human affections, to those elemental feelings which subsist permanently in the race, and which are independent of time and place. He selected the most touching situation in the national epic of Firdousi, and recast it in English verse without sacrificing its Persian spirit. He reproduced his original with scholarly as well as poetic fidelity. To those who can read the recital of heroic actions without emotion it is nought; but to those who are capable of being moved with feeling and passion—the pathetic and tragic elements of life—it is the noblest poem in the world. It fulfills the old definition of tragedy, in that it awakens pity and terror, and it fulfills the highest definition of poetry, in that it is admirably planned, orderly in its development, transparently clear and vividly picturesque, manly, majestic, dignified, and, more than all, vital with human interest. Written in the grand style of Homer, there is a distinction in it which no other English narrative poem possesses.

Other influences than those of Persian history and chivalrous story were manifested in this third collection of Arnold's verse, and among them may be mentioned that of Wordsworth, whose manner was marked in "Mycerinus," which was pitched in the same key as "Laodamia," and that of Keats, the manner of whose Odes was marked in "The Scholar Gipsy." The train of thought which runs through "Mycerinus" is one which the contemplation of life forces upon all serious minds. It concerns itself with the insignificance of human actions in the large order of the uni-

verse, and the indifference with which they are regarded by the higher powers, who, superior to man in intelligence, are inferior to man in the sense of justice. It is the old, old riddle of the earth, and it is as insoluble now as when the young Egyptian king brooded over it in the luminous shadow of his palm groves along the mysterious Nile. Whether Arnold would have written "The Scholar Gipsy" if Keats had not written his "Ode to a Nightingale" may be doubted. It is true that he might have written a poem about the poor Oxford scholar, concerning whom Glanvil wrote two hundred years before, but it would not have been the same poem that he did write, so absolute throughout is the inspiration of Keats. In no sense an imitation, for poets like Arnold do not imitate, it is a reproduction of the pastoral element which Keats introduced into English verse—the light, consummate flower of his glorious seed, and as such as distinctive of Arnold as of Keats, who might have bequeathed it to his unborn successor, when on that dark February morning in Rome he closed his wearied eyes in their last slumber. The charm of a poem like "The Scholar Gipsy," or a poem like "Thyrsis," which is a graver rendering of the same general effect, is indescribable—so many and so diverse poetical qualities are interfused therein. Primarily a pastoral, in that it is filled with glimpses of English rural scenery, which, beautiful everywhere, are exquisite in the neighborhood of Oxford, it is more than a pastoral, in that it is flooded with personal feelings, which flow from the loveliness of nature as it steals into the mind of the poet, or from the mind of the poet as it casts the lights and shadows of its moods over this loveliness. "The Scholar Gipsy" is a vision of the perfect landscapes of England; and "Thyrsis," with its sad sincerity and its manly reticence of sorrow, is worthy of the pen that wrote "Adonais," or the greater pen that wrote "Lycidas."

The meditative poetry of Arnold has been variously estimated by those who accept and those who reject meditative poetry. It was the natural, the inevitable outgrowth of one who had known the spiritual unrest of his period, and who, while he was crushed, was wounded by it. It is melancholy, but not misanthropical; not consolatory, perhaps, but certainly not cynical. It is profoundly serious, its morality is of the highest, and one feels in reading it that the poet was greater than his poetry.

R. H. STODDARD.

ARE FAST OR SLOW STEAMERS THE SAFEST?

It seems not unlikely that within a year the fastest steamers now on the Atlantic, such as the "Umbria" and the "Eturia," will cease to hold their pre-eminence in the matter of speed, and that the time of the passage between New York and Queenstown will be reduced by at least twenty-four hours, making it just one-half what it was when the old "Scotia" represented the minimum. The quickest passage on record now is a little over six days, and we have the authority of the most successful of modern shipbuilders for saying that the only question whether this can be surpassed or not is the question of expense; that there are no natural or scientific obstacles to still more wonderful achievements; and that the chief thing which shipbuilders and shipowners have to consider is whether a higher rate of speed will be profitable. Meanwhile, many passengers who cross the ocean, glad as they may be to curtail the tedium and distress which are so often inseparable from the most luxurious and expeditious navigation, look with no little misgiving on the velocity of those so-called "ocean greyhounds," and are yet more apprehensive of proposed attempts to accelerate them. To make the passage in six days a steamer has to maintain, day after day, night after night, without break or intermission, a speed little lower than the average of the express trains which run between the East and the Pacific. Does not this expose her to imminent peril from collision and in approaching the coast? Does it not deprive her of any chance of avoiding an obstacle in her path? The partial knowledge of the subject possessed by landsmen disposes them to look upon slow steamers as the safest, and the tortoise and the hare again start out to adorn the debate. The ill-fated "Oregon," of the Cunard line, is remembered. Would that splendid ship have been lost as she was had it not been for the extraordinary speed at which she was traveling? The commanders of the principal

steamers on the Atlantic are almost unanimously in favor of fast ships, however, as the following replies to a question addressed to a number of them show:

"After an experience of 585 passages across the Atlantic, I am decidedly in favor of fast steamers, both on account of their safety and comfort, and I will as briefly as possible give my reasons.

"First, if you have a danger to encounter, the sooner you get over it the better, and if one steamer takes seven and another ten days to cross the Atlantic, it is evident that you have three more days of risk in the slower ship.

"Secondly, a fast steamer will run through a gale of wind and reach fine weather much quicker than a slow one, and the same holds good in regard to banks of fog. Unless there is ice in the vicinity, I always maintain that it is the safest plan to run through a fog bank as speedily as you can.

"Thirdly, if a collision takes place between two vessels, you may depend upon it that the one going fastest will sustain the least damage."

SAMUEL BROOKS,
Commander of the Guion Line Steamer "Arizona."

"I, for one, would not like to say, after my forty years' experience, which is the safer. There can be no question that the less time on the voyage the less risk. In event of a collision between a slow steamer and a fast one, I should prefer to be on the fast one; but in the event of striking ice, rocks, or a sand bank, I say take the slow one, and the slower the ship the better."

HAMILTON PERRY,
Late Commander White Star Line Steamer "Britannic."

"In my mind there is no question as to the greater safety of a fast and powerful steamer over a slow one. In cases of necessity, such as fog on the coast or ice in the ice track, you can reduce

the speed of the fast ship to any degree. In all other cases high speed and power are sources of safety. For instance, if in making a passage you are warned by a rapidly falling barometer and the veering of the wind that you are approaching unpleasant' near the vortex of a revolving storm, you can quickly run a . st ship into the outer circle and in many cases what might otherwise prove to be a disastrous gale may be transformed into a fair wind. Again, should you be caught in a heavy gale without due warning, the great power of the fast ship renders her a much superior sea boat, inasmuch as with a judicious use of that power you are enabled to keep your ship in the most favorable position all the time, while a ship of small power would be continually falling off and bringing the sea abeam, rendering herself liable to suffer damage about the decks as she came to the wind again. In support of this statement I may mention that I have been for some years in command of the 'Alaska,' during which period I have experienced the heaviest kind of weather, not excluding the late blizzard of March 12th, and yet I have never suffered the slightest damage about the decks, boats, rails, etc.

"In ordinary storms a fast ship will get through the bad weather in half the time a slow one will, and in dull, cloudy weather, such as one meets at certain seasons of the year for days together without sun, moon, or stars, a fast ship from her greater speed will be able to make safer and more direct courses than the slow one. In making land you are often able to save your daylight by a fast ship, and in making port you may save the tide and enter when a slow ship would have to anchor outside and face all the contingencies that might arise in that period. I quote these instances to show why I am so fully convinced in my own mind that the fast ship is so much safer than the slow one, and that in the former the risk is minimized to passengers, crews, owners, and underwriters."

GEORGE MURRAY,
Commander Guion Line Steamer "Alaska."

"I am of the opinion that the fast steamer is the safest. Wherever there is danger the sooner you are out of it the better. By exercising care in foggy weather, and slowing down to a moderate

speed, you have the same degree of safety as a slow ship, and a great advantage over her when it clears. On the other hand, we are more exposed, making two passages for a slow ship's one. But taking the two making the same voyage, the fast ship has decidedly the advantage."

WILLIAM MCMICKAN,
Commander Cunard Steamer "Umbria."

"Speed on the Atlantic, or, indeed, on any sea, is a much-vexed question, and you have so many conflicting statements on the subject that those who have had no experience find it hard to reconcile the various opinions. According to my judgment, a steamer of great speed is safer than one of small power.

"First, in case of bad weather, fast ships can keep head up to the wind and sea, and so be in the best and safest position for meeting the high waves we so often encounter during the heavy gales on the Atlantic. Their speed can always be regulated according to the height of the waves and the severity of the storm. It is also to be said of fast ships that they are a shorter time at sea, and the dangers of the ocean are of less duration with them than with the slow ships. Ships of very moderate and small power are never so safe as their faster sisters in bad weather. For example, a steamer that goes nine knots in fine weather would find it hard to keep her head up to the gale in boisterous weather, especially if she were lightly loaded, and would be in danger of falling into the trough. A fast ship is also better going before the gale, as there is little chance of her being pooped, that is, swamped by a following sea."

ARTHUR W. LEWIS,
Commander Inman Line Steamer "City of Chester."

"Strength and stability being equal, the fast steamer has a great advantage over her slow neighbor in many ways; but the handling and sailing of fast vessels require not only considerable training but a constitutional aptitude, so to speak, for that special work."

HORATIO MCKAY,
Commander Cunard Steamer "Servia."

"In March, 1871, when the steamers of the White Star Line first started, they were looked upon as vessels altogether faster than safety demanded, and many people predicted that the line would soon come to an end through disasters caused by collisions. They have now been running seventeen years and show a record second to none for freedom from collision. When the 'Britannic' and 'Germanic' first came out they were looked upon as marvels of speed, and notwithstanding the success of previous ships on our line fears were entertained that such speed would be dangerous and that collisions would certainly occur. As time passed on and passage after passage was made with such precision that almost the hour of arrival could be accurately determined, and as no accident happened, the confidence of the public was gained, and travelers who suffered from that dreadful affliction, seasickness, were only too glad to take passage by them and thereby reduce their misery by twenty-four or thirty-six hours. Both ships are still running, and with the exception of the collision between the 'Britannic' and the 'Celtic' in May, 1887, they have been clear of accidents and are among the most successful ships afloat. I made one hundred and thirteen round voyages (two hundred and twenty-six passages) in command of the 'Germanic' in eleven years and six months, and during that time not one collision occured. Previous to taking her I commanded the 'Baltic' for nearly three years with the same result.

"Since the advent of the 'Britannic' and 'Germanic' the Cunard, Inman, Guion, French and North German Lloyd lines have all built ships superior in size and speed to the two former, and the eight and nine day passages of the White Star steamers have been reduced to six days and a half by the 'Etruria' and the 'Umbria' of the Cunard line. The French and North German Lloyds have reduced theirs from ten and eleven days to about seven, and without any serious disaster. These facts most clearly demonstrate to the traveling public the fact that the increase of speed in the passenger steamers of the present day has not caused an increase of danger, and that they are quite as safe as the slow steamers of the past.

"It is hardly necessary for me to say how important it is that fast ships should be commanded by competent men—men who are careful and watchful; for as the size and power of a steamer are increased, so ought to be the vigilance and responsibility of the

captain. His duties, while on board his ship, are endless, and considering the number of lives and the immense amount of valuable property intrusted to him, it is not to be wondered at that his countenance is stern, and his manner perhaps not as agreeable as it might be if he were at a dinner party. Passengers who call the captain 'Bear' should take these facts into consideration, and respect him accordingly.

"Although the speed of passenger steamers has been increased, very little has been done in providing them with suitable sound signals for use in foggy weather, however. Several different codes have been laid before the English Board of Trade and the admiralty, but although the necessity of such signals has been proved and strongly advocated by seafaring men, none has been adopted. The different steamship companies acknowledge the necessity of such signals, and would willingly use them as an additional factor in promoting the safety of their ships; but as the Board of Trade has made no move in that direction, it is useless to adopt them unless they can be enforced generally. The international rules are to-day (with the exception of one or two slight changes) the same as they were years ago, and when in a fog the only means a commander has of making known his approach to another vessel is the single blast of the steam whistle, which conveys no information regarding the course he is steering. The codes I allude to give certain blasts for each point of the compass, so that a vessel using one of them can indicate to an approaching vessel the course she is steering, thereby avoiding all danger of collision. If a code were adopted and made compulsory on board all steamers, the ocean voyage would be relieved of a peril much more serious than any arising from a high rate of speed. Had such a code been in use on board the 'Britannic' and the 'Celtic' the collision between those ships would never have occurred."

CHARLES W. KENNEDY,
Late Commander of the White Star Steamer "Germanic."

"My opinion is that while extremely fast ships lessen the duration of dangers, they augment the number of dangers."

C. FRANGEUL,
Commander French Line steamer "La Bourgogne."

"Without entering into long comparisons between slow and fast steamers, I may say, briefly, that I think the fast steamer safer than the slow one. She is a shorter time on the ocean, and the chances of accident are thus diminished. The personal interest of the captain and officers in her is greatly enhanced."

TH. DE JOUSSELIM,
Commander French Line steamer "La Bretagne."

"The Board of Trade commanding and regulating most of our actions at sea, has come to the conclusion (no doubt gathered from the experience of many men) that a slow rate of speed is safest in foggy weather, and, therefore, I try as nearly as possible to carry out its idea, so as to escape unfavorable comments in case of an accident.

"When a ship is approaching land and sounding constantly, a low rate of speed is, no doubt, best, since, should you be in error it might prevent you from becoming a total wreck. Again when a ship is in the vicinity of ice floes and bergs a low rate of speed is advisable, as it also is when a thick gale or beam wind is blowing, preventing your whistle from being heard any distance ahead. But in an ordinary fog I argue that full speed is the safest, and my reasons are these: If you slow down the moment fog comes on the steam roars out of the escape pipes with such a noise that for some time you are in absolute danger, not being able to see or hear anything; if you reduce the steam gradually you take power off your ship and pressure off your whistle, and if you suddenly hear some sound ahead you can only turn to the right or left slowly or stop altogether, letting the other ship take her chances of clearing you. Again you cannot reverse full speed, as your steam is too low to move the engines quickly. Now, going full speed all is as still and as quite as the grave. Ears and good look-outs are ready for the least sound. The moment you hear a sound, up helm and bring the horn or whistle abaft your beam, which is comparatively a place of safety, and blow once or twice to the other steamer, indicating to him whether you have directed your own ship to the port or starboard.

"The greatest trouble I find in foggy weather is the dislike many commanders of the smaller steamers have to sounding their fog signals. Some say, 'O, you can see farther than you can hear.'

Others say, 'O, the fog will clear down. So don't disturb the passengers.' Others, 'O, once in two minutes is quite often enough.' I maintain that a whistle should be religiously sounded at least every minute, and oftener if necessary, but never less."

FRANK S. LAND,
Commander Inman Line Steamer "City of Berlin."

The commander of a White Star steamer, who does not wish his name to be published, writes:

"As a matter of fact the whole question: 'Are fast or slow steamers the safest,' resolves itself into a question of fogs, for, due vigilance being always exercised by the commander and his officers, that is where the real danger lies. We hear of vessels such as the 'City of Brussels' being run down when stopped or at anchor, and we hear of other cases where serious calamity has been avoided, simply and solely by reason of the high speed of the meeting vessels. A fog is the most treacherous and dreaded of all the sailor's enemies.

"Again, what is to be done when instructions vary so much? According to the Government (Board of Trade) regulations, commanders are instructed to go slow in a fog, and yet another department of the Government (the Post-Office) comes forward offering a premium on fast passages. The mails are given to the steamers which make the shortest passages, be the weather fair or foul and the risks what they may; with such matters, of course, the Post-Office officials have nothing to do!"

Another commander in the White Star Line, who also wishes to be unknown, writes:

"Your question might be divided thus: Is it safer to go through fogs as quickly as possible, or by going slower and keeping your vessel more under control, as far as reducing her headway is concerned, are you less liable to accidents? I think it is generally acknowledged among seamen that the former is the wiser course, especially with large steamers supplied with steam steering gear, as the greater the speed the quicker the vessel will turn in

answer to her helm. You must also remember that with a fast steamer you are a much shorter time in a region of fog than with a slow steamer.

"Indeed, to my mind there is quite as much danger going slow as going fast. Then as to approaching land at a high rate of speed: this is said to be dangerous; but since Sir William Thomson invented his patent sounding machine, soundings can be taken when a ship is going at any speed.

"The safety of steamers going at a great speed cannot be better demonstrated I believe than by a reference to the Holyhead and Dublin mail steamers. These are among the fastest vessels in the world, making a speed of nearly twenty knots, or twenty-two and a half miles per hour; but though they have to cross the track of all vessels bound up the Irish Sea accidents to them are almost unheard of. Passengers may always rest assured of their safety in a first-class, well regulated steamer, should she be going fast or slow, and may relieve their minds of all anxiety, confident that every precaution which skill and experience can suggest is being taken."

The opinions of some of the principal ship builders were also sought, and among the replies received was this from Messrs. James and George Thomson, the builders of some of the most celebrated of the Cunard ships and also of the two new Inman ships which are expected to "break the record:"

"In our opinion, if proper attention be given to the steering power of the ship, a fast ship, in the hands of an able commander, is more able to avoid collision than a slow ship. On account of the shorter time a fast ship is at sea, as well as the shorter time she is in the vicinity of another ship, she is less liable to be in danger of collision, and even when in danger we think she is more able to avoid it. But we would point out that the question of safety is not wholly dependent on avoiding collisions, and that if proper structural arrangements are made a ship may be as safe after a collision as before it. In reply to your question, however, we may say that the fastest ships on the Atlantic are the safest in our opinion."

JAMES AND GEORGE THOMSON.

Perhaps it is because the obvious is so apt to escape us that the point oftenest reiterated in these communications comes with an undue freshness of conviction to the landsman, *i. e.*, that dangers are usually in proportion to the length of time a ship is at sea, and that, therefore, a fast ship is safer than a slow one, because the period of her exposure is of briefer duration.

But though there is a remarkable unanimity of opinion in favor of fast ships, the reasons given for the preference are not always sound, nor do they in all cases accord with what one might desire in the interest of humanity. If, for instance, a fast ship runs out of an area of fog or storm sooner than a slow ship, is it not true that the superiority of speed which enables her to do this also allows her to reach another such area which would cease to exist, perhaps, before her tardier competitor could reach it. Let us say that the "Alaska" encounters a heavy gale on the banks on a Sunday, when she is in company with a slower ship. She has run out of it by Monday morning, while the other ship has to struggle through it several hours longer. On the following Wednesday the "Alaska" meets another gale, and has to bear all the force of it, but by the time the slow ship reaches it, it has moderated or blown itself out. Possibly it may be said in answer to this that still another storm might overtake the laggard, which the fast ship being so many miles ahead would be able to avoid; but chances of this kind do not afford any secure basis for a positive assertion. Again, though it may be a selfish, not to say inhuman consideration, it is undeniably comforting to the passenger by a fast steamer to be assured that in event of a collision his vessel is less likely to be damaged than a slow one. But this also seems to be a fallacious assumption. If the fast ship runs into another ship, fast or slow, she will probably cut her down and escape with comparatively little injury. What, however, if she herself is struck amidships, or in any vital part? Her speed cannot save her then, but on the contrary, it is likely to augment the proportions of the disaster.

Aside from a few such fallacies as we have indicated, the testimony of the distinguished seamen, who have been good enough to communicate their opinions, demonstrates satisfactorily that a passenger on board a very fast steamer is quite as safe as on a very slow one. Speed does not necessarily increase peril. Summing up the evidence we find that the ship of great power

not only diminishes the period of exposure to such dangers as there may be in the transatlantic voyage, but that she is also better fitted for meeting those dangers.

Fast ships are superior as sea-boats to ships of smaller power, more easily handled in fogs and heavy weather, despite their enormous size, and, as Captain Murray of the "Alaska" points out, their speed often enables them to make land by daylight, and to save tides, when slower ships would have to approach a treacherous coast at night, and anchor outside the harbor while waiting for a tide. The maximum of speed has certainly not yet been reached. In all probability the "City of New York" and the "City of Paris," which Messrs. James and George Thomson are building for the Inman Line, will surpass all that has heretofore been done, and they in turn may be left behind by still newer ships. Such extraordinary speed unquestionably calls for extraordinary vigilance on the part of the officers, and it is pleasant to note that in the new Inman ships several unique features are being introduced, which it is believed will make them unsinkable.

WILLIAM H. RIDEING.

VIRGINIA IN THE SUPREME COURT.

My question was:

"What is the meaning of the late decision of the Supreme Court in the Habeas Corpus cases from Virginia? Give me some idea of its historic relations as a Constitutional question."

The question is a very large one, but I will condense the answer so as not to be prolix, and yet clearly present the subject to the popular mind.

It is a fundamental principle of national law that no government can be enforced by suit to do what it does not will to do; unless it has by law consented to be sued. Thus the British Government can only be sued through a petition to the Crown for leave to present a claim against it, and then it is regarded as a matter of grace and not of right. For how can a court, which is the creature of a sovereign, compel the creator to do what he does not will to do? The power the court would use to compel obedience is that of the sovereign it would enforce, and thus, in the last analysis, it would be a case of self-compulsion.

But back of this, there are reasons of public policy, which make any external force improper and of evil tendency. The safety of a people may require all its resources to be devoted to that end, and the subjection of its means to the claims of every creditor or claimant might sacrifice the public good to private interests—the Commonwealth to the claim of an individual.

Under the Federal Constitution the United States, representing the combined sovereignties of the States of the Union, cannot be sued but by their consent; and hence all claims were originally proferred to Congress, and it was only thirty odd years ago that the Court of Claims was established by law, in which suitors might prosecute claims against the United States. But even under that law, the judgment is of no avail until Congress in good faith ap-

propriates money to pay it, when the Court has rendered it. To enforce the judgment by an execution against the property of the United States might divest the Government of the very buildings erected for the Congress and the Executive of the Union.

The same reasons obtain in respect to any one of the States. Salus populi, suprema lex is the maxim which subordinates private claims to the public and common weal; and, if it be set aside, as to a State or the union of States, the result might be disastrous, and would always be impolitic and injurious to the welfare of the public.

When the Federal Constitution was adopted, the judicial power of the United States was extended to controversies to which the United States shall be a party—but it was always construed to mean only such controversies, when the United States were plaintiffs, and not when they were defendants; to suits brought by, and not to those brought against, them.

The same clause gave judicial power to suits between a State and citizens of another State, or citizens and subjects of a foreign State. And this was held by Alexander Hamilton in the eighty-first number of the *Federalist,* written before the adoption of the Constitution, and as an inducement to the people to adopt it, to exclude the idea of any suit being brought *against* a State by citizens of another State, or by those of a foreign State.

Singular to say, however, "for the best laid schemes of mice and men aft gang aglee," the Constitution was not more than two years old when the Supreme Court of the United States entertained suits by citizens of other States, in and out of the Union, against several of the States. Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, were sued by their creditors and other claimants; and after a while, on the 18th of February, 1793, a judgment for a debt was rendered in the Supreme Court in favor of Mr. Chisholm against the State of Georgia.

This judgment excited great feeling, and created alarm in all the States. On the 20th of February, 1793 (two days after the judgment in Chisholm against Georgia), an amendment to the Constitution was proposed in the House of Representatives, declaring that "the judicial power of the United States shall not extend to any suit brought against a State" by any citizens of a State in the Union, or of a foreign State. But Congress ad-

journed in ten days (it was proposed in the short session), and the proposition went over until 1794.

Both Houses of Congress adopted the amendment proposed with a significant modification. Had it passed as first proposed, it would have only operated on future cases. But the modification was in the new words, which made it read as it now stands in the Constitution as the 11th amendment:

"The judicial power of the United States shall not *be construed* to extend," etc.

In other words, the States in adopting this amendment declared to the Supreme Court itself, virtually, that you have construed the original Constitution improperly, and shall not so construe it again. You must hereafter construe it as meaning that no State can be sued in a Federal Court by any citizen, but the State may sue a citizen in that Court. She can sue, but shall not be sued by any such citizen.

John Hancock, President of the Congress of Independence, and signer of its declaration, was Governor of Massachusetts at the time; and Light Horse Harry Lee, grandfather of the present Governor of Virginia, was then Governor of Virginia. They corresponded on the subject. Governor Lee went to Philadelphia, where Congress was in session, to urge the adoption of the amendment, and Massachusetts, the land of the Pilgrims, and Virginia, the land of the Cavaliers, joined hands in saving to every State immunity from suit at the instance of any citizen of any other State. Nobody then ever dreamed that a State could be sued by its own citizens—nor did the Supreme Court so hold.

The amendment was adopted by the States with great unanimity.

As soon as its adoption was proclaimed, the Supreme Court dismissed all suits previously brought and still pending on its docket, and thenceforth the liability of a State on its obligations rested on public faith and the sovereign will of the State itself. The basis of public credit of the United States, and of every separate State, is the same—the sovereign will of the Union, the sovereign will of the State.

But a phase of this great question was presented then.

Both of these governments, that of the Union and that of a State, as is the government of any country, is a metaphysical being which can only act through physical agencies. It can only

collect its revenues by tax-gatherers, and hold its treasury by officials appointed for the purpose. It can take and hold property of all kinds, but only through the medium of persons clothed with authority to receive and to keep it.

It is obvious that these persons who are agents of government have thus a double relation to men and things around them. In one they are men with personal rights and personal responsibilities. In the other they are representatives of government, with official rights and official immunity from responsibility. What is done in the one relation they are personally liable for; for what is done in the other they are only liable representatively.

After long debate in the Courts, and many decisions in the last decade or more, more definite conclusions have been reached upon this distinction between personal and official action, and liability therefor. A discussion of the different cases would be inappropriate. But Virginia is the scene of two cases which illustrate the distinction on which a judicial rest has been reached in the forensic discussion which has been carried on in the Supreme Court for many years.

During the late Civil War, Arlington, the estate left by G. W. P. Custis, the grandson of the wife of George Washington, to his daughter Mary Custis Lee, the wife of Gen. Robert E. Lee, for her life, with remainder to Gen. G. W. Custis Lee, of Lexington, Va., in fee simple, was assessed by the officers of the United States with a direct tax of about $90. There was ample personal effects on the premises to pay it, but the official of the Government choose to offer the estate for sale, for default in paying the tax. The life tenant, and the remainder man, and the husband of the life tenant were in the Confederate States, with the blazing line of battle between them and the tax gatherer. A friend of the family was ready to tender and pay, and the hearsay evidence is, did tender the full tax. But the tax commissioners said the tax must be paid in person by Gen. Robert E. Lee, the husband of the owner for life, or by herself, or the patrimonial home would be sold to pay the tax.

It was sold for $30,000 and more, and the President authorized it to be bought in for the government for a military cemetery.

Under official orders, certain persons, officers of the United States, took and held Arlington—and claimed to hold it for the United States.

Mrs. Lee having died, General Custis Lee, the remainder man, petitioned Congress to pay him for the estate. Congress failed to act, and General Lee brought an action of ejectment against the *persons* in possession. These persons claimed, and the Attorney General of the United States claimed, that the possession was in the *persons* sued as representing the United States, and that the suit was in reality a suit against the United States, and could not therefore be maintained.

The case came to the Supreme Court, and it was decided in substance, that the persons, who were in actual possession and were actually sued, could not claim immunity from suit under the sovereign claim of the Government of the United States, unless they were legally in possession by the legal authority of the United States, and that as the whole procedure by which Arlington was sold for taxes, when the tax was ready to be paid, and was refused to be received, was illegal and unconstitutional, the United States had no title to hold it and could not, therefore, authorize anybody to hold it for them, and that, therefore, the persons in possession could not claim to represent the United States, but were in possession as personal trespassers on the legal rights of the plaintiff, who, therefore, had judgment for the estate affirmed. The personal right of the citizen to his property could not be taken away by a person in the name of a government, unless the Government could legally and constitutionally authorize it, and the person so acting could not claim immunity from suit by the citizen, upon the ground that the government could not be sued, when the Government had no legal right to the property at all. The right of the citizen was protected against the wrong of a person, who claimed falsely to act in behalf of the Government, which *could* not legally authorize the act, and therefore in legal contemplation did not authorize it.

After this decision, the Legislature of Virginia passed a law directing its collectors of taxes to refuse coupons clipped from bonds of Virginia, when tendered by the tax payer, on which coupon was the agreement of the State, under the law of 1870, that these coupons should be receivable for all taxes. This refusal the Supreme Court had repeatedly decided was an impairment of the obligation of the contract of the State evidenced by the coupon.

The law of Virginia, nevertheless, directed the tax collector to

refuse the coupons, and to levy upon and sell the property of the tax payer in order to the payment of the tax.

This the tax gatherer did, and a number of suits was the result—some for damages for the sale, some injunctions to prevent a threatened sale, and others for the recovery of the property levied upon and not sold.

These cases at last came under review in the Supreme Court in 1885, and were decided adversely to the claims of Virginia.

The Court held that the act of the tax collector in levying, taking or threatening to take the property of the citizen tax payer, who had tendered coupons in the payment of his taxes, was unlawful, and that he could not claim immunity from his liability for the personal wrong by alleging that he had acted by authority of the State, because the State could not be held to have given an unlawful and unconstitutional authority to do such an act, and the tax collector was held *personally* liable, and not *officially* exempt from liability by reason of an alleged authority from the State, which the State was constitutionally prohibited from delegating. The man was liable for his wrong because the State could not give him its immunity by an unconstitutional delegation of authority.

But Virginia claimed the right to require the authentication of the genuineness of the coupons tendered by other means than by their inspection by her tax collectors, who were not experts in the business.

Accordingly, to avoid the suits brought by tax payers for wrongful levy after a tender of coupons, Virginia, in May, 1887, passed a law requiring her collectors not to receive the coupons, but to report the names of those who tendered them to the law officers of the Commonwealth, whom she authorized to sue all such persons for their taxes due to her, and permitting them to plead their tender of coupons, and prove the tender of genuine coupons under their plea, bringing their coupons so tendered into Court, to be delivered up to the State upon proof of their genuineness.

This law thus assured the State against spurious coupons, and against a feigned tender of them; while it recognized the right of the tax payer to tender genuine coupons in discharge of his taxes, as the Supreme Court had decided.

A syndicate of owners of Virginia coupons then filed a

bill of injunction in the United States Court, praying the Court to enjoin the Attorney General and all the attorneys for the Commonwealth of Virginia from bringing any suits under that law in the name of Virginia. The injunction was granted. The Attorney General and some of the Commonwealth's attorneys disobeyed the injunction, and thereupon Judge Bend ordered them to be fined and imprisoned until they paid the fines imposed, and until they dismissed all the suits brought by them for Virginia against her delinquent tax payers, and in one case, until the attorney for the Commonwealth entered of record that a judgment recovered by Virginia against a tax payer upon a suit brought by him was satisfied.

The parties were all imprisoned. They prayed severally a writ of *habeas corpus* from the Supreme Court of the United States, principally on the ground that the whole proceeding was null and void, because, in fact, the injunction bill was a suit against Virginia, and without jurisdiction under the Eleventh Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

These great cases were argued on the 14th and 15th of November, and the Court decided them on the 5th of December last.

Seven judges concurred in the judgment, with one dissentient.

The judgment was full, able and elaborate, and discharged all the prisoners, on the distinct ground that the injunction suit was in reality a suit against Virginia, that all its proceedings were wholly null and void and contrary to the Eleventh Amendment of the Constitution, and that the law of Virginia directing suits to be brought was not in violation of the Constitution.

Thus this great decision has made a settlement of this important question, and has established the immunity of the States from all suits by citizens of other States, or of foreign States, whether directly or indirectly by suing their officers, when the effect is to coerce State will through judicial procedure.

This case will be a leading case and a judicial landmark for all time to come, in protecting the rights of the States from the coercive control of Federal Courts, and in conserving their autonomy in the management and direction of their own internal affairs.

J. RANDOLPH TUCKER.

POSSIBLE PRESIDENTS.

FRANK HISCOCK.

For twenty-four years the State of New York has given its electoral vote alternately to the two parties, and this singular record will be prolonged in the same order of preference if the Republicans win the campaign of 1888. Rational beings are neither expected nor desired to attach much importance to an irrelevant precedent. Yet, since by common consent all men are superstitious, and since, as the country has learned within four years, a trivial cause can produce an overwhelming result in politics as well as in nature, it is conceivable that the antagonists might be so closely matched as to throw the momentous choice of a President into the hands of that morbid infinitesimal minority who can never quite make up their minds that it is safe to trifle with coincidences, and who at such a juncture would be apt to think that they were amply justified in keeping step with the clear footfalls of fate. But these influences are not logically within the range of calculation, and therefore have no place in a discussion of the duty and opportunity of Republicans at the present moment. New York is not to be abandoned to the manipulation of chance this year. The determination is that it shall be won in a fair fight, and that accidents shall have less to do with the result than they had in 1884. I observe that here and there a sanguine dispenser of political consolation is rising to remark that we do not need the vote of New York to elect a President, and proving by indisputable figures that if a sufficient number of her sisters do their duty the party can laugh the Empire State out of the Electoral College. Burke declared that the age of miracles is past. That great statesman and philosopher has been dead a century less nine years, and we are still living under the same dispensation. New York must be carried,

and it is the business of the party in this State, between now and the 19th of June, to prove itself equal to the emergency by taking the one essential first step toward the November goal.

In some conspicuous instances it has happened that those upon whom Heaven has bestowed the rare felicity of gaining the ardent, almost adoring love of their fellow men, have found that they are none the less subject on that account to the law of compensations, and must be content to expand their affections at the expense of their ambition. Hostility is proportionate to devotion, and the balance is preserved. It is the duty of the few who represent the millions in a political organization, to forecast disaster and calmly to avert it, whether judgment follow the lead of inclination or no. The party is to-day in the possession of an opportunity, to the recognition of which I shall endeavor to contribute. Senator Hiscock stands for the opportunity to which I refer. Let me begin with a few negatives. He is not the leading candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency. He has no deputy at the headquarters of intrigue. He maintains no literary bureau. He has never taken hostages of the newspapers. He is not in the habit of making up his mind as an ornamental preliminary to changing it. He is a statesman and politician of the sort that flourished in the earlier days of the Republic, when sobriety of judgment, a quiet fidelity to present duties, adaptation to the higher planes of controversy, a talent for command when the time came, and a disinclination to anticipate the obligation were among the qualities required of public men.

Born and reared in New York, admitted to the bar in 1855, district attorney, member of the Constitution Convention of 1867, representative for ten years, senator—this is the brief record of extended service from which Frank Hiscock's status and stature are to be determined. To sensible persons the matter of physical perfection is unimportant, if only one be raised above that abyssmal depth of personal ugliness which a Yale professor once described as incompatible. He did not say with what it was incompatible, choosing rather to leave a wide field to the imagination. But without so much as a reference to his exterior advantages, there is no impropriety in the statement that Senator Hiscock possesses an outward distinction corresponding more nearly than fate often permits to the qualities within. The repose which denotes a greater force than it exhibits is one of his attributes, and shallow

critics have sometimes imagined what no one who has ever measured wits with him has had the fortune to discover, that this repose partakes of the nature of lethary. No such suspicion exists among the lawyers who have encountered the knowledge, the logic and the resource which for thirty years have been his recognized weapons in legal controversy ; nor among the statesmen who have too often had the misery of regretting upon the floor of Congress that their equipment was not equal to his own ; nor among the leaders of his party in this State who have more than once been forced to acknowledge that his skill was not inferior to his magnanimity.

Mr. Hiscock entered the field of national politics in the Forty-fifth Congress, and at once attracted the attention of the country by his discussion of certain contested election cases which were percipitated upon the House. The prominence thus early achieved made him, with the general approval of his Republican colleagues, one of the minority of the investigating committee whose purpose it was supposed at the time to be to dispute the title of President Hayes, and whose labors were unexpectedly diversified by the translation of the historical cipher dispatches. In that investigation he took a prominent if not preëminent part from first to last. In the Forty-sixth Congress he was a member of the committee which then originated all the general appropriations of the government except those for rivers and harbors. After the election of Garfield the speakership was conceded to Mr. Hiscock on both sides of the House ; but Garfield's death and the consequent accession of a President from New York, to which State both the Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster General were also apportioned in the geographical distribution of great offices, defeated him, and he was assigned to the chairmanship of the Committee on Appropriations. In the Forty-eighth Congress he was appointed to the Committee on Ways and Means, where he continued until the close of his service in the House. This summary of legislative assignments is a useful indication of the scope of his activities as a Representative. In the fundamental but unobserved labors of the committee room Mr. Hiscock is easily among the first of useful public servants. Speakers upon the floor of Congress may be divided into three classes : those who do not feel that they are filling the eyes of the country—and consequently might as well be silent—when they are not engaged in delivering

elaborate political essays; those whose natural proclivities or the the suggestions of vanity dispose them to a pyrotechnical display of their readiness in badinage and repartee; and those whom inclination, obedient to a sense of duty, impels to the more practical work of securing the passage of good measures and the defeat of bad ones by the methodical and cogent presentation of facts conscientiously collected. It is to the last class that Mr. Hiscock belongs. It is his custom to apply his talents in debate to measures pending at the time of his speaking and about to be voted on. The record will show with what diligence and success he has pursued this useful policy. As an example, however, of his resources when he has found a suitable opportunity for the comprehensive treatment of a great general principle, I may be allowed to cite his speech of April 29, 1884, upon the relation of a protective tariff to agriculture, which attracted the immediate attention of the country, confirmed the highest estimate o f his powers, and has become a part of the common fund of economic fact and argument. I wish, moreover, before closing this summary of Mr. Hiscock's legislative services, which is meant to be suggestive merely, to recall attention to his speech in the Forty-ninth Congress in opposition to the free coinage of silver, in which, if not absolutely the first to expond the principle that low prices are not the result of a contraction of the currency, but are due rather to the decrease in the labor cost of productions and the increased product per manpower, he so arranged the facts and force d home their significance as to carry conviction where others had scarcely obtained a hearing; to his plea in the same year for the extension of our commerce, with special reference to the great South Carolina market, in which he incidentally laid low the "subsidy" spectre that demagogues have long employed to frighten timid souls; to his strenuous defense of American dairies; to his dissection of the Morrison resolution on Treasury balances, and, during this, his first session in the Senate, to his speeches on the undervaluation of imports and the insidious pretences of the pleuro-pneumonia bill, and to his earnest appeal in behalf of international copyright.

This imperfect indication of the lines along which Senator Hiscock's sympathies and convictions have found expression is not designed to do more than impress upon the minds of those who have neglected to learn and upon the memories of those who might be led to forget his steadfast devotion to Republican ideals, his

firm grasp of great principles, his love of what is intrinsically honest in laws and customs, and his faith that what is true will be permanent. For behind the record stands the man, and if I have partially succeeded in expressing the man we may safely turn to a consideration of his availability.

The word has been abused by its employment to denote a low conception of what conscience and common sense alike demand in a candidate for the Presidency. I beg the privilege of employing it in a very different sense. Senator Hiscock is available because his character, his temperament and his career justify the belief that he would if elected so administer his office as to advance his country; and because his relations to the forces which decide our quadrennial struggle warrant the prediction that if nominated he would be elected. One thing is already determined. Even if the individual preference of New York should not be the choice of the Convention, it is certain that, with such a contest before us, no combination of delegates at Chicago will be so rash as to force upon the Empire State an unwelcome candidate. The nominee will be a man whom the collective judgment of the party in New York believes to possess more strength here and elsewhere than any of his competitors. In his own State—the State of his birth and his home from infancy to the present hour—where his affections are centred, and for which his energies have been trained and expended, Senator Hiscock is invincible. No accident could trip him up. No acknowledged hostility, nor cynical indifference, nor narrow jealousy, nor local prejudice would keep voters at home or send them to the wrong ballot box. And what is true of New York is true of the whole country. There is not a State between the two oceans, nor a locality within a State, in which the conviction of Hiscock's claim upon the votes of men who love their country would not grow steadily stronger from the 19th of June to the 6th of November. We should hear nothing of desperate expediments, of attempts to kindle a fire with a damp combination of forlorn hopes, of empty parade made to pass for genuine enthusiasm, of wasted energy and ultimate despair. The campaign would be conducted on a high level. The dilettante coterie that engages in the discussion of politics only to proclaim that there is no difference between the parties would find before they had had time for many deliverances of this sort that there is a difference too vast to be bridged by a sneer. We should see a

revival of the spirit which has not had too many opportunities to manifest itself in recent years—the spirit that is inflamed only by the assurance that principles are being fought for, and that the battle bears some relation to the eternal verities.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON.

After a century of government we ought to be able to define in some degree the characters chiefly favored by the Republic for its highest office.

In our earlier history this choice was made from the foremost men who were distinguished as leaders in the Revolutionary period and in that of the formation of the Constitution. After Washington, parties began to take shape and to elect their intellectual leaders. This period closed with Madison. With him was ended the epoch of strong, original, and creative statesmanship in Presidents. Monroe came in easily like a natural heir to the throne,—a gently-mannered man, accustomed to affairs of state, calm in judgment, moderate in temper, without initiative, and disposed to consult the wisdom of others. The country had a tranquil administration, and the second term was given to him without opposition.

Quincy Adams, indeed, threatened a return to the era of vigorous thinkers and original statesmanship. With him, consequently, the bitterness of party antagonisms arose, and he was replaced by the first President chosen from the region west of the Alleghanies, a man without precedent history of statesmanship, but well known as a military chief. After Jackson, there was a return toward partisan leadership in the election of Van Buren. But, as in the case of Quincy Adams, bitter antagonisms were developed, his term was short, and the people made his defeat a rout, when they elected Harrison, who was no party leader, but a man of average intellect and a patriot. Polk, Taylor, Pierce, and Buchanan followed, all men of mediocre talent, of mere respectability as statesmen, with greater men than themselves to guide their administration and direct legislation.

A new political era began with the election of Lincoln, a civilian candidate unknown to the country at large, and without experience in public affairs. The popular instinct shown in his

choice was ratified by a wonderful career of patriotism and wisdom, which lifted him so high as to leave him no peer save Washington. Grant was a military candidate, elected because of his vast military service to the nation. In Hayes was again chosen a man representing the average intellect of the people, and who gave to them an upright and uneventful administration. All of these were men of originally humble fortune, and early struggles. They were followed by still another of the same class, but destined to an early end. What his administration would have been, but for the assassin, can never be known. All were Western men. The election of 1884 fell upon an Eastern man of whom little was known as a politician, but who has since developed the Van Buren qualities of partisan leadership.

What in all this drift of practical events is to be taken as the steady tendency of the American judgment? Are there any safe conclusions to be drawn from it touching the national predisposition for certain qualities and characteristics in presidential candidates.

We find that no strong, original, constructive statesman has been chosen by popular vote since Madison. Second: The people have frequently, since 1832, shown a fondness for candidates with a successful war record. Third: They have also, during the later period, been especially inclined to candidates of humble origin, who have nobly fought their way over obstacles to a deserved popular distinction. Fourth: Among civilians, they have turned away from brilliant orators like Wirt, Clay and Webster, and from party leaders like Van Buren, Cass, Douglass, Breckenridge and Greely, and have preferred such men of average intellect as Harrison, Polk, Pierce, Buchanan and Hayes, and as Lincoln was supposed to be when first elected. Fifth: They have turned their backs upon noted partisans who excite rancor and antagonism, and for their supreme office have rather made choice of a candidate from whom they could expect a softening of political asperities, and a conciliatory conduct of public affairs.

Another notable fact attracts attention. During the last fifty years—since 1836, when Van Buren was elected—every Western candidate running against an Eastern candidate has been elected, and the latter defeated. (Fremont was only nominally a Californian.) Whenever a candidate living east of the Alleghanies has been elected, it was against a candidate also from the

East. Every successful *Republican* candidate has been from the West.

This should fairly indicate that the mass of voters find in Western characters a more satisfactory representation of the average national opinion, a more sympathetic appreciation of popular wants, and a greater freedom from class interests than they expect from the older parts of the country—men better disposed to the conciliation of interests and of sentiments between all sections of the country.

Among the civilian candidates now offered for the Presidency, are there any who will attract these dominant currents of national opinion, which have hitherto usually led to success ?

We look for a man not so ambitious as to force himself on his party or the country ; for the people like better to make the candidate than to have one made for them. They have shown such a marked preference for men who represent their estimated average of the requisite mental powers, combined with personal worth and practical sense, that their wishes must be respected. They do not find sufficient assurance of safety in the brilliant flashings of oratory, or in the secret plottings of party leadership. In this the people are wiser than the enthusiasts and man-worshipers who criticise them.

The people of the young, vigorous, agricultural State of Iowa have presented such a candidate as we seek, in the person of William B. Allison. It was done with singular unanimity and with enthusiasm. Having done that, she wants to hear the voice of her sister States. Let us look at this candidate more nearly.

He comes from that frontier stock which peopled the valleys of the Alleghenies, and broke into the forests of Ohio, and changed the wilderness into an abode of free and prosperous men. His blood is derived from that early Irish ancestry which sought civil and religious liberty beyond the reach of British bayonets. Both of his grandfathers and his grandmother found a home in the interior of Pennsylvania. His father was born in 1798, at Bellefonte, in that State ; but sought new lands and a new home further west in 1823. On the farm of 80 acres which his father opened in Wayne County, Ohio, and in the log house which he built upon it, this son was born, March 2d, 1829.

At this frontiersman's house he learned how poor men live and labor. In the winters he pursued the usual studies at a com-

mon school in the timber, two miles away, and received there the customary discipline of flogging. By the common toil of an intelligent family the farm became more prosperous, and was enlarged. His father was glad to yield to the boy's wishes for a better education, and sent him for two years to the academy at Wooster, his vacations being occupied with work on the farm. It was the old story of our Western farm boys. He had no sooner learned enough to know how much more than was to learn than he became impatient to acquire more and higher education, and found it first at the Alleghany College in Meadville, Pa., and next at the Western Reserve College in Ohio. By perseverance, and by earning something for himself, he was then able to read law. He commenced its practice at Ashland, and also began to take part in the political movements of the time, in support of Scott and Fremont, and of liberty against slavery.

But fortune did not smile sufficiently upon the young lawyer in a community where too many older men competed with the young, and the frontier blood in his veins impelled him further West. He had heard of the virgin prairies and growing villages of Iowa, not long before won from the Indian tribes. In 1857 he made his home under the bluffs of Dubuque, where he now lives. Soon after the election of Lincoln, to whose support he contributed all the vigor of his young manhood; the Southern rebellion roused the young blood of the North and the loyalty of the whole country. The men of Iowa left their plows to grasp their guns and crowded to the rendezvous for enrollment into regiments. The governor summoned Allison to his staff, with the rank of colonel, to aid in the organization and equipment of these regiments for the field. This work he performed with zeal and energy until prostrated by exposure in camp and consequent illness.

The next year, 1862, the Northwestern district of Iowa elected Colonel Allison to Congress by a very large majority, and again in 1864 by an increased majority, and continued him in the House for four Congresses, when he declined a renomination. But his vacation was short. In 1872 the State sent him to the United States Senate, and has kept him there ever since, without any struggle for a change, so satisfactory has been his public service. It has been his fortune to serve chiefly on the great committees of Ways and Means, Appropriations and Finance, bringing him in close contact with all the machinery and all the varied operations

of government, and with all the great industries of the people. In this knowledge he is unsurpassed. The record of the great Republican measures which have given freedom to a race and prosperity to the nation is also his record. The amendment offered by him, and his casting votes, settled the sharp controversy touching the present silver coinage act. He believed that for many years we could depend upon the great continental area and increasing population of our country to absorb silver money, without displacement of gold. So long as they maintained harmony in circulation, he foresaw plainly the increase of the circulating medium, by adding silver to gold and paper, and the consequent reduction in rates of interest, with increased facilities for business. Beyond this point of community of circulation and value he has never proposed to go. In this he has had the endorsement of the nation.

He is equally divided upon the other important and pending questions of our national industries and labor. He believes in their steady protection against foreign capitalists and foreign paupers. He believes in high wages rather than low, because high wages educate more, consume more, and buy more, and make better citizens. He would protect Christian labor against Chinese because the former can be assimilated and naturalized into citizenship; the latter never—it is always an alien. In a word, he is American, not British nor Asiatic.

In debate Col. Allison is not an orator, but a clear, honest and direct speaker; as free from flourishes of fancy as was Madison. The confidence of the Senate in his statements is very notable, his explanations being so uniformly trustworthy. The country first, and the party for the country is his guiding maxim. His methods and his manners are so unpretentious and conciliatory that they invite support instead of provoking antagonism.

Such is the public man. The private man is affable, accessible, friendly, and fond of domestic life. His second marriage was with the daughter of the late Senator Grimes, a lady of most winning manners, and lovely character. His grief at her loss in 1883 is still shared by his friends. For her sake he declined the offered seat in General Garfield's Cabinet, as Secretary of the Treasury. He loves his friends, and has no enemies to hate. "Stalwarts" and "half-breeds" alike respected his personal independence and

amiable character, which made them his friends, but which forbade him to wear the yoke of either. All the displaced wheels of a great party could adjust themselves to this balance-wheel without friction, and without embarrassment. More brilliant intellects than his own could shine in his Cabinet, as they did in Monroe's and Lincoln's, and derive strength from that incandescent light of COMMON SENSE which is Col. Allison's high characteristic. It is this which will form a strong bond between him and the American people, of whose judgment it makes him the true interpreter. His administration would bring in an era of peace, confidence and goodwill; replacing an epoch of the violation of public pledges, and of political assaults on national industries and labor.

The intellect of Col. Allison, his temper, carefulness in public affairs, and conciliatory character, bear so striking a resemblance to those qualities in President Monroe, that we should confidently expect for his administration a like success, and an unanimity of approval like that which greeted Monroe in 1821.

CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW.

THE good luck of Mr. Depew has not deserted him in this series. "The first shall be last and the last first," says the Scriptural proverb. Mr. Blaine, who was the first on the list of Possible Presidents,* has written a letter declining to be a candidate. Mr. Depew, last, but not least, comes to the front at the finish, like a racehorse that has reserved its supreme speed. In the next number of this Review the name of the Probable President may appear, even if the sure successor to Mr. Cleveland be not infallibly indicated by events.

There are many politicians, both Republican and Democratic, in whom the wish is father to the thought, who confidently predict that, after a few indecisive ballots, a cyclone of enthusiasm will burst upon the Republican National Convention, and Mr. Blaine be nominated by acclamation. Fortunately the Republicans do not require a cyclone.

It might be an excellent thing for the country if the coming

* *See* POSSIBLE PRESIDENTS, J. G. BLAINE, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, September, 1887.

election could be decided upon principles, not men; if both parties would toe the mark squarely upon the Tariff question, the Democrats boldly advocating that Free Trade policy which they call tariff reduction, and the Republicans as boldly declaring for Protection and the abolition of the Internal Revenue taxes. The immense surplus urges its one hundred and fifty millions of arguments in favor of some policy that will prevent the useless accumulation of the people's money in the Treasury, and the people ought to settle by their votes whether they prefer to have cheaper imported goods and raw materials or cheaper whiskey, domestic wines and tobacco, with the privilege of conducting their business undisturbed by the supervision of government spies. This plain question, properly put before the country, might break up the solid South and the solid West. Some Southern States might be tempted from Democracy by the offer of free tobacco; some Western States from Republicanism by the offer of free imports, and the nation would be benefitted by these changes. But, as this simple issue would also break up both of the present political parties, it will be impossible to raise the question so bluntly in November. There are strong Protectionists among the Democrats; there are equally strong Free Traders among the Republicans. Neither party will deprive itself of a large body of voters by taking a decided stand. The Democrats will argue that their tariff reduction is only a measure of expediency, to get rid of the surplus, and the Republicans will endeavor to take advantage of the blunders of their adversaries without presenting any definite alternative. Therefore, the coming election, like the last, will be practically fought out in New York; and here is the unequaled strength of Mr. Depew.

The change of a few hundred votes in New York would have defeated Mr. Cleveland. Now, the candidacy of Mr. Depew would change several thousands of votes in this State, drawing them from the discontented Democrats, from the Mugwumps, from that class who are usually indifferent and call themselves Independent.

Mr. Cleveland carried New York because he had been a reform Mayor and a reform Governor, and because he had the prestige and assistance of Mr. Tilden, and because the Stalwarts and the Mugwumps feared and hated Mr. Blaine. This fear and hatred does not extend to Mr. Depew. The Stalwarts have no leader.

The Mugwumps confess the futility of intrusting their Civil Service hobby to the party of Andrew Jackson. In local popularity Mr. Cleveland cannot compare with Mr. Depew, who has been identified with New York all his life. He was born of an old Dutch family, at Peekskill; he was educated in New York; he graduated at Yale, then joined the New York Bar, and made his début in politics at Albany. He knows personally every politician and almost every journalist in the State, and all of them, irrespective of party, admire and esteem him. He was a lobbyist at the time when votes were won by wit and argument and influence, not bought with bribes of hard cash paid through an accredited agent or over the poker table. Commodore Vanderbilt engaged him as counsel for the New York Central Railroad, at a salary of $25,000 a year—then the salary of the President of the United States—and he always acknowledged that Mr. Depew earned the money. He could not have earned it by corrupt, dishonest practices, for he has retained the confidence of the Vanderbilt family, and now has charge of their vast railroad interests. Had he been a lobby agent of the modern type, Commodore Vanderbilt would have used him, but never trusted him. The Vanderbilt connection, which has been made an objection to the nomination of Mr. Depew, is his clear certificate of integrity, fidelity, and honor.

Another phase of this objection is the presumed hostility to Mr. Depew of what is called the Labor Vote. He has always been associated with Capital and capitalists; he has been the attorney and is now the chief officer of a railroad, and this brands him with the stigma of Monopoly, to which the workingmen are bitterly opposed. But there is another side to this argument. Mr. Depew has been a firm friend of his employés; they trust him; they have found no strikes nor boycotts necessary on the lines which he manages; on the contrary, they have stood out against every effort to drag the Depew roads into the labor troubles of other corporations. His men are kindly cared for, on duty and off duty. They are promoted from the ranks for good conduct. One of them, James Henry Rutter, who began as a clerk in the freight-office, was made president of the New York Central. They have fair hours and fair pay, and they have been presented with a handsome club-house in which to enjoy themselves. There is no doubt that every person in the employ of Mr. Depew would cast a Labor

Vote for him. But are other workingmen to be credited with no common-sense? Have they not observed, and perhaps envied, the happy family on Mr. Depew's lines? Instead of being frightened into voting against him by the bugbear of Monopoly, may they not enthusiastically support him, singling him out as a model to other employers, elevating him as a shining example, and thus demonstrating that American workingmen can appreciate and reward just and kindly treatment? To doubt this is to condemn the Labor Party as destitute of reason.

As between Mr. Depew and any other Possible Candidate yet named in either party, the probabilities are that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Knights of Labor, the Anti-Poverty Society, and the Henry George faction—if Mr. George have a following now—would indorse Mr. Depew. Why should any workingman oppose one of the best employers that workingmen ever had? Socialists and Anarchists may shut their eyes to facts and blindly attack all capitalists indiscriminately; but their votes are too few to be of consequence.

Recent State conventions in Connecticut and New Jersey have shown that, upon the Tariff issue, these may be doubtful States. The Democratic conventions have eulogized Mr. Cleveland as a political necessity; but they have not heartily approved of his Tariff schemes. The New Jersey Democrats want their manufactures protected. The Connecticut Democrats want their tobacco farms freed from taxation. Mr. Depew's position, as defined in his Chicago oration and in the resolutions adopted at a meeting of the Union League Club, over which he presided, is the same as that of Mr. Blaine and Senator Sherman. He is in favor of abolishing the Internal Revenue system and of a tariff for the protection of American industries. Granting, then, that in this respect he is equal to Blaine and Sherman in these pivotal States, his railroad influence gives him immense advantages over them as a Presidential candidate.

Connecticut and New Jersey are State bridges, across which dash the trains that connect New York with the East and the South. They are gridironed with railroads in their politics as well as on their soil. The railroads pay their State taxes; build up their cities and towns; take their products to market; enable their manufacturers to compete with those of the metropolis. The railroad associations of Mr. Depew are thus invaluable to

him in the very States where reinforcements are most needed by the Republicans. Any Republican candidate can obtain the electoral votes of Maine ; any good Republican candidate can be sure of Ohio ; but Mr. Depew, through the peculiar circumstances of his position is the only Republican candidate who can be certain of a large vote, outside of his own party, in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. This Railroad Vote is quite as important, if its effect upon State legislatures be any criterion, as the Labor Vote. It elected President Garfield, although the Stalwarts claimed to have organized the victory. Not until a few days before the election, after a cipher message had been telegraphed along the railroad lines, did the Garfield managers feel secure. When the secret history of that campaign comes to be written, it will be seen that Jay Gould had more influence upon the election than Grant and Conkling.

Mr. Blaine astonished his party, in 1884, by coaxing a large number of Irish voters from the Democratic camp. It had previously been understood that every Irishman was born a Democrat and voted the Democratic ticket as naturally as a duck takes to water. There was nothing objectionable to the Irish in Mr. Cleveland ; nothing in his record to offend the most fanatical Home Ruler. Yet, almost without warning, the Sixty-ninth Regiment deserted the Democratic colors, and a numerous Irish contingent followed and cut down the Cleveland vote in New York amazingly. Why ? Was it because of the whisper that Mr. Blaine or his wife or some member of his family was a Catholic ? Was it because the Irish voters expected that Mr. Blaine would declare war against England ? Whatever the motive, it was strong enough to hold the Irish voters in spite of the Rev. Mr. Burchard's malapropos alliteration. It still holds them ; for, when Governor Hill presented Archbishop Croke's flag to the Sixty-ninth Regiment, a few weeks ago, Mr. Cleveland's name was hissed. Now, whatever strength there may be in Irish sympathy, Mr. Depew shares it equally with Mr. Blaine. The incident at the banquet of the St. George Society has developed this feeling. Professor Goldwin Smith, whose aggressiveness is said to have exiled him from England and made cold Canada too warm for him, undertook to instruct our British residents in regard to American sentiment toward Ireland. He said that the educated classes in this country do not sympathize with the Irish in the

struggle for Home Rule. This was Mr. Depew's opportunity. Under his grave, sedate demeanor, he began to roast the Professor with witty words that literally burned. He modestly claimed to know as much about American sentiment as the exile from Oxford, and eloquently asserted that nine-tenths of the American people, of all classes, educated or uneducated, are in favor of Home Rule everywhere. The courteous but indignant phrases blistered Professor Smith's notoriously sensitive skin, and, in his sufferings a few days after, he interrupted his lecture upon poetry, at Ithaca, to complain that he had been insulted at the St. George banquet by "a politician in the way of his trade." Mr. Depew is not a professional politician, nor is it his "trade" to win votes; but, had the pursuit of popularity been his avocation he could not have succeeded more completely than by his prompt rebuke to Professor Smith.

Equally successful, but in a different spirit, was Mr. Depew's speech at the Grant Birthday dinner, when, in the presence of representative Union and Confederate soldiers, he crumpled up "the bloody shirt" and threw it under the table, like a used napkin. "The political divisions of our country," he said, "are inevitable and necessary for its freedom and prosperity; but they should not be upon sectional lines. A solid North has been broken. A solid South should also disappear. We leave this hall to carry into the Presidential campaign our best efforts for the success of the principles in which we believe, the parties to which we belong, and the candidates whom we honor. Let us make no compromise of principles; but let us remember that the country is greater than the party. To-night the spirit of the great Commander hovers over us and passes us in review. Let us be worthy of his approbation by bringing about such coalitions, all over the country, that we may fight our political battles under the common banner of patriotism and peace."

The next day the papers which published this oration announced that "Depew's Boom is Growing." It grew because everybody who heard or read the speech felt that Mr. Depew was worthy of the Presidency. Ex-Congressman Smart, one of the former Stalwart leaders, a delegate to the Chicago Convention, said: "The Stalwarts can support Depew. He has never stooped to any intrigues against us; he has the respect of all Republicans, irrespective of factions. With the New York delegation at

his back, as I believe it will be, I do not see what there is to prevent his nomination."

But New York will present Mr. Depew's name to the Republican Convention with loving reluctance, as well as with pride. To part from him, even to make him President, will be a sacrifice. The country will be the gainer, but New York will lose its favorite orator. At every public dinner, social, political, collegiate, literary, artistic, he will be missed. President Depew may be present, but the Chauncey M. Depew, who so often set the table in a roar or thrilled the applauding crowd, will be absent; for a President, like the Speaker of the House, must not orate. Who, having once seen him rise at a friendly banquet, can forget the tall, solemn figure; the face, clean-shaven, except for its neatly trimmed whiskers; the large, bluish-gray eyes; the preternaturally demure demeanor; the appearance and deportment of an English barrister without his wig, or an English clergyman without his gown? Who, having once heard him, can forget the cool, calm, tireless voice that gives a new force to fun and a new depth to eloquence?

Unlike all other American humorists, Mr. Depew coins no comic phrases, tells no stories, makes no puns, indulges in no tricks of words or manner. Unlike all other American orators, he seeks to inflame no passions, to excite no prejudices; he says nothing and does nothing to arouse his hearers. Like Antony, he "only speaks right on," expressing plain, common sense in simple language. If this common sense exposes shams, makes pretences ridiculous and affectations absurd, the room rocks with laughter. If it inspires patriotism, stimulates sentiment, impresses great thoughts upon the audience, the hall rings with cheers. Before a jury or a Legislative committee, or a political meeting, or a dinner party, Mr. Depew's manner and method are the same. He is as fluent as Gladstone; but, while Gladstone's sentences are verbose, Depew's are terse and clear. His eloquence is like the ocean, that tosses up waves of wit and crests them with the foam of poetry; but beneath, the sparkling surface is deep and steadfast and mighty. When his audience roar, he seems unconscious of the fun. When they hurrah, there is no answering flash in his steady eyes. He means what he says; he has thought it all out carefully, as his logical arrangement and felicitous phrases prove; he says it because it is his duty to speak, and he is unconcerned

whether those who hear him laugh or cheer so long as they allow him to convince them of the correctness of his views, be they serious or satirical.

Such, in his person, his oratory, his business associations, and his political advantages is the Possible President whom New York recommends to the Republican Convention. No one can be asked to love him for the enemies he has made, because he has never made any—except Prof. Goldwin Smith! He is everybody's friend: the Felix Featherly of American politics. Among the Republican candidates he is the "Seek No Further;" rosy, sweet, delicious, nutritious, and sound to the core; but if the Republicans do not choose to take him, because he has ripened in the Vanderbilt orchard, so much the worse for their taste and health—and Mr. Depew will still smile contentedly in the golden sunshine of general popularity.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

On the 13th of October, 1660, Samuel Pepys made this record in his diary: "I went out to Charing Cross to see Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn and quartered; which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ to judge them that now had judged him, and that his wife do expect his coming again. Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the King at Charing Cross."

The descendants of Thomas Harrison, the patriot of the commonwealth, who had been appointed by Cromwell to convey Charles I. from Windsor to White Hall, and who sat as one of his judges, emigrated to America in early colonial days, and preserving the family traditions, in due time furnished a signer of the Declaration of Independence, in the person of Benjamin Harrison, who was sent in 1774 to the Continental Congress from Virginia, was twice a Representative and thrice Governor of the State. Dying in 1791, he left a son, William Henry, who for half a century served his country in peace and war; fought the battle of

Tippecanoe, where he gained a useful sobriquet in addition to his fair share of martial fame; was Representative, Senator and Foreign Minister, and died in the White House one month after his inauguration as ninth President of the United States. Among his surviving children was John Scott, who was a Member of Congress for two terms, and who otherwise served his country by begetting a son, Benjamin Harrison, for whom the American people are likely to think ninety-six months in the White House none too long a tenure. Benjamin was born August 20, 1833, in his grandfather's house at North Bend, Ohio. He was graduated at Miami University, which, being established in the town of Oxford, might have taken a statelier name without opprobrium; was admitted to the bar, married at the age of twenty, removed to Indianapolis, gained an early reputation for diligence and pertinacity, entered public life as an ardent speaker in the great campaign of 1856, was elected Reporter of the Supreme Court of Indiana, abandoned his family and his profession to enter the volunteer army as a lieutenant, fought long and well and went home a Brigadier General. The sunshine of military fame did not blind him to the sober but solid advantages of legal eminence, and he took up again the studies and labors of an advocate, steadily achieved a secure position at the bar, and in the respect of his fellow-citizens, was the Republican candidate for Governor of Indiana in 1876, was elected a United States Senator in 1881, and served six years.

This is the brief record of a life which is familiar enough to make complete details unnecessary for my purpose. It was not my design to write a campaign biography of General Harrison, but merely to draw the salient outlines, before proceeding to a consideration of the opportunity which his preservation to this time in undoubted health and strength and eager capacity for wider service offers to his party. It is not a dazzling career and his is not adazzling personality; but he has wrought out within and about him a combination of conditions which, at this moment, are as valuable to the Republican organization as they are creditable to himself. It may be said, without much danger of contradiction, that a considerable proportion of the native-born citizens of the United States, above the age of 35 years, are candidates for the Presidency, and it is not improbable that in the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, a marvelously long procession

could be formed of those who, unsuspected of their fellows, have felt at one time or another, at least, the first faint ecstasy of hope. But from the point of view which common sense assumes, the only candidates worth talking about are those about whom great numbers of practical men have already talked. Practical men, I say; if any one prefers the phrase practical politicians, I shall not quarrel with him. I may have occasion to use the word several times, and I shall use it unblushingly. It happens to be the only word which the language offers for the use of the idea, and it has, moreover, for honorable men, an honorable significance. There were heroes before Agamemnon, and there will be politicians long after the delicate creatures who shrink from anything short of "statesmanship" have been laid to rest. Nothing is more absurd, and there are manifold absurdities in current discussion, than the fancy that a certain body of men called "the people" can ever hold to their hearts or present to the gaze of the world a candidate for popular suffrage with whom a certain other body of men called "the politicians" will have nothing to do. The man whom the people want—the people's candidate—is the man whom the politicians spend their days and nights in looking for; and when they have found him they hold him fast. It always has been so, and always will be so, wherever the voters are free and intelligent. Let us then accept the simple definition of a candidate for the Republican nomination in this year of grace and promise, as one who now, three weeks before the convention, is believed by many efficient captains in the party organization, each representing directly and inevitably many party voters, to be the man for whom all are searching. Of course "dark horses" have more than once pranced out of political conventions with the blue ribbon round their necks. Under the spur of the moment, they sometimes come in winners, but they have no place in a preliminary examination. Discuss their points, and they are no longer dark. General Harrison is a candidate—open, avowed, accepted, approved. We have seen who he is, let us see what he represents.

In the first place he represents the Republican party of Indiana, which has just instructed its delegates to Chicago to present him to the convention as its unreserved choice. Indiana must always be thought of among the first when the subject of doubtful States is introduced. It has been for eight years at least and will be this year fair fighting ground, where the greater skill and

prudence and energy are sure of their reward, and where a blunder is most fatal. There is no disposition on the part of Indiana Republicans to sacrifice the party to local pride. They are not in the mood to trifle with the great electoral vote of New York. But they are absolutely certain that they can give their own fifteen electoral votes to the Republican nominee if the essential opportunity is afforded them; that with General Harrison for President the second place on the ticket would in the natural order of things be so filled as to secure the nine votes of New Jersey and the six votes of Connecticut—possibly also the twelve votes of Virginia—and all this without the loss of a single existing chance in any other State. If New York were able to name a candidate, elsewhere unopposed, and fortified by any such prevailing assurance of his ability to carry that State against all contingencies as exists with respect to Harrison and Indiana, the problem would be solved, and the work of the convention done in advance. But no man occupies that position. We hear the off-hand announcement and the glib consent that this candidate or that can win New York, but such utterances neither express nor carry a conviction. Those who make them really mean that they are inclined to think that under favorable conditions, which may or may not exist, and with the accidents of a campaign in their favor, the result would probably verify their prediction. This state of mind is as far removed as possible from that in which Indiana Republicans are steadfastly supporting General Harrison. They know that he can carry Indiana. That is one of the things which are settled. And, moreover, on that point the rest of the country agrees with them. His most prejudiced adversary has never even hinted at the possibility that he might lose his own State. Indiana is his, now and in November. It is no part of my purpose to promote the choice of any candidate for the Vice-Presidency. But I will venture merely to observe in passing that the possibilities suggested by the combination of Harrison and Phelps, or Harrison and Hawley are exceedingly pleasant to contemplate.

I have naturally written first of General Harrison in his relations to the Indiana canvass, with a bare allusion to his strength elsewhere; but I have no concession in reserve. I cannot detect in any quarter the growth of a respectable conviction that his selection would imperil any existing chance of Republican success.

He has the requisite capacity and the requisite availability. For the pleasure of consigning to its own place the sneer with which this word is sometimes uttered I desire to say that to be an "available" Republican candidate for the Presidency is to be all that a man can reasonably hope to make himself in this world, by way of preparation for a world to come. It is to be brave, sincere, high-minded and humane, ambitious and competent to grasp the rewards of ambition. It is, besides this, to have impressed upon the minds and hearts of many men in many places the sense of confidence, of admiration and gratitude. It is in such an attitude and on such an eminence that General Harrison's career and character have placed him before the people. This is a family discussion, and we all want to reach the truth before it is ended. Let us therefore look across the continent and see what there really is in the talk about a dangerous hostility to General Harrison on the Pacific Slope. It has suited the convenience of a few of our brethren, whose intentions are more apparent than their discrimination, to raise a cloud of suspicious dust around the Chinese question, with the expectation that others will not care to strain their eyes in the effort to see through it. I have noticed that they will not demean themselves by descending to particulars, and that I may not annoy them needlessly, and because my time is short, I will deny myself the pleasure of expounding the record. General Harrison has no reason either to fear or regret his attitude on the Chinese question. If at any time there was a disposition on the part of some who feel deeply but do not always see straight to put an imaginary interpretation upon the purposes of a statesman who has enjoyed the somewhat rare advantage of bringing both a clear conscience and a clear head to the solution of problems which involve the future, that time has passed, and with it have disappeared the passion and the prejudice which clouded the issue. The Chinese question has been settled for many years to come by treaty stipulations, and is no longer an affair for practical politics to deal with. The Pacific Coast will unite cordially in the sentiment which is impelling the nearer Western States to recognize in the candidacy of General Harrison a unique combination of advantages.

I have alluded to the cheerful prospect which a happy combination with General Harrison as the head of the ticket affords. The capture of Indiana and New Jersey from the enemy's column

would make the result in New York a matter of practical indifference at the end of the campaign. But I am not zealous to reckon on so small a margin. Allowing, for the sake of the argument, that the Empire State is indispensable, is there a candidate in the field who dares claim for himself, or whose friends dare claim for him, that he can poll more votes than Harrison? Is there one who does not see himself confronted on the threshold of the struggle with some element of opposition that can be neither laughed nor argued out of sight? Whether it be the ghost of Roscoe Conkling, or the trail of a corporation, or the favor or enmity of Wall street, or the apprehension of industry, there it is—a very ugly object for a nervous man to behold. But Harrison is obliged to make no such disquieting confession. He is neither the *protegé* nor the *bête noir* of a faction. He represents in New York as completely as in Indiana the record and the aspirations of a united party. He is not a victim of the fatal delusion that a candidate is strong in proportion as he caters to the fag end of this or that class or nationality. His advocates expect him to poll the full vote that properly belongs to the unmistakable embodiment of Republican principles. That vote has not been polled in recent years. When it is, the man for whom it is cast will be elected.

GHOSTS, DREAMS AND HYPNOTISM.

INTEREST in what is commonly called spiritualism or the supernatural is perennial. Now and then it rises to unusual prominence, as in the recent case of the Debar woman ; but at all times there is a dormant interest which assures a numerous audience, outside of the regular spiritualistic ranks, for any well-told story of new or startling phenomena. This is easily accounted for by the superstitions which are common to the human race. Very few intelligent people will admit that they believe in ghosts, but it is safe to say that not one man in ten thousand can walk alone at night through a lonely graveyard, without experiencing an uncanny sensation that is something akin to fear. The nerves are keenly alive to every mysterious light or shadow, sound or motion, and he must indeed be a bold man who, under such conditions, can encounter unmoved anything that looks like the traditional ghost. It is this inborn superstitiousness that lends a charm to the séance and places a potent weapon in the hands of impostors.

But setting aside all charlatanry, there is an overwhelming amount of evidence from people who are presumably truthful to the effect that they have actually seen persons and things "materialize," as the phrase goes, out of nothing. The fact that many persons cannot see such phenomena when others do see them proves nothing. The world is full of sights and sounds that are invisible to some, but visible to others.

Accepting it as a fact, then, that some persons under certain conditions think that they see certain things, how is it to be accounted for ?

To most of us the phenomena of dreams are more or less familiar. They vary greatly in vividness, but almost every one at times has very real experiences during sleep. There is an artist well known to the writer whose dreams are so intensely lifelike that he

is often unable to determine whether some past series of events is real or unreal. In his dreams he is very much given to jumping off from any lofty height on which he finds himself ; but he often asks whether he is asleep or awake, before taking the leap, and has certain tests which he applies to convince himself that he may venture. Conversely, when he is awake, and having a particularly agreeable time, he is often in doubt whether it is real or unreal.

In his case, the margin between physical and mental vision is very narrow. With most of us it is considerably wider; but who shall draw a sharp dividing line ? Given certain, at present, undefined conditions, why may not the physical power of sight become obscured, while the mental eye becomes keenly active ? And if this be true of an individual, why not of an entire company ? There are, it is true, many persons to whom such delusions may seem impossible in a normal or healthy state, but an attack of malaria, with its frequently attendant delirium, may call up before them realistic simulacra of the departed, or cause them to see sights as baseless as the fabric of dreams. Artificial delusions, too, may be produced by drugs well-known to chemists.

Opium, Indian hemp and alcohol are capable of stimulating and distorting the mental vision, when taken in excess, proving that the quality of seeing the invisible is merely latent, and requires only the proper stimulant for its temporary development.

Again there are the phenomena so ably discussed in a recent number of the REVIEW. It is a recognized fact that the senses of hypnotics fall completely under the control of the hypnotizer. They see, hear, feel, smell and taste according to his will. In their brains a mysterious something exists in an abnormal degree, but by all reasonable analogy it must be present in a lesser degree in every other human brain. Favorable conditions may make any one hypnotic to some extent, in a degree sufficient, perhaps, to dull the physical vision and excite the mental vision. Naturally enough a company of sympathetics may be similarly influenced, and it follows that if a few non-sensitives are present their influence may make itself felt, and the hypnotizer, medium or experimenter may fail utterly where he has been accustomed to succeed.

The Orientals are highly successful in this class of experiment. Every Eastern traveler tells of having witnessed feats which can only be explained on one assumption—he believes that

he saw them; and if we believe that we have seen a thing we are justified in *saying* that we have seen it.

The phrase "second sight," carries a meaning which implies prophetic power, but really there appears to be a second sight common to a large proportion of the human race, and which has been referred to as mental vision. The recognition of its existence greatly simplifies a vast number of inexplicable matters. To it may be fairly ascribed many of the contradictions of eye-witnesses in courts of law; within its range float the ghosts and apparitions of all ages, and it remains for science to take cognizance of it and make it subserve the common good.

Possibly this quality of vision—and the same is true of all the other senses and perceptions—may have something to do with the new schools of mind cure, faith cure, and the like. Authentic as are the records of failures in this line of practice, it is equally certain that singular cases of recovery or cure have occurred under their auspices, and therein lies a lesson which skeptics are slow to learn. All physicians are agreed that if a patient believes himself to be convalescent the battle is half won. Here is the true stronghold of the mind and faith "doctors," the mesmerizers, and all the rest, some of whom are sincere and earnest persons, and others arrant frauds. Custom and tradition have established it as the professional duty of all orthodox practitioners to frown upon such practices, but they all prescribe "bread pills" upon occasion, and that is neither more nor less than an appeal to the imagination, with a view to influencing the patient's belief regarding his own condition.

The physician would be phenomenally successful who, by a mere act of volition, could induce a sort of waking on the part of the patient in which symptoms should take a favorable turn. In other words, if the patient can be hypnotized into a conviction that pain is pleasure, that disease is health, that wounds have healed, the conditions will at once become far more favorable for recovery than would be possible under normal circumstances of mental or physical suffering. And if the hypnotic state can be maintained during a somewhat protracted period—as seems not altogether improbable—the recuperative powers of nature will have a fair chance to repair damages.

Dr. Hammond has instanced a gunshot wound as a crucial test for the mind-cure practitioners, and at first blush it would

seem absurd that a man with a shattered limb should be told to believe it whole. In point of fact, however, the writer hereof has seen a red-hot iron applied to the flesh of a hypnotic subject without producing the slightest evidence of sensation. When, however, the trance was broken, nerves resumed their functions and the man acted as any one does who has recently burned his hand. Possibly if the hot iron had been applied before the trance the difficulty of obliterating the sense of feeling would have been increased, but it is not altogether incredible that even under such conditions the mind may be diverted and local insensibility induced.

Here then is an array of facts which no one who has given the matter attention will venture to deny. The senses act in obedience to the imagination under certain partly understood conditions. They compel individuals to see, hear and feel in a manner wholly at variance with fact. As a result, well authenticated ghost stories are as old as history ; manifestations and materializations are of equally respectable antiquity, and cures by "bread-pill," or "mind" or "faith," are of alleged frequent occurrence. While our brains are capable of dreaming dreams when asleep, it behooves us to be careful about denying that we can dream with our eyes open. If, as M. de la Tourette assures us, with the approval of Professor Charcot, that hypnotics may walk about seemingly in a sane condition and commit crimes without responsibility, it behooves us to be just a little prudent about asserting that every one must see the same things that we see, and in just the same way.

If the foregoing deductions are correct, disbelievers in spiritualism have been, and are, gravely at fault when they assert that all so-called "manifestations" are frauds. Delusions they may be, but not always in the sense usually understood. It would be wiser for them and scientists in general if they would proceed on the assumption that a very considerable proportion of the alleged phenomena are due to a species of hypnotism on the part of the observer. When the characteristics of this not uncommon mental freak are better understood, possibly some good may result for the world at large ; but in the meantime there is no possible use in telling people that they have not seen what they honestly believe they have seen.

Charles Ledyard Norton.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

I.

NEGLECTED CHILDREN.

If I were asked to name one product of vice and crime, which soonest would touch the hearts of all good people, I would say, "a neglected child." There is something in the helplessness of childhood which appeals to every human heart. In childhood there is something angelic which every soul grieves to see soiled and bedevilled by association with vice and crime, or cradled, suckled, and bred up amid scenes of guilt, intemperance, and profligacy. Christians and heathen, Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics feel alike the spell and pathos of childhood. Nature and Religion recognize the sadness of child suffering.

In the poorer sections of all our great cities, neglected children are plenteously bred. They are orphans, bastards, or deserted children, or the offspring of depraved and intemperate parents. Poverty, profligacy, intemperance, and the promiscuous herding together of both sexes in the vile localities of the cities are responsible for them. They are forever coming on. They are propagated so profusely that a Malthus preaching civilization might regard it fortunate that the places of infant nurture are also the haunts of the deadliest infantile diseases. They subsist on charity, by pickings and stealings, and on the refuse of the markets and restaurants. They find shelter as best they may.

In New York (and I believe in other of our large cities) there is a society organized for the prevention of cruelty to children. Great is the good work which they have done. Most marvelous is the misery which they have exposed. To read their reports without shuddering at the immensity of the cruelty to which children are subjected, is impossible; but it is yet more sad to see some of these neglected children themselves, just when they are rescued, with faces so stamped already with the devil marks of vice and crime that it is scarcely possible to believe that it was of such as they, that Christ said : "*Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones ; for I say unto you that in Heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in Heaven.*"

Apart from all religious and sentimental aspects there is another view which must be taken. Neglected children are to be feared, not because of their childish attempts at evil, but rather because the child, being father to the man, has a potentiality for a vast amount of mischief, when the seeds of his early training bear fruit in the maturity of manhood. While foreign nations have dealt with neglected children as if they were merely so many stray animals, we must regard them in the higher aspect of embryo citizens and law makers who will become possessed of powers which jails cannot control and police courts cannot cope with.

The foreign theory is that children are the property of their parents, to be utilized as the latter see fit—to be exhibited to make money, even though their education be neglected, their morals impaired, and life shortened. The American theory is, that it is rather the duty of the parents to support the child than for children to support their parents. It insists that the child should be taught to read and write and be fitted by education to become a reputable American citizen; that no child should toil in the factory, nor beg upon the street; that no occupation which stunts the body or contaminates the character should be followed. The two theories have been recently illustrated by the case of Josef Hofmann, the musical prodigy.

Neglected children are far more apt to be the product of cities than of the country; yet their redemption is one of those necessities which the whole nation is interested in enforcing. It is from them that the criminal class is most largely

reinforced. The precocity of childhood is proverbial. The poor little neglected wretches are guilty of innumerable petty pilferings to stave off the pangs of hunger. They grow dangerous faster than they grow in years, for poverty sharpens the wits and an empty stomach knows no conscience.

There is hardly a crime on the statute books of which children between the ages of six and fourteen have not been accused in the criminal courts of the city of New York.

No nation, much less the United States, can afford to permit its cities to breed such reinforcements to the criminal classes; and so it becomes the business of the whole nation to aid and sustain those brave and generous souls who are striving to redeem neglected children—even though such efforts be restricted by the geographical limits of a municipality.

ARTHUR DUDLEY VINTON.

II.

PHILOLOGICAL CURIOSITIES.

MR. SAMUEL L. CLEMENS ("Mark Twain"), in his mosaic-like work, "Life on the Mississippi," relates how in New Orleans the word *lagniappe* is used, and states the singular fact that its use is restricted to that one city, and is not heard or understood elsewhere. This reminded me that in Savannah, Georgia, where my boyhood was passed, there is a word whose habitat is limited to that one town, and, perhaps, its immediate vicinity. I never heard it anywhere else, though I lived for several years in the interior of that State. The word is *brottus*. I spell it as it is pronounced, for I never heard it spelled, or saw it in print or writing. Its use is confined almost exclusively to children and negroes. In this respect, as well as its meaning, it resembles *lagniappe*. It means a little something over or in excess of a given quantity, and partakes of the nature of a gratuity. I can best illustrate its exact definition by explaining in what circumstances it is used. If a child or a negro, either upon their own account, or in the performance of an errand for parents or employers, makes a purchase at a grocery or other store, the child or negro will usually ask, "What are you going to give me for *brottus*?" or, "Aren't you going to give me something for *brottus*?" This is a request for a small present or good-will offering, in return for the purchaser's patronage. The shop-keeper seldom refuses to honor this draft upon his generosity, but adds to the commodity purchased a little more of the same, or perhaps some other small article of trifling value. In the case of children, this little gift usually takes the form of a bit of candy, or a "specked" apple or orange. Of course, a request for *brottus* is beneath the dignity of the adult white person; hence its use only by children and negroes.

The origin of this word is entirely unknown to me. I suppose that like *buccra* (white person), or *goober* (peanut, or "ground nut," as it is commonly called at the South), it belongs to some African dialect, imported with slaves from the Dark Continent.

E. M. DAY.

III.

HYPNOTISM IN POLITICS.

FREE traders are endeavoring to repeat on the sphere of social science a recent wonderful experiment successfully performed by medical experts in Paris. It is recorded that a paralytic patient was placed by the side of a hypnotized subject, and that the paralysis was successfully transferred from the patient to the subject. The physicians who performed this marvelous experiment were bound, of course, to repeat the operation to relieve the hypnotized subject from the disease that he had scientifically acquired. American free traders are now trying to hypnotize America. England is suffering from a slight shock of commercial paralysis, and seeks, by free trade, to relieve herself at our expense. Undoubtedly her

"science" would be fully able to effect the transfer of her paralysis to our America. By it, *she* would be restored to perfect health. But before we submit to the free trade hypnotistic experiment, would it not be prudent to exact securities for the retransfer of the paralysis? John Bull never fails to look out for his own interests and it is quite probable that as soon as he felt that his paralysis had left him, he would take good care that the experiment should be stopped before the disease could be returned to him. The interests of science might suffer by this selfishness; but business before science is his practice.

JOHN BALL, JR.

IV.

THEATRICAL CAPUAS.

THE ordinary man is not given to reflection. As he witnesses some splendid performance at a well-appointed city theatre, he little reflects that the actor whose delineations of character surprise him into admiration, has gained the power of forcing tears or smiles from an audience, not in Capua, but in Sparta. There is no royal road to learning—so they say; but the educational paths which royalty travels are usually smoothed and graded by well-trained gardeners; and as the ways by which royalty saunters its life-passage through the world are usually rendered pleasant and easy by forethought and skillful care, so the experience which a theatrical novice must gain may be written by heredity or social influence upon the finger-posts marking the paths which lead to the temple of fame.

The way which every man treads for himself over the trackless plain of life is marked by stumbling-blocks and pitfalls. As in nature, so in human experience, those paths are rugged which lead the traveler over boulders and along precipices upward to the mountain peak whence he can spy the whole world beneath him. And, no doubt, if we could read the workings of the human heart, we would learn that the difficulties of the ascent lend an additional pleasure to the attainment of the height, and that those achievements are most highly prized which are gained by days of hard physical exertion or nights of exhausting thought. Nothing can be really worse for the embryo actor than a leap at once into public favor. The Spartan boy never knew the luxury of the physical health he enjoyed until he felt the fox gnawing at his vitals.

The actor cannot know the joy of fame if he gain not reputation by his own struggles. Anticipation is apt to be so much more full of pleasure than attainment that success is robbed of half its joy if it come too quickly. Men value life the more after they have surmounted the realities of life. It is a childhood in Sparta which makes the pleasures of Capua so enervating to the stranger sojourning in Capua. Those actors whom good fortune or family influence has placed at once upon the metropolitan stage have seldom the theatrical power which characterizes those who served their novitiate as barnstormers in the country. The greatest actors have always been the ones who, when acquiring the rudiments of their education have delineated human passion amid bare and makeshift surroundings—who, from the circumstances in which they were placed, have been forced to influence their audience by an exact simulation of human hopes and fears, and joys and sorrows, without the adventitious aid of elaborate stage-setting. Our great city theatres are as enervating to real theatrical talent as the city of Capua was to the army of Hannibal. The Spartan discipline of country barnstorming trains the actor to become the metropolitan star, capable of "holding the mirror up to nature"—capable of evoking the sympathy and applause of his audience, independently of the skill of the scene-painter and stage carpenter.

MARGARET COGHLEN.

V.

WHO ARE THE CULPRITS?

SOCIALISTS delight in denouncing the rich or "privileged classes," as the wealthier citizens of the Republic are sometimes most incorrectly styled—the "capitalistic class," to use their favorite phrase—as the authors and supporters of the laws that favor corporations to the prejudice of the masses of the people. American workingmen will never effect any legislative reform until they have the moral courage to see and to confess that for whatever social evils legislation entails they alone or at least they chiefly are responsible. There is not a single election precinct in the United States in which the workingmen do not constitute an overwhelming majority of the popular vote. *They* choose the lawmakers. They invest the various executive officers with the power of the State and Nation. If these men, as a class, therefore, prove unworthy of their trust, it is the workingmen who should be held accountable for it. To denounce any class of men for perverting the laws to their personal advantage is alike idle and illogical; classes always have and corporations always will seek to so construe the laws as to advance their selfish interests, and no wise legislator can innocently ignore this fact. It is probably impossible—as Napoleon discovered—to make laws so simple and clear that a member of a learned profession can never pervert their intent, but it certainly is quite within the power of laws to prevent the "exploitation" of the masses by the classes to an extent that would be seriously felt. But to secure impartial legislation, it is absolutely indispensable that legislators should be chosen not in view of party expediency, but to secure agents too intelligent to be deceived and too honest to be approached by the givers of bribes. It is a notorious fact that the most corrupt legislators are chosen from districts where the workingmen are strongest. Workingmen sow tares in the ballot-box, and expect to reap wheat in the legislative hall. Of course they are always disappointed and always will be disappointed until they learn that men never gather grapes from thistles—that in the political as well as in the rural fields men reap as they sow.

Honest voting for honest candidates—this is the alpha and omega of reform. Until the workingmen realize this truth they will be cheated just as often as they vote. "Third parties" or "a single tax" will bring them no nearer to equal rights nor hasten the advent by a single hour of the millennium that they seek to inaugurate. Union of labor also is not sufficient until it results in the election of integrity and capacity. If the present representatives of workingmen in the State and National legislatures are neither honest nor efficient, let the workingmen remember that they themselves are the culprits.

HENRY MELROSE.

VI.

PERSONALITY OF TEACHERS.

ETERNAL vigilance is the price of liberty. This is an old saying, but every now and then it receives a new force, as the agencies of our liberties become afflicted with dry-rot, or are attacked by ill-wishers to our material prosperity. The public school, rather than the press, has become the palladium of our liberties. But the educational system of the United States is threatened now by a fungous growth which, sooner or later, attaches itself to every human agency of progress. Red tape has wound itself so closely about the public school system, that teachers and pupils alike suffer from the ill effects of constriction. Under its baneful influence teachers have become automatons, capable of imparting only cut-and-dried infor-

mation. It is a rare thing now to find in the public schools a living teacher. The old race of pedagogues, who came directly into contact with the minds of children, and fashioned not only the mental powers, but also the characters of their pupils, is dying out. In the city of New York, for example, the supply of teachers by the regulations of the public school commissioners is practically limited to the young and inexperienced girls who swarm out of the Normal College. These "girl graduates" have been brought up in the New York public schools, and are acquainted with no methods save those which have prevailed in these schools during their attendance. "They go into the schools with the idea that they have a right to the empty places, and their crude and machine-like work, modeled solely on what they have seen, serves only to intensify the constantly accumulating evil tendencies of our schools." And if an experienced and wise teacher comes from some town outside the city, his every movement is cramped and fettered by some one of the petty regulations of the Board of Education.

Under the regulations of our School Commissioners, the reputation of the teacher depends entirely upon the number of good marks which the scholars attain upon examination. The physical well-being of the class, the moral character and strength of intellect which the teacher has inculcated, count for nothing. The teacher who has succeeded in embedding on the tongue-tips of his pupils a certain set of cut-and-dried facts and figures, is the teacher who is considered most successful. There is no free play in teaching. There is no opportunity given to a teacher to study the capabilities or characters of pupils. A certain number of facts, dates and cut-and-dried information must be crammed into the heads of the pupils, or the teacher loses his place.

This is all wrong. There must be less centralization and more individuality in the pedagogic system. The present system of examinations must be entirely done away with. There must be a change, and a radical change. There must be an increase in the personality of the teacher, and a decrease in the red-tapeism of the Board of Education.

BRISCOE E. MAN.

VII.

FLEXIBLE MAJORITIES ONCE MORE.

IN Col. Norton's comments, in the May REVIEW, on my article in the April REVIEW, some points are well taken, but others seem more like the genial assurances of an optimist than the cold conclusions of a statistician. The theory that in great crises the people recognize the importance of the issues at stake, and vote overwhelmingly for the right, is not borne out by the figures. The most momentous question that we have ever decided by a popular election came up in 1864, when the re-nomination of President Lincoln put to the test the determination to continue the war to a successful issue. Yet Mr. Lincoln was re-elected by a majority of only ten per cent. in the popular vote; a change of one ballot in twenty would have given his opponent a majority, and would probably have established the Confederacy. On his first election Mr. Lincoln had only a plurality. If patriotic Democrats had been as willing to vote for liberty and the preservation of the Union in 1860 as they were to fight for it in 1861, the Secessionists would perhaps not have felt encouraged to carry their great conspiracy into execution. In speaking of "make-weight parties," I did not refer to the Mugwumps, for they are not a party; but in this connection it may be as well to examine the oft-repeated assertion that the Free-soilers of 1844–48 and the Republicans of 1854–56 were the Mugwumps of their day. If the Free-soilers in 1844 had declared that James K. Polk was better than his party, was in fact an

anti-slavery man, and had voted for him, reviling Henry Clay professedly because he favored slavery, but in reality because he was a protectionist, then the Free-soilers would have been the Mugwumps of their day. And if, after President Polk had secured Texas as slave territory, and thrown away half of Oregon because it would have increased our free territory, they had still declared him a reasonably good anti-slavery man, and demanded his re-election, they would have been the very perfection of Mugwumps. But instead of this they simply nominated and voted for James G. Birney, an abolitionist who had proved his sincerity by manumitting his slaves. A similar explanation would also show that the Republicans of 1854–56 do not deserve to be stigmatized as the Mugwumps of their day. What might be done if voters were properly enlightened may be inferred from the working of the jury system. It is only now and then that a jury fails to find a unanimous verdict, and in case of disagreement it is seldom six to six or seven to five. This is simply because the jurymen hear all the evidence and arguments on both sides, and vote honestly. But the great popular jury of ten million voters will not do this, and so is permanently divided into nearly equal sections.

ROSSITER JOHNSON.

VIII.

POLITICAL MARIONETTES.

IN a very forcible and thoughtful article in the April number of THE REVIEW, Mr. Rossiter Johnson says: "If, with all our colleges, all our common schools, all our newspapers, all our periodicals, all our pulpits, all the free discussion that is carried on throughout the land, never more than a trifle over half of the voters can find out what is the wise and honest course to be pursued, then of what use are all these educational institutions and processes?" And elsewhere in his article he remarks: "In this day of newspapers we ought to be able to look to journalism for the * * enlightenment of ballot-casters."

Mr. Johnson falls into the error which influences so many other good men, namely, the belief or presumption that our political teachers are capable of imparting correct instruction and delivering unbiassed judgment. Nothing is further from the truth. Newspapers, common schools, colleges, and pulpits, are all marionettes, obeying the motions of some unseen wire-puller.

Did you ever see a marionette performance? If you have seen a good, first-class one, you must have been struck with the almost human intelligence which the actors displayed. Reason told you that they were only wooden figures, dressed up, and obeying the manipulations of unseen persons operating from above the "flies." Marionettes are not indigenous to this country, so it is permissible for us to flatter ourselves that the intelligence which they display is not representative of American ability.

If you have not seen a marionette performance, then, for your benefit, let me say that marionettes are wooden figures, to whose arms and legs strings are attached, and each marionette moves—indeed lives, moves, and has its being—in the manipulations of the human being at the other end of the strings. The simulated life thus imparted to these insensate blocks of wood is wonderfully realistic, and the performance of the marionette is often capable of giving greater pleasure than would follow a similar performance by the manipulator behind the scenes.

There are such things as political bosses, and nowadays it is one of the principal duties of a political boss to sit in the headquarters of his party and pull the strings which political influence has previously attached to the arms and legs of teachers, editors, and orators. In the marionette performance the words of the

play are spoken by persons hidden in the "wings;" so, in the political performance, the noble sentiments and political doctrines of public teachers and preachers are put into their mouths by the boss or his agents. The teacher, editor, and preacher are merely the creatures of the political boss. What he directs them to teach or say, that the public hear.

The public teacher who, either from the intensity of his convictions or the purity of his character, wishes to speak his mind to the people, is not permitted by the party managers to address the audiences which assemble at party gatherings. He is driven to some independent public meeting. If he be rich, he can hire a hall and talk to those people who, in one way or another, he has induced to be present; if he be poor, his only chance is to find a footing upon the platforms of the Labor party, the Temperance party, or the Anti-Povertyites. The regular political machines have no use for him, nor for any other man who thinks independently of the political bosses. They permit no man to speak at the public meetings which they control who is not a marionette, and whose words and actions are not directed by themselves.

A. O. HUNTINGTON.

IX.

INTELLIGENCE OF MONKEYS.

RECENTLY there have appeared in THE REVIEW several articles treating of the intelligence and reasoning power of animals. I have seen these articles copied in many journals throughout the country—a fact which shows how popular they have proved—and, therefore, I am emboldened to add to the instances of animal intelligence already mentioned in THE REVIEW another instance which has not been previously mentioned, probably because it has only very recently become generally known in this country. At a certain theatre in the city of New York a troupe of trained monkeys is performing in so-called theatrical representations —not theatrical representations of a high degree, but rather a performance which reminds one irresistibly of the dramatic performances which certain tribes in the interior of Africa are reported to produce for the entertainment of explorers.

No one can witness the performance of these monkeys at the Star Theatre without being at once struck with the vast difference that exists between every act of the monkey tribe and every act of the human player. No matter how ignorant and absurd the man may be upon the stage he displays at least a certain power to originate, while the monkey convinces the most obtuse spectator that it is acting by rote. Yet no training could produce such results as these monkeys produce, if in the monkey mind there did not exist some latent germ of mental development. There are few people who have not seen, at some time or other in their lives, performances by trained dogs, horses or elephants; but between such performances and the acting of the monkeys a difference is easily perceptible. In the monkey there is at least a glimmer of the light of reason, while in the other animals we can see nothing but the darkness of mental obscurity. The difference is not great, but the fact of its existence is perceptible. As the monkey is supposed to approach nearer to man, so we may note an improvement over the other animals. Some of the gestures, and I may even say some of the facial expressions of the monkeys, are wondrously human. We know that the gestures have been taught to these animals by years of careful training, but it is difficult to realize that the facial expression is not spontaneous. Those persons who are interested in the possibilities of animal intelligence may find profit and pleasure in the study of these monkey actors.

J. S. SCHNEIDER.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

I.

INVESTING MONEY.

THE author of this brief treatise* withholds his name lest he should incur the suspicion of endeavoring to advertise his business. The papers, therefore, are to be judged by their intrinsic merits; but it is presumable that the experiences of any intelligent person engaged in the work of dealing in securities must have a certain practical value. The subject is interesting to an increasingly wide circle, for in spite of all that is said and written about the hardness of the times, there are additions every year to the great army of investors. This book has nothing to do with the subject of "making" money. It gives some sound information and sensible advice as to the different kinds of American securities, and the means of distinguishing between the good, the bad, and the indifferent. The author alleges that the making of shares and bonds, the latter represented to be amply secured by mortgage liens, has been carried to criminal excess, and he gives an instance in proof, where a railroad, on the strength of forty-eight miles of constructed road, costing $10,000 per mile, succeeded in negotiating $5,000,000 of paper, after which it went into the hands of a receiver, who issued a considerable amount in certificates for repairs, and finally the road was sold for $40,000, payable in said certificates, which had been purchased at a large discount. He avers that "there never was a time when it was so easy to invest money—and to lose it." Before investing, a very careful scrutiny should be made as to the actual, not alleged, values on which the so-called securities are based, and even as to the wording of the securities themselves. "In many cases the buyers of bonds and other securities learn when it is too late that their purchases, owing to some obscure and apparently innocent passage that had been overlooked or disregarded, are very different from what they thought they were getting." Again: "Unless you are previously familiar with the document in all its parts, don't fail to read it before you buy. Read it all, the little type as well as the big type, the indorsements, the coupons, and all. Don't take somebody else's word for it. Examine the seal, the signatures, and even the embellishments."

From the above extracts the reader may judge for himself of the value of this little manual. The author deals particularly with such matters as Governments, State bonds, municipals, railroad mortgages and shares, farm mortgages, ranch securities, water-works loans, street railway bonds, mining securities, bridge bonds, and other kinds of investments. He incidentally mentions the interesting

* "The Art of Investing." By a New York Broker. D. Appleton & Co.

fact or estimate that the various civilized nations on the globe owe an equivalent to an average of $720 on every square mile of their territory, or $23 per capita, on all their subjects, absorbing no less than twenty-seven thousand millions of securities ($27,000,000,000) on which they are paying interest.

The chapter on speculation is worth attentive reading by all who feel drawn towards Wall street, particularly with other people's money. The author pictures the New York Stock Exchange—despite its eminent respectability—as an enormous devil-fish with a hundred thousand arms reaching into all parts of the country, and all equipped with suckers more or less powerful, and busy, every one of them, in extracting nourishment for the monster to which it belongs. And he gives facts and arguments to prove this. This is pretty good from a New York broker: "When the cleverest operators, the trained *habitués* of the street, so often make shipwreck, what hope is there for the inexperienced?" "The popular idea," he says, "is that the Exchange has upon its list, to be dealt in, all or nearly all prominent stocks and bonds of acknowledged value, impartially selected and solely because of their merits. There could be no greater misconception." And then he mentions several unexceptionable securities which one never sees listed. On the other hand the Exchange parades a column of "tatterdemalions." Theoretically the Exchange should be unobjectionable, but practically it is an immense gambling establishment, and is the last place to go to for reliable information about any stock bought or sold in its precincts. In this terrible arraignment the author also includes the Chicago Board of Trade and the Pittsburg Petroleum Board.

The speculator will not find much to encourage or guide him in these pages, which are intended, not for his benefit, but for the assistance of those who buy for investment, and wish above all things absolute security for their money. To all such it is sure to prove a very interesting and valuable book, deserving of careful reading. There is an appendix to the book containing a list of investment securities.

II.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

AMONG the many excellent books of D. Appleton & Co.'s International Scientific Series, Prof. Leone Levi's treatise on International Law* deserves exceedingly favorable mention as the latest and best attempt to give a practical tone to the theories and discussions upon this subject. It embodies within a small compass a great multitude and variety of very interesting facts, including a brief historical review of the progress of international relations, and the present political condition of the various States which constitute the existing family of nations. The materials for an International Code are gathered from established principles recognized and usually observed among civilized people, and also from treaties and conventions; and the author justly surmises that these may be of practical use in facilitating a resort to arbitration in cases of dispute between nations. Statesmen and jurists will find valuable data in this volume, covering as it does the entire field of international relations, including such matters as extradition, patent laws, joint stock companies, domicile and marriage, ambassadors, diplomatic agents and consuls, commerce and navigation—the whole being compactly and concisely put together, so as to convey the pith and substance of the matter without learned verbosity. We predict that this little hand-book will be for many years to come an authoritative work of reference on the important subject of

* "International Law." With Materials for a Code. By Leone Levi, F.S.A. D. Appleton & Co.

which it treats. Among other useful features it gives a list of the principal works published upon international law during the past three or four hundred years.

III.

SOME EDUCATIONAL WORKS.

THE aims and methods of the Manual Training School are intelligently set forth in a new work on this subject,* which consists, in part, of addresses delivered by the author, Dr. C. M. Woodward, of the St. Louis Training School, to various educational gatherings during the last twelve years at Saratoga, St. Louis and Chicago. Repetitions must, therefore, be expected. The most valuable portion of the book is the elaborate and practical outline of a three years' course in an ideal school, which is presented in as many chapters, covering over one hundred pages. Admirable illustrations of drawings in all departments, estimates of expense, and clear descriptions of methods of shop-work, accompanied by specimens of actual lessons in different branches, contribute to the usefulness of these chapters, which will commend themselves as being intensely practical to the industrial educator, or to any who wish exact information on this subject. No volume of the sort, so far as we know, has been published in this country. A systematic arrangement of the interesting matter contained in the addresses, would add greatly to its availability to many whose ideas of industrial education are necessarily indefinite. As to the results of manual training, the statements of individual graduates who have left a given institution within the past four years can hardly be accepted as authoritative estimates of what the system is worth. They are of necessity prejudiced and immature judgments, and we must wait for the years to discover what the introduction of shop-work and domestic economy into the curriculum of the schools can accomplish for the boys and girls of America.

A briefer study of the same subject,† by Robert Seidel, of Switzerland, has already been translated into French and Italian, and now appears in English dress through the good offices of one of its American admirers.

The work had its origin in a reply made by Herr Seidel to certain objections which were raised against industrial instruction in the Synod of the Canton of Zurich, where the question was discussed a few years ago in this form: "Is industrial instruction pedagogically necessary, superfluous, or is it actually injurious?" An able discussion of the inner relation between industrial education and the social question is followed by the careful consideration of the numerous objections proposed by its opponents, which may be studied to advantage by educators on this side of the water.

Still another work on pedagogy‡ has no nominal connection with industrial education, but in reality it breathes the same spirit of life and progress. "Chips," says the author, "are useful for kindling fire," and these scraps of advice, suggestions of methods, and deductions from the practical experience of a teacher and supervisor ought to enkindle enthusiasm in any earnest teacher, superintendent, or supervisor who reads them. There is nothing approaching pedantry. The

* "The Manual Training School, comprising a full Statement of its Aims, Methods and Results, with figured drawings of Shop Exercises in Woods and Metals." By C. M. Woodward, Director of the Manual Training School at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. D. C. Heath & Co.

† "Industrial Instruction: a Pedagogic and Social Necessity Together with a Critique upon Objections Advanced." By Robert Seidel. Translated by Margaret K. Smith. D. C. Heath & Co.

‡ "Chips from a Teacher's Workshop." By L. R. Klemm, Ph. D. Lee & Shepard.

style is clear and conversational rather than didactic, and the topics include a wide range of thought. The hints on discipline, and on the teaching of arithmetic, language, and history are of more than ordinary value.

IV.

MR. CABLE'S "BONAVENTURE."

If one could imagine Longfellow writing the history of the descendants of Benedict Bellefontaine and Basil the blacksmith, in the forests of Beau Bassin, his fancy could picture nothing more delightfully real and in consonance with all that the poet tells us of the simple Acadian peasants than Mr. Cable's "Bonaventure."* The charm of the pastoral life of these unlearned, unsuspicious people in their rude homes far away from the stir of modern life is as novel as it is indescribable.

Of all the interesting portraits, none equals in finish and delicacy that of Bonaventure, especially with Sidonie by his side. The gentle, artless boy, the born lover, whose big blue eyes fill with tears at each of the numerous Gradnegro weddings; because, by some oversight, he and the little Zoséphine are still unwed, is the sorrowful hero of "Carancro'," the first story. His rejected love sends him to the good curé who teaches him from his few books all the learning at his command. In "Grande Pointe," however, the author paints his finest touches, and Bonaventure now appears as the poor enthusiastic lover of his kind who seeks out the distant hamlet hitherto untouched in the swift circling round of busy life, and in sweet and gentle fashion teaches marvelous English to the wondering, half doubting "'Cajuns." The plot, style and poetry of the pastoral is most finely wrought out here. In "Au Large" the city streets furnish an occasional background, but out at "Grande Pointe," the home of the birds and the bees and their equally happy human neighbors, there is nothing to intercept one's vision. Here "all nature is in glad gay earnest. Corn in blossom and rustling in the warm breeze; blackberries ripe; morning-glories underfoot, the trumpet-flower flaring from its dense green vine high above on the naked, girdled tree; the cotton-plant blooming white, yellow and red in the field beneath, honey a-making in the hives and hollow trees, butterflies and bees lingering in the fields at sunset, the moth venturing forth at the first sign of dew, and Sidonie,—a wild rose tree."

Because the central figures in Grande Pointe are so unique, those of "Au Large," who resemble the men and women we have known, lose something by contrast. But the story of the pitiful, outlawed homicide of Lake Cataouaché, struggling for his life with threatening flood and deadly reptiles, is one of the strongest descriptions in the book. It is safe to say that Mr. Cable has never produced anything so delightful and so artistic as "Bonaventure," and, having entered and explored this fascinating Acadian region so thoroughly, we do not see how he will be able to surpass so pleasant and popular a story.

V.

MISCELLANEOUS.

There have been many histories of the United States written within the few last years. But no writer has succeeded better than Mr. Childs in condensing into the short space of 260 pages the various historical facts which every one should know. In the little book† which he has sent into the world through the press of

* "Bonaventure: A Prose Pastoral of Acadian Louisiana." By George W. Cable. Charles Scribner's Sons.

† "A History of the United States in Chronological Order, A. D. 1492 to 1888." By Emory E. Childs. J. S. Ogilvie & Co., New York.

J. S. Ogilvie & Co., he has managed to include all of the important geographical discoveries, political and military events, and to mention the principal manufactures as they were introduced, and the beginning and development of such other factors of industrial development as railroads, canals and telegraphs, and to record the principal inventions and chemical, mechanical and scientific discoveries. The arrangement which he adopts is the chronological; but though he follows it closely, he does not adhere to it slavishly; for example, under the division devoted to the year 1825 he digresses sufficiently to narrate some of the past services which Lafayette rendered to this country—that year being the date when Lafayette revisited the United States. So many events and circumstances have claimed the historian's notice, that many of them are of necessity often condensed into mere mention. But Mr. Childs has shown remarkable judgment in what he has condensed and what elaborated. The book will prove of inestimable value to pupils and teachers in schools, and its low price brings it within the reach of every body.

The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association sends out a small but solid little volume,* designed for the help of all boys who wish to attain a true and noble manhood. It touches all the important topics relating to the subject in a somewhat sombre and old-fashioned manner, but with the power of an earnest purpose, and is such a book as every thoughtful mother would wish her boy to read.

In scope and arrangement Dr. Von Reber's "History of Mediæval Art"† is broad and thorough. A glance at the very elaborate table of contents will show the method which the author has followed. Beginning with the early Christian and Byzantine architecture, painting and sculpture, he traces the influence of the new ideals through the Greek and Roman empires; points out their influence upon the art of the Indian and Eastern Asiatic races, and their development into the more recent style of Mohammedanism. He divides mediæval art into epochs; and under these epochs places groups corresponding to the separate nationalities. The result is a history of artistic evolution simple and natural in arrangement and logical in sequence. The book is profusely illustrated by more than four hundred engravings and has indices to artists' names and to places. It is a book which both the architect and the general reader may study with pleasure and profit.

This little book‡ which Dr. Colton has compiled should be in the library of every reader of Shakespeare. Here, within a space of less than two hundred pages, we have a most complete exposition of Shakespeare's knowledge of the Bible and his indebtedness to the Book of Books for some of his rarest jewels of thought and expression. Others than Dr. Colton have written upon this subject (for no one conversant with the Bible can read Shakespeare without finding constant allusion to the Scriptures and to Scriptural truth), but no one hitherto has succeeded in condensing, as Dr. Colton has condensed, the religious principles and sentiments of the wonderful plays into so small, yet so complete a compass. Excepting the Concordance by Mrs. O'Connor, noticed in the NORTH AMERICAN RE-

*"Boys and other Boys." By Lucy A. Scott. Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, Chicago.

†"History of Mediæval Art." By Dr. Franz von Reber. Translated by Joseph Thacher Clarke. Harper & Bros.

‡"Shakespeare and the Bible; Parallel Passages, and the Religious Sentiments of Shakespeare." By G. Q. Colton, with an introduction by Rev. Robert Collyer. Knox & Co.

VIEW for December last, there has been published during the past twelvemonth no book of greater value to the Shakespearian student and reader than this little book of Dr. Colton.

A pleasant book to stow away for a traveling satchel is the translation of a clean little French story* which originally appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, under the title of "La Neuvaine de Colette." The heroine is a bright, pretty French girl of an enterprising disposition, whose solitary, uneventful life in a ruined chateau of the time of Louis XIII., under the strict espionage of a grim old aunt, becomes unbearable. By the advice of an ancient dame Colette observes a *neuvaine* ("nine days' prayer") before a statuette of St. Joseph, whom she implores to send her a liberator. At the midnight hour of the ninth day, no brave knight having appeared, in a fit of rage and disappointment she throws the unlucky image crashing through the window, and seriously wounds the young Count de Civreuse, who, by a strange chance, has strayed from his course and has wandered that way. Of course the Count is taken into the chateau, and, during his protracted convalescence, a piquant courtship takes place, with a result which the reader has anticipated from the first, but which he has several times abandoned. The style and the story are pure and pleasing, and will attract lovers of the Lorna Doone class of fiction, which is, indeed, the best class.

The J. B. Lippincott Co. publish a handsome illustrated edition for the drawing-room of Goldsmith's "Deserted Village." The etchings, six in number, are by M. M. Taylor. For the little folk this house also issue in plain boards, very tastily decorated and fully illustrated, Ida Waugh's "Alphabet Book," the verses by Amy E. Blanchard.

The modern traveler who would present a successful account of his wanderings wisely selects a special field for his pen, and does not attempt to incorporate in a single volume the results of his observations in all departments of art, science, industry or political economy. Mr. Curtis Guild's sketchy résumé† at once claims attention by reason of its limited theme. The hurried reader concludes that he has time to hear what may be said of the Britons and the Russians, whereas if the title were extended to Travels in England and on the Continent, comparatively few would approach it. The author's practical fancy finds food for discussion in many of the minor observances of foreign life, though not entirely excluding the esthetic. The relative merits of English and American hotels, or, more properly, the hotels of London and New York, are discussed in the first fifty pages, and an astonishing amount of information, not at all flattering to the English landlord, is given. There are three interesting chapters descriptive of English towns and abbeys, and the remainder of the work is devoted to pleasant, chatty descriptions of Russian cities, buildings, and customs. The style of the "special" newspaper correspondent is plainly visible, and the reader finds many literary faults to excuse; but the fresh, practical topics, such as every traveler likes to know about in advance, hold his interest, and he concludes that the editor of *The Boston Commercial Bulletin* is a live man and an entertaining one, if he is not always a polished writer.

* "The Story of Colette." From the original, "La Neuvaine de Colette." The Gainesborough Series. D. Appleton & Co.

† "Britons and Muscovites; or, Traits of Two Empires." By Curtis Guild, Editor of *The Boston Commercial Bulletin*. Lee & Shepard.

INDEX

TO THE

HUNDRED AND FORTY-SIXTH VOLUME

OF THE

North American Review.

ADAMS, BARCLAY. Georgeism Making the Rich Richer, 225.
Alaska. *See* Our Outlying Province.
ALDEN, W. L. The Suffrage Paradox, 468.
ALDRICH, N. W. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
ALGER, GOV. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
ALLISON, W. B. *See* Possible Presidents.
America, Mr. Matthew Arnold on, 515.
Animals, Death Instinct in, 582.
Animal Intelligence, 339, 714.
Animals, Reasoning Power of, 280.
ANONYMOUS. A Chapter of Wabash, 178; Genius of Battle, 334; Two Messages, 1.
Arnold, Mr. Matthew, on America, 515. Mr. Arnold as a poet, 657.
Art and Morality, 318.
ATWELL, V. PERRY. Our Hold on Cuba, 581.
AYRAULT, ETIENNE. An Important Anniversary, 584.
BALL, JOHN, JR. Hypnotism in Politics, 709.
Balloting and Copyright, 221.
BARRETT, LAWRENCE. Vicissitudes of the Drama, 203.
BATES, S. The President's Panacea, 436.
Battle, Genius of, 144, 334.
BAUM, MORRIS C. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
BENTON, JOEL. The Holiday Hallucination, 472. Mohammedanism in Africa, 222.
BIGELOW, JOHN. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
BRADLEY, W. O. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
Brain Work, Physical Basis of, 522.
BRECKENRIDGE, R. W. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
BRECKENRIDGE, C. P. Testimony before House Committees, 520.
BROOKS, S. Fast or Slow Ships, 664.
BRYCE, LLOYD S. Anglo-American Copyright, 67. First Impressions of Congress, 532. Land Nationalization, 473.
Bryce, Lloyd S., Reply to, 99.
BUSH, L. The President's Panacea, 436.
BYRNES, T. E. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
CALDWELL, J. A. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
Capital Punishment by Electricity, 219.
CARNEGIE, A. The President's Puzzle, 273.
CHACE, J. The President's Panacea, 436.
CHAMPLIN, GEOFFREY. Decline of New England, 587.
CHANDLER, W. H. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
CHARCOT, PROF. Wonders of Animal Magnetism, 131.
Cherokee Land, Sunday in, 194.
Children, Neglected, 708.
CLAPP, A. M. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
CLARKSON, J. S. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
Classical Types, 342.
Clubs in Politics, 172.
Clubs, Permanent Republican, 241.
COGHLEN, M. Theatrical Capuas, 710.
COGSWELL, EDWARD. The Technical Straight-Jacket, 223.
Columbia, Burning of, 400.
Commandment, The Eleventh, 467.
Commerce. *See* NORTH, and AYRAULT.
Communism and Protection, 226, 470.
CONGER, A. L. The President's Panacea, 436.
Congress, First Impressions of, 532.
Constitutional Crime, An Unpunished, 21.

Constitutional Law. The Virginia Cases, 674.
CONWAY, M. D. Anglo-American Copyright, 67. Judas the Iscariot, 266.
Copyright, Symposium on, 67.
Copyright, Balloting, 221.
COTTIER, A. E. Taxing Land Values, 467.
Creation, Footprints of Creative Power, 219.
Cuba, Our Hold on, 581.
Culprits, Who are the? 711.
CUMMINGS, A. M. Death Instinct in Animals, 582.
Currency, Contraction of, 327.
CURTIUS, F. Germany's Right to Alsace, 559.
CURRENT AMERICAN LITERATURE.
Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, Edited by His Son, 106.
Ethical Import of Darwinism, J. G. Schurman, 107.
Genesis of the Civil War. The Story of Sumter, S. W. Crawford, 108.
Pre-Glacial Man, L. Burge, 110.
Origins of the English Peoples and Language, J. Roemer, 111.
History of the Christian Church, G. P. Fisher, 112.
Ca Ira! or Danton in the French Revolution, Lawrence Gronlund, 113.
Down the Island, W. A. Patton, 114.
Guatemala, W. T. Brigham, 115.
Life Notes, W. Hague, 117.
Reminiscences of Winfield Scott Hancock, His Wife, 118.
Mrs. Shillaber's Cook Book, L. Shillaber, 118.
Best Reading, 118.
Blot on the 'Scutcheon, R. Browning, 119.
Sermons for Children, A. P. Stanley, 119.
Morality, R. B. Fairbairn, 119.
Wealth and Progress, G. Gunton, 128.
New Astronomy, S. P. Langley, 229.
Mountain Trails in Colorado, L. B. France, 230.
Letters from Colorado, N. L. Wasson, 231.
Slav or Saxon, W. D. Foulke, 233.
Patrick Henry, M. C. Tyler, 234.
Miss Curtis, K. G. Wells, 235.
Principles of Art, J. C. Van Dyke, 236.
Underwoods, R. L. Stevenson, 237.
Poems, D. A. Wasson, 237.
Memories and Portraits, R. L. Stevenson, 238.
Prince Little Boy, S. W. Mitchell, 238.
Human Life in Shakespeare, H. Giles, 239.
Men and Letters, H. E. Scudder, 239.
The Inquisition in the Middle Ages, H. C. Lea, 345.
CURRENT AMERICAN LITERATURE.
English in the West Indies, J. A. Froude. 347.
Life of Wendell Phillips, G. L. Austin, 348.
Benjamin Franklin, J. B. McMasters, 349.
George Washington, E. E. Hale, 349.
Lawyer, Statesman and Soldier, G. S. Boutwell, 350.
Autobiography, W. P. Frith, 351.
Puritans in England, W. H. Stowells, 352.
Pilgrim Fathers, D. Wilson, 352.
April Hopes, W. D. Howells, 353.
Bacon and Shakespeare, H. L. Hosmer, 354.
Perseverance Island, D. Frazer, 355.
Only a Year, J. Andrews, 355.
Under the Southern Cross, M. M. Ballou, 355.
Weather, R. Abercromby, 355.
Story of Assyria, Z. A. Ragozin, 356.
Old South and New, W. D. Kelley, 356.
The Vagrant, Vladimir Korolenko, 356.
Home Again, G. Macdonald, 356.
A Russian Proprietor, L. N. Tolstoi, 357.
Story of Ireland, E. Lawless, 357.
Locrine, A. C. Swinburne, 357.
Story of the Psalms, H. Van Dyke, 357.
Story of the Nations, J. P. Mahaffy, 358.
Fleeming Jenkin, R. L. Stevenson, 358.
Christian Facts, N. Smyth, 358.
Divine Man, G. D. Boardman, 359.
Anthony Grace, G. M. Fenn, 359.
Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, E. D. Wartield, 474.
Napoleon and the Russian Campaign, Leo Tolstoi, 475.
Animal Magnetism, A. Binett, 476.
An Unlaid Ghost, 477.
The Fact Divine, J. Broeckaert, 478.
Pine and Palm, M. D. Conway, 479.
The Long Exile, Lyof Tolstoi, 591.
Slips of Tongue and Pen, J. H. Long, 592.
Handbook of Volapük, C. E. Sprague, 593.
Volapük, K. A. Linderfeldt, 593.
Volapük, S. Huebsch, 593.
Divorce Abolished, 594.
What is the Bible? G. T. Ladd, 595.
Fifty Years of English Song, 596.
The Second Son, M. O. W. Oliphant and T. B. Aldrich, 596.
Childhood, M. A. West, 597.
Works of Shakespeare: The Folio in Reduced Fac-Simile, 597.
Miss Varian of New York, 598.
Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy, J. and E. R. Pennell, 599.

CURRENT AMERICAN LITERATURE.
Sara Crewe, F. H. Burnett, 599.
Greenland, C. A. Byrne, 599.
Initials and Pseudonyms, W. Cushing, 599.
The Art of Investing, 715.
International Law, L. Levi, 716.
Manual Training School, C. M. Woodward, 717.
Industrial Instruction, R. Seidel, 717.
Chips from a Teacher's Workshop, 717.
Bonaventure, G. W. Cable, 718.
History of the U. S., E. E. Childs, 718.
Boys and Other Boys, L. A. Scott, 719.
History of Mediæval Art, 719.
Shakespeare and the Bible, G. Q. Colton, 719.
Story of Colette, 720.
Britons and Muscovites, C. Guild, 720.
DASHIELL, T. G. Immortality in the Old Testament, 224.
DAVIS, V. A. Serpent Myths. 161.
DAY, E. M. Philological Curiosities, 709.
DE JOUSSELIM, TH. Fast or Slow Ships, 669.
DE ARMIT, W. P. The President's Panacea, 436.
DE PAUW, N. J. The President's Panacea, 436.
DEPEW, CHAUNCEY M. *See* Possible Presidents.
DOBLIN, BENJ. Communism and Protection, 470.
Drama, Vicissitudes of, 203.
Dreams, Ghosts, or Hypnotism, 704.
DUDLEY, T. H. The President's Panacea, 436.
EDISON, T. A. The Perfected Phonograph, 641.
EDMUNDS, G. F. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
Education, Technical, 223.
EGGLESTON, EDWARD. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
Electrical Advance, 405, 641.
Electricity, Capital Punishment by, 219.
ELY, G. H. The President's Panacea, 436.
Emigration, 220.
English, Learning to Write, 589.
Faith or Agnosticism, see Field-Ingersoll Controversy.
FARQUHAR, H. Mr. Carnegie on the Surplus, 583.
Fetichism in the Campaign, 651.
FIELD, D. D., Theory of American Government, 543.
FIELD, HENRY D. *See* Field-Ingersoll Controversy.
Field-Ingersoll Controversy—
Col. R. G. Ingersoll, 31.
H. W. Hazen, 100.
Field-Ingersoll Controversy—
S. Forcythe, 103.
W. L. Le Seuer, 219.
T. G. Dashiel, 224.
L. R. Zerbe, 344.
W. E. Gladstone, 481.
Col. R. G. Ingersoll, 601.
FISHBACK, W. M. Communism and Protection, 226.
Fishery, The Fur-Seal Dispute, 390.
Fisheries Question, The, 121.
Flexible Majorities, 585, 712.
FORCYTHE, STILLMAN. Col. Ingersoll and Christianity, 103.
Fossil Fallacies, 338.
FOSTER, JAS. P. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
FRANGEUL, C. Fast or Slow Ships, 668.
Free Trade. *See* Message.
FRY, JAS. B. Mr. Matthew Arnold on America, 515.
Fur-Seal Fishery Dispute, The, 390.
GANNETT, A. M. Shelley's Morality, 104.
GARRETT, J. The President's Panacea, 436.
Genius and Idiocy, 221.
Germany's Right to Alsace, 559.
GERRY, E. T. Capital Punishment by Electricity, 219.
George, Henry, Criticism of Theories of, 225, 467.
Germany. The Hohenzollern Kaiser. 361.
Ghosts, Dreams and Hypnotism, 704.
Gilbert's Fables, 405.
GILDER, R. W. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
GILMAN, D. C. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
GLADSTONE, W. E. Anglo-American Copyright, 67. Col. Ingersoll on Christianity, 481.
Government, Theory of American, 543.
GRANT, U. S. Reasons for Accepting the Presidency, 558.
GREGORY, WALTER. Fossil Fallacies, 338. The Eleventh Commandment, 467.
GUPTILL, A. B. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
HALSTEAD, MURAT. Increase of the Standing Army, 310.
HAMILTON, GAIL. Prisoner among the Indians, 55. Sunday in Cherokee Land, 194. The Lion's Side of the Lion Question, 294.
HAMMER, D. HARRY. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
HARRISON, BENJAMIN. *See* Possible Presidents.
HARTSHORN, E. A. The President's Panacea, 436.
HAWTHORNE, JULIAN. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
HAY, C. A. Why I am a Lutheran, 148.

HAZEN, H. W. The Field-Ingersoll Correspondence, 100.
HISCOCK, FRANK. *See* Possible Presidents.
Holiday Hallucination, The, 472.
Holidays, Use of, 587.
HOLMES, O. W. Anglo-American Copyright.
HOWELLS, W. D. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
HUNTINGTON, A. O. Political Marionettes, 713.
HUTCHINSON, WOODS. Physical Basis of Brain Work, 522
Hypnotism. See Magnetism, 131. *See also* 704. *See also* 709.
IBN ABBA. Why am I a Moslem? 379.
Idiocy, Genius and, 221.
Immortality in the Old Testament, 224.
Immortality, Personal, 586.
Incubators, Political, 225.
Indians, Prisoner among the, 55.
Indian Question, The, 294.
Indian Sunday, An, 194.
Indian Territory, the Saloon in, 340.
Inebriety, The Disease of, 101.
INGALLS, J. J. Fetichism in the Campaign, 651.
INGERSOLL, ROBERT G. Another Letter to Dr. Field, 31. Art and Morality, 318. Reply to Mr. Gladstone, 601. *See also* Field-Ingersoll Controversy.
IRISH, J. P., The Two Messages, 287.
IRVING, HENRY. State-Aided Theatres, 103.
JAMESON, J. F. G. Halls for Public Meetings, 470.
John Bull Abroad, 14.
JOHNSON, ROSSITER. A Perilous Balance, 424, 712.
JOHNSON, W. H. The Saloon in Indian Territory, 340.
JOHNSON, W. W. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
JONES, B. F. The President's Panacea, 436.
Judas the Iscariot, 226.
KASSON, JOHN A. The Hohenzollern Kaiser, 361.
KENNEDY, C. W. Fast or Slow Ships, 667
KIRKE, EDMUND. Reasoning Power of Animals, 280.
KUEHN, HERMAN. Reply to Lloyd Bryce, 99.
LA FOLLETTE, R. M. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
LAND, F. S. Fast or Slow Ships, 669.
Land Nationalization, 473.
LATHROP, G. P. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
Literature, Pernicious, 343.
LESEUER, W. L. Footprints of Creative Power, 219.
LEWIS, A. W. Fast or Slow Ships, 666.
LODGE, H. C. The Fisheries Question, 121. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
Lutheran, Why I am a, 148.
Magnetism, Wonders of Animal, 131.
MANLEY, JOSEPH H. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
MANN, B. E. Personality of Teachers, 711.
MANN, E. C. The Disease of Inebriety, 101. Man's Origin, 339.
MARTIN, T. C. Gilbert's Fables, 405.
MCDANIELS, W. H. The President's Panacea, 436.
MCGURRIN, F. E. Catholics Want Public Schools, 100.
MCKAY, H. Fast or Slow Ships, 666.
MCMICKAN, W. Fast or Slow Ships, 666.
MELROSE, HENRY. Who are the Culprits? 711.
Message, Political Effect of, 211.
Message, The President's, 273, 436.
Messages, The Two, 1, 287.
MILLS, CUTHBERT. Recent Movements in Wall street, 47.
Mohammedanism in Africa, 222.
Monkeys, Intelligence of, 714.
Morality, Art and, 318.
Moslem, Why am I a? 379.
MURRAY, G. Fast or Slow Ships, 664.
Names. How to Name Children, 580.
Napoleon's Signatures, 96.
Neglected Children, 708.
NELSON, GEORGE. Use of Holidays, 587.
New England, Decline of, 587.
NICOLL, DE LANCEY. An Unpublished Constitutional Crime, 21.
NORTH, E. P. American Shipping, 566.
NORTON, C. E. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
NORTON, C. L. Flexible Majorities, 585. Ghosts, Dreams and Hypnotism, 704.
O'RELL, MAX. John Bull Abroad, 14.
Origin of Man, 339.
OSBORNE, DUFFIELD. A Defense of Pugilism, 430.
OTEY, P. J. How to Name Children, 580.
Our Outlying Province, 86.
Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
Perilous Balance, A, 424.
Pernicious Literature, 343.
Personality of Teachers, 711.
PERRY, H. Fast or Slow Ships, 664.
PHELPS, W. W. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
Philological Curiosities, 709.
Phonograph, The Perfected, 641.
Physical Basis of Brain Work, 522.
Political Marionettes, 713.
Political Partisanship, 424.
Possible Presidents, 416, 681.
President's Message, The *See* Message.
President's Panacea, The, 436.
Presidency, Reasons for Accepting, 553.
Protection, Communism and, 226, 470.
Public Meetings, Halls for, 470.

Pugilism, Defense of, 430.
Pugilism. *See* Classical Types.
RAPSHER, W. M. Dangerous Trusts, 509.
Reasoning Power of Animals, 280.
REED, T. B. An Outlying Province, 86.
Republican Clubs, 241.
REXFORD, ADRIAN. Classical Types, 342.
REXFORD, ADRIAN. Genius and Idiocy, 221.
RIDEING, W. H. Fast or Slow Ships, 663.
RICE, ALLEN THORNDIKE. Napoleon's Signatures, 96. The President's Panacea, 436.
ROBERTSON, LIEUT.-GOV. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
ROOD, E. H. Personal Immortality, 586.
ROOSEVELT, T. Balloting and Copyright, 221.
RUSSELL, W. A. The President's Panacea, 436.
RYAN, D. J. Clubs in Politics, 172.
Schools, Catholics Want Public, 100.
SCHNEIDER, J. S. Intelligence of Monkeys, 714.
SCHWATKA, FREDERICK. The Fur-Seal Fishery Dispute, 390.
SEARLES, OLNEY. The Coal Strike, 341. Start Incubators Early, 225.
Serpent Myths, 161.
SHALLENBERGER, W. S. The President's Panacea, 436.
Shelley's Morality, 104.
SHERMAN, W. T. *See* Possible Presidents.
Shipping, American, 566, 663.
Ships, Fast or Slow, 663.
SLONECKER, J. G. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
SMITH, BALLARD. Political Effect of the Message, 211.
SMITH, R. PEARSALL. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
SMITH, W. F. The Genius of Battle, 144.
Steam Navigation. *See* AYRAULT.
STEWART, W. M. Contraction and the Remedy, 327.
STODDARD, R. H. Matthew Arnold as a Poet, 657.
Strike, The Coal, 341.
Stock Market, Recent Movements of, 47.
Suffrage Paradox, The, 468.
Sunday, The Workingman's, 330.
Surplus, Mr. Carnegie on, 583.
Surplus, The. *See* Message.
Symposium on Permanent Republican Clubs, 341.
Symposium on the President's Message, 436.
Symposium on Fast or Slow Ships, 663.
Tariff. *See* ATWELL, *and* BRECKENRIDGE, *and* Message.
Teachers, Personality of, 711.
Telegraph, Government Control of, 310.
Testimony before House Committee, 520.
Theatres, State-Aided, 103.
Theatrical Capuas, 710.
THOMPSON, MESSRS. JAMES & GEORGE. Fast or Slow Ships, 671.
THOMPSON, R. E. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
THURBER, H. K. The President's Panacea, 436.
TOURETTE, GILLES DE LA. Wonders of Animal Magnetism, 131.
Trusts, Dangerous, 509.
TUCKER, J. RANDOLPH. Virginia in the Supreme Court, 674.
VARNUM, J. P. The President's Panacea, 436.
VINTON, ARTHUR DUDLEY. Pernicious Literature, 343. Neglected Children, 708.
Wabash, A Chapter of, 178.
Wall Street, Recent Movements in, 47.
WARNER, C. D. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
WATERS, R. Learning to Write English, 589.
WHITTIER, J. G. Anglo-American Copyright, 67.
Why am I a Lutheran? 148.
Why am I a Moslem? 379.
WILCOX, E. W. A Plea, 220.
WISE, JOHN S. Permanent Republican Clubs, 241.
WOOD, A. E. Burning of Columbia, 400.
Workingman's Sunday, 330.
WYCKOFF, W. C. The President's Panacea, 436.
ZERBE, L. R. Colonel Ingersoll on Christianity, 344.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN

REVIEW.

EDITED BY ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.

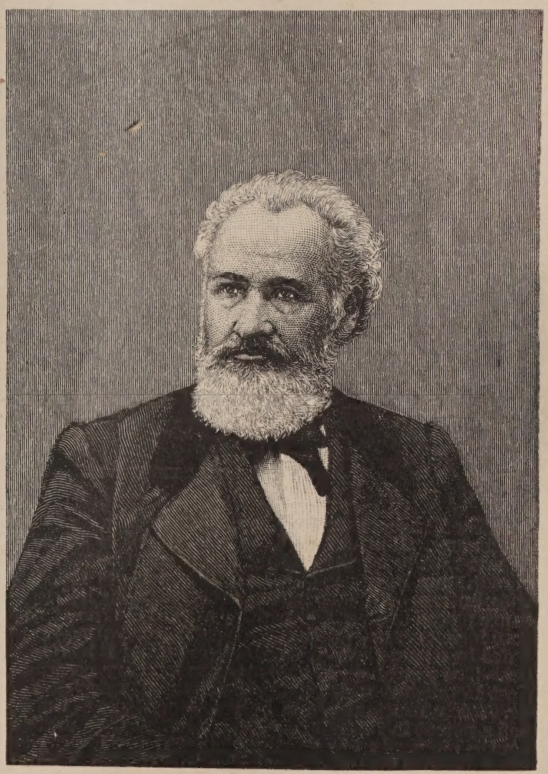
VOL. CXLVI.

NEW YORK:
No. 3 EAST FOURTEENTH STREET.
1888.

THE TYPEWRITER; ITS GROWTH AND USES.

BY P. G. HUBERT, JR.

THE history of the typewriter resembles that of every other great labor saving invention in that, like the sewing machine and the locomotive, the perfected writing machine is the result of years of labor upon the part of more than one man, and has been brought to perfection by dint of hard work. As Dr. Lyman Abbott once said, it is to the pen what the sewing machine is to the needle. It has created a revolution, and although its business career does not date back much more than ten years, and it is in its infancy as compared with the sewing machine, there are not a few persons who place the two inventions side by side in future importance. To-day the Remington typewriter is found in nearly every prosperous business and professional office,—sometimes scores of them in the same office. Less than a decade ago people had to be argued into acknowledging its practical usefulness, and more than one hard-headed business man was found who "had no time to fool away upon a writing machine." To-day the same hard-headed business man is very sure that he has no time to fool away upon a pen. With the aid of this little machine an operator can accomplish more correspondence in a day than half a dozen clerks can with the pen, and do better work. It is the great labor-saver of business life.



PORTRAIT OF PHILO REMINGTON.

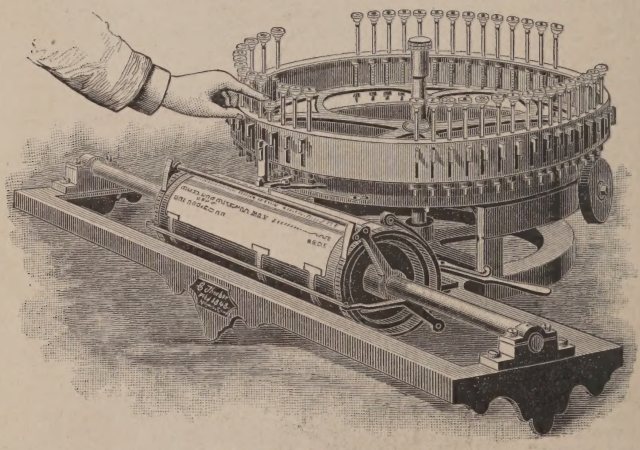
An invention of such vast present importance, and with a still greater future before it, must have an interesting history. Where did it come from, and to whom belongs the credit? The type-writer was foreshadowed generations ago, and here and there through the records of the Patent office in England, and later, in this country, may be found the first crude attempts at making a satisfactory writing machine. A little more than twenty years ago the principles upon which the perfected typewriter is built were first suggested; then came some years of experimenting, of disappointments, and finally, about ten

years ago, the machine assumed such shape, thanks to the contributions of many bright minds, that it passed the experimental stage and became practical.

The archives of the British Patent Office show that the first patent upon a writing machine was granted on January 7th, 1714, to Henry Mill, a skilled engineer, who died about the year 1770.

No drawings accompanied the specification, so that we are unable to tell what kind of a machine Mill's was. The history of the first typewriter begins and ends with this specification. From the description it has been imagined that it was intended to print embossed characters for the use of blind people. And the next invention in the same field *was* a French device for stamping embossed letters upon paper, for the use of the blind, that appeared about 1784. Until 1841 there is no record in the English Patent Office of any other writing machines. But from that date a number of devices, all more or less impracticable, made their appearance, and since then more than a hundred inventions of writing machines have been patented in England, not one of which has done its work in a satisfactory manner. The Remington typewriter, an American invention, is used throughout England.

Our American records show that in 1843, Charles Thurber, of Worcester, Mass., took out a patent for a writing machine, followed by an improvement two years



THE FIRST TYPEWRITER.

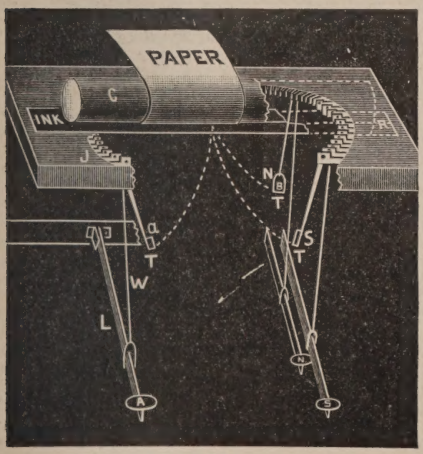
later. The Thurber machine wrote, but so slowly that it remained a curiosity and nothing more. It is preserved in the Boston office of Messrs. Wyckoff, Seamans & Benedict. The accompanying cut shows its operation. The keys are small steel rods, four inches long, with common types inserted in the lower end, and bearing buttons on the top with the corresponding letters marked on them. The keys are placed in a vertical position around the rim of a horizontal brass wheel, sixteen inches across, which turns about a central post, and each key-rod is surrounded by a spiral spring, which raises it after it has been pressed down upon the paper. The machine presents an extraordinary contrast with the compact and perfect Remington which stands beside it. Thurber died recently in Brooklyn.

Mr. A. Ely Beach, now one of the proprietors of the *Scientific American*, obtained a patent in 1856 for a machine intended to print embossed letters for the use of the blind. It was worthy of record because it covered a principle afterwards developed into success. All the printing was done at one point, the centre of a circle, and the machine was made with type-bars converging as the spokes of a wheel. Mr. Beach was followed by Dr. Samuel W. Francis, who adopted the piano-forte action and arranged his hammers, each with the face of a letter, in a circle, throwing them up as piano-hammers act, and each one striking at a common centre. A silk ribbon saturated with ink was made to pass under the paper very much as is now done, and was so adjusted as to move with each impression.

Besides these notable attempts at solving the problem, a number of early patents were issued to different people, among others one to Fairbanks, in 1848, and one to Oliver T. Eddy, of Baltimore, in 1850; and almost every year from these first attempts to the invention of 1867 is marked by some more or less clumsy attempt to reach the desired end.

In 1867 a writing machine, called the typewriter, was patented in Milwaukee, Wis., by C. Latham Sholes, Samuel W. Soulé, and Carlos Glidden. Neither of the three had any idea of what had been done before in the same field, except that Mr. Sholes had seen an article in the *Scientific American*, copied from *London Engineering*, in which was described a writing machine called the "pterotype," invented by John Pratt, of Centre, Ala., but then residing near London, England. The *Scientific American* article was followed by the suggestion that whoever would make a successful writing machine would not only secure a fortune, but would confer a blessing upon mankind. Sholes and Soulé were printers who had been engaged for some time in perfecting a machine for numbering the pages of blank books, and for printing serial numbers on bank notes. Mr. Glidden, who was a man of means, happened to be working at a patent plough in the machine shop frequented by Sholes and Soulé. He took great interest in the paging machine. One day he said to Sholes, "Why can't a machine be made that will write letters and words instead of simply figures?"

PUTTING IN CONNECTING-RODS AND LEVERS.



OUTLINE OF LEVERS AND RODS.

When the *Scientific American* article appeared Mr. Glidden showed it to Sholes; and, Soulé having joined them, the three went to work upon the invention. Soulé suggested pivoted types set in a circle, and Sholes suggested the letter-spacing device. In September, 1867, the first machine was finished, and letters written with it were sent to acquaintances and friends. Mr. James Densmore, then of Meadville, Pa., who received one of these letters, was so impressed by it that by return mail he asked to become interested in the enterprise. In reply, he was offered a quarter interest if he would pay all the expenses up to date. He accepted the offer, and when he saw the machine, in March, 1868, he pronounced it good for nothing except to show that the idea was feasible. His faith, however, was unshaken, and Soulé and Glidden having dropped out of the enterprise, he assumed all expenses and urged Sholes to remedy certain defects which he pointed out. No less than 25 or 30 experimental typewriters were made, each one a little better than its predecessor. As fast as finished they were placed in the hands of differ-

ent experts, among others James O. Clephane, a stenographer of Washington, D. C., who by hard use destroyed one after another till the patience of Sholes was exhausted. But Densmore insisted that as the machine must be made so that anybody could use it, such tests were a blessing and not a misfortune. Step by step, screw by screw, the invention grew, until in 1873 it was taken to the great gun shops of E. Remington & Sons, of Ilion, N. Y. There, thanks to the good will and judgment of Philo Remington, it received the attention of a number of skilled machinists, who put into practicable shape much that had been merely suggested by the original inventors. When the machine finally appeared upon the market, it was first offered chiefly to professional men—lawyers, clergymen, newspaper men; and apparently its greatest field of usefulness, the offices of mercantile houses, was almost overlooked. It was not until 1882 that its real possibilities became apparent; until then the machine had been, so to speak, on trial. There had been some defects that interfered with its rapid growth and favor. From 1882 until the present time, its history is one long record of successes, abroad as well as at home, and the present success of the machine is due perhaps not so much to the fading away of prejudices as to actual improvements in the machine itself. The typewriter of 1874 and that of to-day are two very different machines. The earliest typewriters printed only capital letters; they were more or less liable to get out of order: in a word, there have been wonderful improvements, or the machine would not stand where it does to-day.

The construction and operation of the Remington typewriter are so well known that it is not necessary to go into any detailed description. The type arms or bars, each bearing a lower-case letter and its corresponding capital, are thrown up by piano-forte lever action. Each impression causes the frame carrying the rollers which hold the paper sheet to move one space. The types are of tempered steel and are practically indestructible. The principle is clearly shown in the cut on preceding page. The perfection of its mechanical construction is attested by the immense amount of daily work which the machine does without strain, and by the fact that experts can work the keys so fast as to give clear impressions of a letter at the rate of 13 to a second. Among the improvements of recent years have been the introduction of capital and lower case letters in the same machine without increasing the number of keys,—a radical and vast improvement—the strengthening of the machine, the addition of some parts, the elimination of others. The noise made by the old machine has been greatly lessened, and its liability to get out of order reduced.

The great factory at Ilion, built up by the Remingtons for making guns, is now employed in making typewriters, which find their way into public use through the houses of Wyckoff, Seamans & Benedict in the principal cities of the world. In the old days the sword was forged into the ploughshare; in our day the gun has given way to the typewriter. Perfect as is the present Remington typewriter, however, its owners are by no means ready to rest upon their laurels. In one corner of the great shops at Ilion is an expert to whom are referred the thousands of suggestions concerning the typewriter which are considered worth submitting to him. Of the ten thousand suggestions that come into the main offices from all parts of the world during the year, perhaps one thousand may be worth listening to; of these, perhaps one hundred may be worth serious consideration, and of this hundred perhaps ten may result in actual improvements, which are gladly accepted, no matter how minute they may be. Most of the changes and improvements effected during the last ten years have been suggested by workmen in the employ of the Remingtons, or of the firm of Wyckoff, Seamans & Benedict. The firm owns or controls a large number of patents upon various devices used in the machine, and as the Remington spreads to every part of the globe, it is not unlikely that this stream of suggestions will continue to grow.

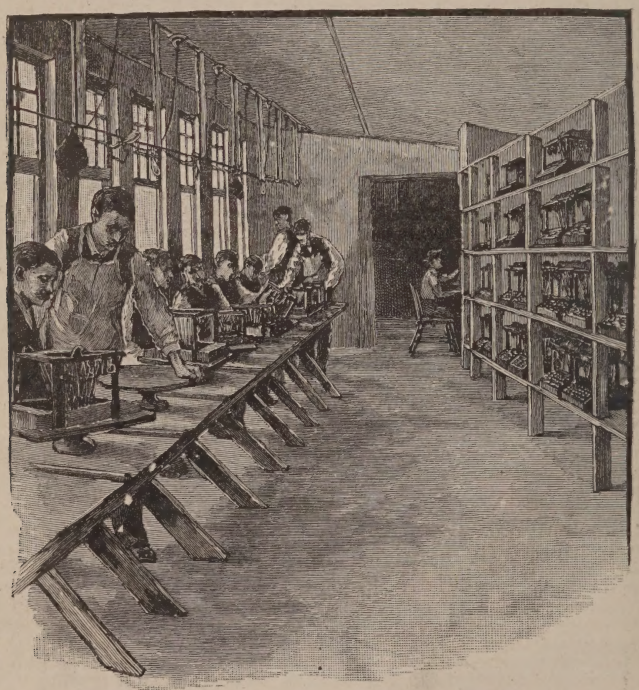
The most elaborate typewriter ever constructed was that made a few months ago for little Josef Hofmann, the boy pianist. It was a Christmas present from Mr. Abbey, his manager. Every part of the machine had been plated, and a silver plate back of the rubber roll was engraved: "Henry E. Abbey to Josef Hofmann, Christmas, 1887." On the alligator leather case was a large silver monogram of the boy's initials. The first day that the lad got his typewriter he had to be driven back to the piano. After less than two hours' practice, he wrote letters in several languages to friends in different parts of the world, who might not yet know what a typewriter is.

The most remarkable achievement of the typewriter, the chief reason of its success and popularity, has, of course, been the saving of time effected in business offices. This has now become so well known as to scarcely need argument, and explains the marvelous increase in the sale of the Remington typewriters,

CORNER OF THE ALIGNING ROOM.

from 1,400, in 1882, to 14,000, in 1887. According to innumerable tests, and to the experience of nine out of ten of our active business houses, the typewriter, as compared to the pen, saves forty minutes an hour, or, to carry out the calculation, five hours and twenty minutes in a business day. In a country like ours, where time means money, it is very easy to estimate how many times the typewriter must pay for itself every year in a busy office. Last summer, in England, Miss Emiline S. Owen, who went over to show Englishmen what could be done with the Remington type-writer, wrote for three minutes at a speed of ninety-nine words a minute, the same matter having been previously written out in longhand by Mr. Thomas Allen Reed, one of the most rapid longhand writers in the world, at the unprecedented rate of sixty-five words per minute, the best that he could do.

Mr. E. D. Easton, one of the leading legal stenographers of Washington, in his summary of what the typewriter has done for him, says that in the Guiteau case two operators and machines answered for getting up the copy, one each for an as-



A CORNER OF THE ADJUSTING-ROOM.

sociate reporter and himself. Something like 21,000 folios were transcribed at a saving over the old method of about four cents per folio, or $840 in three months. In the Star Route cases, which lasted about a year, there were in the neighborhood of 70,000 folios written. The two machines and operators saved about three thousand dollars. In a recorded test made in New York some time ago, Miss M. E. Orr wrote an article containing 384 words from dictation, in the presence of witnesses, in four minutes and twenty-nine seconds, without error. The average was 85 words per minute. From familiar matter Mr. Warren Callahan, of Louisville, Mr. F. E. McGurrin, of Salt Lake City, Mrs. Saunders, of Brooklyn, and others have written at the rate of more than 100 words per minute.

In the lawyer's office the typewriter has made possible an amount of work which would have been thought fabulous ten or fifteen years ago. Without exag-

geration, it may be said that, thanks to the process by which six or more copies are made at once upon the typewriter, one clerk can do with the machine in a day what would require ten clerks working with the pen, and then the pen work would not be so accurate or so neat. In journalism we find that editors by the score have learned to use the typewriter so as to do infinitely more work with smaller expenditure of time or labor, as compared to pen writing, and in one newspaper office in this city typewriter editorial articles are insisted upon as essential to the correct interpretation of the writer's copy. Clergymen write their sermons, authors write their books, and editors hurl the thunders of the press with the typewriter.

It is safe to say that with the typewriter will disappear all the extraordinary blunders due to blind handwriting in the hands of equally blind compositors, and had the typewriter been in existence a generation ago, we should not have had some of the historic anecdotes of Horace Greeley and other famous newspaper men whose writing defied all experts. For instance, Greeley would never have written the quotation in the course of an important political article, "'Tis true, 'tis pity, pity 'tis 'tis true," so that the compositor made it: "'Tis two, 'tis fifty, 'tis fifty-two." The temperance editor who wrote that "whiskey drinking is folly," and found it printed: "whiskey drinking is jolly," would not have had to fly from his constituency.

There is also another field from which the typewriter has eliminated blunders. Some years ago a business firm was ruined by the misreading of an order to sell stock; owing to blind handwriting, the order was construed sell such and such stocks "quickly," instead of "quietly," as it should have been. To-day, such a blunder would not occur, thanks to the typewriter.

The aspiring author has his chances vastly improved by being able to present his article or book to the publisher in readable shape. The editor who has used up patience and eyesight upon thousands of illegible manuscripts, cannot be blamed for *reading* the articles that come to him in typewriting, and guessing more or less carefully at what the others may contain. Some years ago a magazine article in manuscript was passed around an office in order that the title might be deciphered. The first expert made it: "A Blight in Grain;" the second one: "A Flight in Spain;" the third: "A Night in Pain." It was referred back to the author, who printed it out: "A Fight in Vain."

In every large down-town building in New York there are now employed dozens and, in some cases, hundreds of women. One excellent feature of this new profession for women is that it pays according to the skill and education of the person who adopts it. The rewards of teaching are often not in proportion to the knowledge of the teacher. Any bright girl in from three to six months may obtain sufficient facility with the typewriter to make herself valuable in an office, and after that everything she does adds so much practice. The salaries of good typewriters average in New York from $15 to $20 a week, the rank and file earning from $10 to $12. It is a very poor sort of typewriter who, after six or eight months' experience, cannot make as much at this work as at school-teaching.

So tremendous are the advantages to modern business afforded by the typewriter, that a maxim has come into use to the effect that there must be something wrong about the business office in which no typewriter is found.

As a matter of fact, the speed readily attained by operators is such that many business men prefer to dictate their letters directly to the typewriter operator rather than to a stenographer. The Associated Press, which uses at least one hundred machines in its offices, employs operators who listen to the telegraphic message as it is clicked out by the sounder, and write it out upon the typewriter; the receiver can write much faster than the man at the other end of the wire can send. From ten to thirty copies at a time are made upon thin paper for newspaper work.

Its importance as a very valuable and constantly increasing means of making a livelihood and doing useful work at the same time is acquiring recognition. At many of our public institutions, such as the Cooper Institute and the Young Women's Christian Association, there are free classes in typewriting. There are over 200 machines in use in the several business colleges and shorthand schools, for purposes of instruction, in New York City. Typewriting is now taught in some of the public schools, and it is only a question of time when it will be in all. It has been found that, with its aid, it is much easier to teach spelling, punctuation and the proper use of capitals.

Deaf and dumb people take naturally to the typewriter. There is one boy, Thomas M. Caton, who uses the Remington with rapidity and accuracy, who is not only deaf and dumb but also blind. It is his delight to write off for visitors: "This is a specimen of work done upon the typewriter by one who never saw a

typewriter." After a sentence has been spelled out to him by touch, he starts off at astonishing speed to write it out, and makes but very few errors.

So dependent have the merchants become upon the typewriter that in no less than ten of New York's hotels typewriter operators find a profitable business in doing the correspondence of the guests. Those who once adopt the typewriter never go back to the pen.

It might be expected that in conservative Europe the typewriter would not be accepted without a protest, and it is therefore somewhat surprising to find that, on the contrary, some of the very countries from which the least was hoped for have taken to the perfected writing machine with enthusiasm. For instance, the Frenchmen thank America for the sewing machine, the telegraph, the telephone and the typewriter. In England, even Ruskin, the high priest of people who despise machinery of every kind and hate the very word "progress," makes an exception in favor of the typewriter and condescends to like it. Charles Reade's trenchant and characteristic praise of the typewriter has become almost famous. He says: "I advise parents to have their boys and girls taught shorthand writing and typewriting. The shorthand writer who can typewrite his notes, will be safer from poverty than a great Greek scholar." The Bishop of York, Sir Andrew Clarke, physician to the Prince of Wales, and many other eminent Englishmen, are earnest champions of the Remington typewriter.

To give some notion of the various countries in which the typewriter is used, here are some specimen lines written upon the Remington typewriters made for the regular trade abroad:

SPANISH.

Esto es una muestra del
trabajo en Español.

ITALIAN.

Questo é una mostra del
lavoro in Italiano.

FRENCH.

Ceci est un échantillon
de l'écriture en Français.

GERMAN.

Dieses ist ein muster von
deutscher Schrift.

The following are some of the languages to which the Remington typewriter has been adapted: English, French, German, Bohemian, Roumanian, Bulgarian, Swedish, Danish, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, Polish and Russian.

One language for which no typewriter has been as yet constructed is the Chinese, as its 30,000 characters would necessitate making an apparatus too large and complicated for use.

Boston Public Library
Central Library, Copley Square

Division of
Reference and Research Services

The Date Due Card in the pocket indicates the date on or before which this book should be returned to the Library.

Please do not remove cards from this pocket.

Jan 16 1914